Muslim al-Naysābūrī (d. 261/875)

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Muslim al-Naysābūrī (d. 261/875)

The Sceptical Traditionalist

By

Pavel Pavlovitch

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Motives and Acknowledgments

I owe my lasting interest in the methodology of historical research to Dr. Murtaḍā Ḥasan al-Naqīb, with whom I took up a deeply enlightening course in *manhaj al-baḥth al-tārīkhī* in the fall semester of 1988 at the Department of History, Baghdad University. Dr. al-Naqīb showed me the way out of parochial "historical materialism," with which I had been indoctrinated to that point, into the multitude of interpretative paradigms and ultimately directed my attention to *ḥadīth* and prosopography as effective means of historical inquiry. I dedicate this monograph to the memory of Dr. al-Naqīb, who passed away on 29 December 2018.

I would like to thank Professor Christopher Melchert for his critical reading of the manuscript, especially its chapters on Muslim's oeuvre, theology, and method of *ḥadīth* criticism. He pointed out a few glaring errors of fact and judgment and helped me to eliminate many slips of the pen as well as trivia. I am grateful to Dr. Fatma Kizil, who expertly expedited the publication of my article about Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kisāʾī's transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in *Ḥadīth and Sīra Studies*, and to the article's anonymous readers, who had important comments on aspects of my research methodology. My study of the transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* would have been incomplete without Dr. Kizil's helpful translation of parts of Mehmet Emin Özafşar's essay on this topic. I thankfully acknowledge Dr. Ali Aghaei's, Raashid Goyal's, and Muntasir Zaman's comments and suggestions about publications on Muslim, the location of his tomb, and the early history of Naysābūr. Any remaining errors are my sole responsibility.

The present monograph is an extension of my work on an entry about Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj for *Encyclopaedia of Islam Three*, which I began in early 2019. My initial research on the topic made me realize that important aspects of the life and works of this great traditionist, theologian, and *ḥadīth* critic are either unexplored or set out in a way that does not take into account the variety of source material. The scope of my study quickly transcended the textual limits of an encyclopedia entry; hence, the present monograph.

A part of my research on Muslim was to be presented to the Thirtieth Congress of Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants in Utrecht in July 2020. The global COVID–19 pandemic and the ensuing postponement of the congress, first to 2021 and then to 2022, stood in the way of my intentions. All the same, the shift to online teaching and the cancellation of public events in 2020 and 2021 were advantageous to my work on the present project. They granted me the rare opportunity to prepare the text of the monograph faster—perhaps by a year—than I would have been able to do in pre-pandemic academic and social circumstances.

The concluding stage of my work on the monograph was supported by the Pforzheimer Fellowship Programme, administered by the Centre for Advanced Study (CAS), Sofia, based on the project "Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj of Nishapur (d. 261 H/875 CE): The Critical Saint," grant no. AAF—Pforz–02/01.10.2021.

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Conventions

Dating

All dates are given according to the Hijri lunar calendar, followed by the corresponding year in the Julian common-era calendar. Whenever the exact date within the Hijri year is unknown, the two successive CE years are given in which that Hijri year began and ended, e.g., 145/762–763. In the rare instances in which a Hijri year began a few days before or after the beginning of a CE year, I assume that the event took place in the CE year that mostly overlaps with the respective Hijri year, e.g., 704 CE for 85 H, which ended on 02 January 705 CE.

The dates of the birth and death of a traditionist, whenever known, are recorded at the first mention of his/her name. Repetition of the same biographical data is avoided except when calling the reader's attention to contextually significant chronological aspects. All dates are preceded by the traditionist's center of activity. If someone was active in more than one center, the names of the centers are separated by a dash (–). An arrow (→) is used to indicate that someone resettled from one center to another.

In all detailed chronological references, I use the format day.month.year, e.g., 20 Shaʿbān 378/03 December 968.

Citing the *Ṣaḥīḥ*

I follow a system of triple reference to each tradition in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Although seemingly cumbersome, this way of citation became necessary because of the idiosyncratic numeration systems implemented by Wensinck, ʿAbd al-Bāqī, and Dār al-Taʾṣīl.

Wensinck assigns a separate number to each individual tradition, without taking into consideration whether it constitutes a base tradition (*aṣl*) or its auxiliary (*mutābiʿ*, *shāhid*). His numeration starts anew at the beginning of each book in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which mandates the mention of the book title if one were to follow Wensinck alone. ʿAbd al-Bāqī applies a continuous numeration from the beginning of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to its end, for the first time, but he has assigned numbers only to the base traditions and left their auxiliaries unnumbered.[1] This is a major disadvantage for the textual analyst, who needs Wensinck's detailed numeration in order to be able to reference the variants of a single tradition that appear as auxiliaries of the base version. To compound the issue, ʿAbd al-Bāqī abandons consecutive numbering if he considers a tradition a repetition of an already mentioned one. In such cases, he assigns the same number to two traditions that stand hundreds of numbers apart.[2]

---

[1] E.g., ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1211 for Wensinck nos. 111–134 in *Kitāb al-Ḥajj*.

The editors of Dār al-Taʾṣīl have assigned a round number to each base tradition (e.g., 90), followed by the same number and a subdigit for the auxiliary traditions (e.g., 90.1, 90.2, etc.), but the convenience of their numeration is marred by a single flaw. An individual *matn* in which a later transmitter cites more than one Companion reporting on the authority of the Prophet is marked by two or even three consecutive numbers separated by commas.[3] Although painstakingly accounting for each informant from the first generation of Muslims, this approach is technically bizarre. It turns citation into a cumbersome exercise laden with opacity, especially in the case of auxiliary traditions that do not repeat the sequence of Companions cited in the base tradition.[4]

To offset these shortcomings, my citations are based on the numbering of traditions in ʿAbd al-Bāqī's edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, followed in brackets by Wensinck's numeration and the numeration that was recently introduced by Dār al-Taʾṣīl. For the sake of brevity, I do not use the titles of books and chapters, as many researchers have done. Thus, my citations have the following form: ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 95 (155) = Taʾṣīl, no. 87.

The Introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in ʿAbd al-Bāqī's edition lacks systematic numbering of all traditions. For this reason, when citing traditions in this important part of Muslim's collection, I mention the page numbers according to ʿAbd al-Bāqī followed by the tradition number in Dār al-Taʾṣīl. To avoid confusion, I insert "p." before each page number, thus: ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 26 = Taʾṣīl, no. 84.

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[2] E.g., no. 1211 in the consecutive count and another no. 1211 after no. 1328. The latter no. 1211 deals with the issue of menstruation during pilgrimage as do some of the *matn*s under the former no. 1211, on which account ʿAbd al-Bāqī has considered them parts of the same *matn* cluster.

[3] E.g., 152, 153, 154 for a single tradition in which Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī first cites Anas b. Mālik on the authority of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī on the authority of the Prophet and then cites Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās and Abū Ḥabba al-Anṣārī, both citing the Prophet. On Dār al-Taʾṣīl's approach to the counting and numbering of traditions, see http://www.taaseel.com/?PUrl=Bahs&ID=34 (last accessed: 14 December 2021).

[4] E.g., 703, 704, in which ʿAbdallāh b. Shaqīq cites Ibn ʿAbbās then Abū Hurayra, and 703, 704.1, in which the Abū Hurayra section of the *matn* is absent. If the above two traditions are cited as a range, e.g., 703, 704–703, 704.1, even the specialist will be mystified by the cryptic meaning of this sequence of numbers. Without being familiar with the Dār al-Taʾṣīl edition or explicitly informed by the author who cites it, the reader will find it difficult to guess the exact number of traditions to which such a recondite citation refers.

When citing Muslim’s own text in the Introduction, I refer only to the respective page in ʿAbd al-Bāqī’s edition.

All citations from al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* are according to the Dār al-Ta’ṣīl 1433/2012 edition.

“Below” and “Above” in the Description of *isnāds*

When dealing with the *isnād*s, I use the prepositions “below” and “above” in the chronological sense of earlier and later than a given transmitter. That is, ʿĀ’isha bt. Abī Bakr (d. 58/678) is below ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 93/711–712), while al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) is above ʿUrwa and Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān is above Muslim. This use goes against the terminological convention of the Muslim traditionists, to whom “above” (*fawq*) meant proximity to the original source. In their parlance, ʿĀ’isha is above ʿUrwa, since she stands closer to the Prophet.

Transliteration

In this monograph, I follow the transliteration used for *Encyclopaedia of Islam Three*.

ء	ʾ	ج	j	ر	r	ض	ḍ	ف	f	ن	n
ا	a	ح	ḥ	ز	z	ط	ṭ	ق	q	هـ	h
ب	b	خ	kh	س	s	ظ	ẓ	ك	k	و	w
ت	t	د	d	ش	sh	ع	ʿ	ل	l	ي	y
ث	th	ذ	dh	ص	ṣ	غ	gh	م	m		

Vowels

Long	Short	Diphthongs
ā	a	aw, wa, ay
ū	u	
ī	i	

The accusative/genitive pronouns are hyphenated, and the case vowels (except in bibliographical references) are set in superscript, e.g., *kitāb*^{u}*-hu*, but Āl Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj wa-manhaju-hu fī l-Ṣaḥīḥ wa-atharu-hu fī ʿilm al-ḥadīth*.

Introduction

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Naysābūrī was a prominent collector, evaluator, and transmitter of traditions (*ḥadīth*), as well as a theologian and an adherent of the movement of the Partisans of Tradition (*ahl al-ḥadīth*). His works played a crucial role in the emergence of a new critical approach to traditions and their transmitters (*rijāl*), contributed to the articulation of traditionalist theology and were instrumental in the formation of Sunni identity in the first half of the third/ninth century. Muslim is famous for his *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ* (*The sound collection with uninterrupted chains of transmission*), a compilation of *ḥadīth* associated with the Prophet Muḥammad that Sunni Muslims rank as the third most authoritative source of legal norms after the Quran and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī's *ḥadīth* collection, *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*. The *Ṣaḥīḥ* ushered in a new era of critical selection of traditions based on a set of criteria that Muslim outlined in the famous Introduction to this work. Although frowned upon by many contemporaries, Muslim's *ḥadīth* criticism scored a triumphant victory during the lifetime of the next two generations of scholars. Owing to its uninterrupted chains of transmission (*isnād*s), the *Ṣaḥīḥ* came to be revered as a receptacle for the Prophet's true verbal relics (*āthār*, sg. *athar*),[1] while Muslim's tomb in his native Naysābūr in Northeastern Iran became a destination for ritual visits.

In 2018, I was asked by the editors of *Encyclopaedia of Islam Three* to contribute an article about Muslim. Because of this scholar's fame, I expected my work on the entry to come down to a dull summary of many publications that largely exhaust the biographical reports about the great Naysābūri traditionist and scrutinize his extant works, *ḥadīth*-critical method, and theology. Although numerous (especially in Arabic), the publications on Muslim failed to meet my expectations.

In the chapters devoted to Muslim's biography, I found no systematic examination of the primary sources about his life. The authors habitually base their expositions on al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Tārīkh Baghdād*, Ibn ʿAsākir's *Tārīkh Dimashq*, and al-Dhahabī's *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ* and *Tārīkh al-islām*, most of whose reports go back to a single lost source, to wit, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's *Tārīkh Naysābūr*. While according priority to the above synoptic biographies, modern-day scholars have largely neglected other, less comprehensive sources.

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[1] First noted by Dickinson, *Development* 484.

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The most conspicuous omission is al-Samʿānī's otherwise well-known *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, which includes unique information about Muslim and his closest circle.

Arabophone authors focus on Muslim's method, frequently designated as "Muslim's criterion" (*sharṭ Muslim*), as outlined in the Introduction and implied in the structure of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Their studies adhere to a typified exposition, which makes one think of a series of *mustakhraj*s (appendices), a term that classical *ḥadīth* scholars applied to a work that emulates the template and repeats the contents of a previous work. These works are overshadowed by Muslim's canonical image to an extent that often precludes raising questions about his once unorthodox opinion that the pronunciation (*lafẓ*) of the Quran is created and his sharp criticism of an anonymous opponent, possibly al-Bukhārī, at the end of the Introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

In Western academia, Ignaz Goldziher pioneered the study of Muslim with a three-page subchapter in the second volume of *Muhammedanische Studien*. Western researchers after Goldziher have produced a few publications about Muslim, mostly encyclopedia entries and journal articles centering on his method of *ḥadīth* criticism. Jonathan Brown's comprehensive survey of the canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim is the only monographic work in a non-Arabic language that I know to include Muslim as part of its title.

Muslim was not only a *ḥadīth* collector and critic but also a traditionalist theologian. Even though he shared important theological tenets with the Partisans of Tradition, no separate publication has been devoted to his theology up to this point, with the notable exception of Aisha Geissinger's study "Are men the majority in paradise, or women?" (2017). Probably on account of his serial *ḥadīth* citations, which are devoid of any commentary, such theologically defining chapters in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* as *Kitāb al-Īmān* (*Book of faith*) and *Kitāb al-Qadar* (*Book of predestination*) did not attract modern academics' attention, aside from important but scattered references in Wensinck's *Muslim creed* (1932) and Van Ess's *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* (1975). Similarly unexplored is Muslim's stance on key issues of political theology, including the status of the unbeliever, ʿAlī's ranking among the best Companions of the Prophet, the four-caliph doctrine, the Prophet's impeccability, and the collective probity of the first generation of Muslims.

Another striking gap in the academic research on Muslim is the absence of thoroughgoing studies of his works other than the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The canonical status of this collection transformed it into the almost exclusive object of study by modern scholars. Muslim's other works have rarely come to their attention, with the occasional exception of *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*, which proved attractive because of its methodological intersection with the Introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

Dull collections with transmitter names, such as *al-Ṭabaqāt*, *al-Munfaridāt wa-l-wuḥdān*, and *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*, have remained beyond the purview of academic engagement. Unappealing though they seem, these works hold the keys to understanding Muslim's method. From their contents, one may infer, for instance, the reason for al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's much-debated assertion that Muslim required a doubling of the chain at each successive register of transmission.

Many of Muslim's works have been lost. The chance of their discovery is slim, but no attention has been paid to the possibility of their survival as part of extant works by collectors other than Muslim. Such is the case with *Kitāb al-Mukhaḍramīn*, which has been preserved in al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*. Similarly, three short treatises on the informants of Mālik b. Anas, Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj, and Sufyān al-Thawrī are cited in full by Mughlaṭāy b. Qalīj in the respective entries of his *Ikmāl Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*.

The transmission history of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is routinely addressed by modern-day Muslim scholars, the most comprehensive studies being the introduction to the first critical edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by *Dār al-Taʾṣīl* and the respective publications by Mehmet Özafşar and ʿĀdil al-Sabīʿī. Purely descriptive, these studies bypass outstanding problems, such as the limited number of transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the first generation after Muslim, the obscure origin of Ibn Māhān's transmission through Aḥmad al-Qalānisī, the late discovery of the transmissions through Makkī b. ʿAbdān and Aḥmad b. al-Sharqī and their suspiciously high *isnād*s, and the reasons for the survival of Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān's transmission to the exclusion of all others. These studies give prominence to the major knots of transmission, whereas many less significant paths remain an uncharted territory, despite their importance for the nuanced reconstruction of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s transmission history and geography.

In the present monograph, I expand on the already achieved milestones and fill the gaps in our knowledge about Muslim's biography and works. In the first chapter, I examine our sources about Muslim's life and works and outline the state of the field. I highlight the preeminence of al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's first synoptic biography of Muslim and call attention to hitherto neglected works, including al-Samʿānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb* and Mughlaṭāy's *Ikmāl*, which are well-known, and to recently published sources, such as Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī's *Ghāyat al-ibtihāj*. The chapter includes a methodological excursus and an exposition on the most important technical terms that are used throughout the study. The function of *ijāza* (license to transmit) and *al-isnād al-ʿālī* (the high *isnād*) in the transmission culture of Muslim and those who passed on his *Ṣaḥīḥ* is critical for the adequate assessment of the ways this work was preserved and disseminated. The terms *aṣl* (base tradition) and *mutābiʿ* (auxiliary tradition), to take another example, provide the key to understanding Muslim's comparative approach to the evaluation of traditions, which underpins the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s structure.

The second chapter outlines the political and intellectual climate in Iraq and Northeastern Iran during the second/eighth and the first half of the third/ninth centuries. In contemporary studies about Muslim, this aspect has been treated sporadically and briefly, on the assumption that it forms the reader's implicit historical competence and background theological knowledge. The political and scholarly developments in Muslim's lifetime certainly need more attention, in light of the recent achievements in the study of Islamic intellectual history. These include Van Ess's seminal *Theology and society*, Melchert's *Formation of the Sunni schools of law*, and Watt's oft-neglected *Formative period of Islamic thought*. Mapping Muslim's historical background will help us better contextualize his attitudes towards the dogmatic and political issues that played a central role in the formation of the traditionalist current and Sunni identity at large.

Muslim's social milieu, education, scholarly circle, and political views are the subject of Chapter 3. I discuss the possibility of Muslim belonging to the social category of clients (*mawālī*). The chapter includes a study of the regional distribution of Muslim *shaykh*s in general and those most frequently cited in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in particular. It clearly shows the preponderance of Iraqi and Khurāsāni teachers at the expense of *shaykh*s from other parts of the Islamic empire. Compared with the number of *shaykh*s, Muslim's students were less numerous and resided mainly in Naysābūr, which suggests a regionally confined network of followers and transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the first generation after Muslim. The Miḥna (ca. 218–237/ca. 833–852), which set at loggerheads the political authority and the nascent traditionalist party in Baghdad and other parts of the caliphate, is an important topic in Chapter 3. Muslim witnessed this climactic event, although the repercussions in Ṭāhirid Naysābūr remained insignificant at best. In this chapter, I take up Muslim's attitude to ʿAlī and the Umayyad dynasty.

Chapter 4 examines Muslim's theology, using *Kitāb al-Īmān* and *Kitāb al-Qadar* in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and biographical reports about Muslim. I study Muslim's conception of *īmān* (faith), his definitions of *kufr* (unbelief) and *nifāq* (hypocrisy), and his views about the status of the sinner, *shafāʿa* (eschatological intercession on behalf of the sinners), *ruʾya* (beatific vision), the limits of *tawakkul* (fatalistic reliance on God), and other important aspects of the traditionalist curriculum. In the subchapter on free will and predestination, I argue that, in Muslim's opinion, God's foreordination of events (*qadar*) cooperates with men's ability and choice to act in a way that neither undermines God's decree nor depraves men of the freedom of action.

Chapter 5 includes a detailed study of Muslim's method of *ḥadīth* criticism. Muslim formulated his principles of transmitter evaluation in response to a vocal party of detractors, who accused the early critics of *ghība*, that is, aspersing other Muslims (many of whom were dead) in their absence. To avoid arbitrary judgment about past transmitters, Muslim foregrounded memory retentiveness (*ḥifẓ*) and *isnād* comparison as two objective principles of transmitter criticism. He also introduced the criterion of renown (*shuhra*) to lend credence to many instances in which renowned traditionists cite obscure informants from the previous generation. A significant part of Chapter 5 is devoted to Muslim's terminology of *ḥadīth* transmission and criticism, which has hitherto attracted only sporadic and superficial interest.

Chapter 6 is devoted to Muslim's works other than the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The chapter is divided into three subchapters, dealing with extant works, works that exist as citations in later *ḥadīth* collections, and lost works. The first category's detailed analysis fills a gap in the study of Muslim's oeuvre. The discovery of the second group is a major achievement of the present study. Little can be said about the third group, although I was able to unearth precious bits from *Kitāb al-Intifāʿ bi-uhub al-sibāʿ* (*Book on using the hides of dead animals*), *Kitāb ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb* (*Book on* [*the scholarly vices of*] *ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb*), and *Musnad ḥadīth Mālik* (a collection arranging Mālik's traditions according to his *shaykh*s).

In Chapter 7, I turn to Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Attention is paid to the collection's title, Muslim's purpose for composing the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and the timeframe of its compilation. I take up the issue, raised by al-Dāraquṭnī, of whether Muslim's collection is a *mustakhraj* of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. To answer this question, on the one hand, I compare Muslim's *Kitāb al-Qadar* with al-Bukhārī's corresponding *Kitāb*, and on the other hand, I compare it with the overall contents of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The chapter surveys the structure of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, including the number of books and traditions in the collection and the issue of chapter headings (*tarājim*, sg. *tarjama*) in Muslim's original text. At the chapter's end, I map the trajectory of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from being a work of local significance to becoming a canonical collection embodying the Prophet's true verbal relics.

Chapter 8 presents the reader with the most comprehensive study to date of the transmission history of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The exposition is arranged according to transmitter generations, beginning with the four known transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān, Aḥmad al-Qalānisī, Makkī b. ʿAbdān, and Aḥmad b. al-Sharqī. The problems surrounding the earliest stages of transmission are discussed in detail. The chapter includes biographical data about more than 200 transmitters, who flourished between the third/ninth and the tenth/sixteenth centuries. These biographies outline the geography of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s transmission over seven centuries after its composition. At the chapter's end, I digress to the printed editions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, although this topic needs to be studied in greater detail.

At the monograph's end, the reader will find ten appendices, which include empirical data underpinning some of my analyses and conclusions.

CHAPTER 1

The State of the Field and Method

1 Sources and Studies

1.1 *The Primary Sources about Muslim: al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī and a Few Others*

Notwithstanding Muslim's fame, the earliest biographical information about him is limited to a handful of sources. The oldest is the famous work of transmitter criticism, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl* (*Impugning and accrediting*), by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (b. 240/854–855, d. 327/938). Ibn Abī Ḥātim's matter-of-fact entry boils down to the statement that he met Muslim in Rayy and that Ibn Abī Ḥātim's father, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (b. 195/810–811, d. 277/890), considered Muslim sincere (*ṣadūq*) in transmission.[1]

Two reports praising Muslim's *ḥadīth*-criticism acumen are present in Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Manda's (Isfahan; 310–395/922–1005) treatise *Risāla fī bayān faḍl al-akhbār wa-sharḥ madhāhib ahl al-āthār wa-ḥaqīqat al-sunan wa-taṣḥīḥ al-riwāyāt* (*A treatise that elucidates the merits of reports and explains the approaches of the traditionists, the essence of the* [*legal*] *precedents, and* [*the ways of*] *accrediting narrations*), wrongly called *Shurūṭ al-aʾimma* (*Conditions of the imams*) by its modern editor.[2] The same reports may have been cited in Ibn Manda's currently lost *Tārīkh*, which was a voluminous collection of traditionist biographies.[3] Strikingly, Mughlaṭāy, who frequently cites this collection in the *Ikmāl*, does not refer to its contents in his entry on Muslim. Ibn Manda also has a two-sentence note about Muslim in his collection containing the teknonyms and nicknames of transmitters, *Fatḥ al-bāb fī l-kunā wa-l-alqāb*.[4] A short entry outlining the circle of Muslim's main teachers and students is part of Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim's (Naysābūr; d. 378/988–989)[5] *al-Asāmī wa-l-kunā*.[6]

The earliest synoptic biography of Muslim, based on a variety of first-hand sources, was compiled by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (312–405/933–1014) in his *Tārīkh Naysābūr*. Among these sources was al-Ḥākim's father, ʿAbdallāh b.

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[1] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ* viii, 182–183, no. 797.

[2] Ibn Manda, *Shurūṭ* 71–72, 73.

[3] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xvii, 33.

[4] Ibn Manda, *Fatḥ al-bāb* 245, no. 2086.

[5] Not to be confused with al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī.

[6] Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim, *Asāmī* ii, 352, no. 1777.

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Muḥammad b. Ḥamdawayh (Naysābūr; b. 244/858–859, d. 337/948–949), who, if we are to believe Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī's biographical note, lived to an age of ninety-three lunar years and heard personally from Muslim.[7] Al-Ḥākim may have incorporated in *Tārīkh Naysābūr* unacknowledged material from a similarly titled collection by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. al-Jārūd al-Naysābūrī (b. ca. 230/844–845, d. 307/919–920), which is not extant.[8] Regrettably, al-Ḥākim's precious work is presently lost, except a heavily abridged Persian version, *Kitāb Aḥvāl-i Nīshāpūr*, a facsimile of which was published by Richard N. Frye in 1965.[9]

Muslim's later biographers, including al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (392–463/1002–1071), al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā (Ceuta; 476–544/1088–1149); Ibn ʿAsākir (Damascus; 499–571/1105–1176), ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Samʿānī (Marw; 506–562/1113–1166), Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (Damascus; 577–643/1181–1245), Mughlaṭāy b. Qalīj (Cairo; d. 762/1361), and al-Dhahabī (Damascus; 673–748/1274–1348), drew heavily on al-Ḥākim's *Tārīkh*, but, judging from their differences, each of them used al-Ḥākim's material selectively. They frequently cite Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī's entry in *al-Jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl* and Ibn Manda's reports, albeit without identifying his *Risāla* as their source.

The earliest surviving biography of Muslim is found in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Tārīkh Baghdād*.[10] Out of thirteen biographical reports about Muslim, nine pass through al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, two pass through Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Manda, and two express al-Khaṭīb's own opinion, in one of which he enlists the support of al-Dāraquṭnī (Baghdad; 306–385/918–995). We do not possess al-Ḥākim's original text for comparison, but the convergence of al-Khaṭīb's *isnād*s on al-Ḥākim is an important criterion for identifying *Tārīkh Naysābūr* as al-Khaṭīb's primary source for information about Muslim.[11] Al-Khaṭīb cites three different direct informants who passed al-Ḥākim's material on to him (see Appendix 1, Diagram 1), which indicates that he received the *Tārīkh*, partly or in full, in three different ways. The most important of them passed through Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Yaʿqūb al-Wāsiṭī al-Muqriʾ (349–431/960–1040).[12] Al-Khaṭīb probably abridged al-Ḥākim's biographical article about Muslim. Al-Sakhāwī (830–902/1427–1497), who possessed a copy of *Tārīkh Naysābūr*, observed that al-Ḥākim's entries mostly exceed in length those in *Tārīkh Baghdād*.[13] Al-Khaṭīb keeps silent about his source for Ibn Manda's reports, but the *isnād* convergence and the identical *matn*s leave little reason to doubt that it was Ibn Manda's *Risāla*.

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[7] Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt* xvii, 268, cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam* xiv, 73.

[8] Al-ʿUmarī, *Mawārid* 270, with reference to al-Kattānī, *Risāla* 130, who, however, mentions only Ibn al-Jārūd's *Tārīkh*.

[9] On the structure of *Tārīkh Naysābūr* and the number of biographical entries in it, see al-ʿUmarī, *Mawārid* 270–271.

[10] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 121–125.

[11] In a study about Ibn ʿAsākir's sources, Jens Scheiner has formulated five indicators for identifying source citations: (1) a reference to the book title, (2) the compiler's statement that he read over the book to the author, to another informant in the author's precence, or to a later transmitter on the authority of the author, (3) several *isnād*s converging on a person who is known to have compiled a specific work, (4) a frequent repetition of the same *isnād*, and (5) a high degree of textual correspondence between the citation and the original text when the latter is preserved; Scheiner, "Single *isnād*s" 64–65; cf. Scheiner, "Ibn ʿAsākir's virtual library" 165–167 for a slightly different list of indicators. Zychowicz-Coghill (*First annals* 6–7) has added another criterion to this; namely, the branching of the

Al-Khaṭīb's reports on the authority of al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī form the backbone of Ibn ʿAsākir's extensive biographical entry on Muslim.[14] Although Ibn ʿAsākir does not explicitly point to *Tārīkh Baghdād* as his source, his *isnād*s converge on al-Khaṭīb and his *matn*s agree verbatim with the respective material in *Tārīkh Baghdad*, which satisfies two of the five criteria that Scheiner used for identifying Ibn ʿAsākir's written sources.[15] In eight instances, Ibn ʿAsākir cites chains of transmission that are absent in al-Khaṭīb's work (see Appendix 1, Diagram 2). Six of them pass through Abū l-Qāsim Zāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Shaḥḥāmī (Naysābūr; 446–533/1055–1138). Al-Shaḥḥāmī is known to have received large parts of *Tārīkh Naysābūr* from Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (active in Naysābūr; 384–458/994–1066),[16] which is reflected in the fact that four of Ibn ʿAsākir's unique traditions pass through al-Shaḥḥāmī → al-Bayhaqī → al-Ḥākim.[17] Given that another two of Ibn ʿAsākir's unique traditions are also transmitted on the authority of al-Ḥākim, it is clear that in Ibn ʿAsākir's lifetime *Tārīkh Naysābūr* had remained the only source that included an extensive biography of Muslim. It seems, however, that Ibn ʿAsākir did not possess a complete copy of this valuable work.[18] In his entry on Muslim, Ibn ʿAsākir also cites

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*isnād*s below the source. In al-Khaṭīb's *isnād*, the existence of such a branching below al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī is a strong indication that al-Khaṭīb used al-Ḥākim's *Tārīkh*.

[12] On al-Muqriʾ's significance as one of al-Khaṭīb's leading intermediaries to al-Ḥākim, see al-ʿUmarī, *Mawārid* 469; Brown, "Segment" 231–232.

[13] Al-ʿUmarī, *Mawārid* 269.

[14] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 85–95.

[15] See note 11 above. Elsewhere, Ibn ʿAsākir mentions that he used al-Khaṭīb's *Tārīkh* (e.g., Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* xliii, 71; xlviii, 222; l, 372). See also Scheiner, "Ibn ʿAsākir's virtual library" 237–238. The high degree of overlap between the texts of Ibn ʿAsākir and al-Khaṭīb lends support to the argument that Ibn ʿAsākir relied extensively on *Tārīkh Baghdād* (for more on the discussion, see Scheiner, "Ibn ʿAsākir's virtual library" 238, note 753).

[16] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 317.

[17] See note 11 above.

[18] The distribution of Ibn ʿAsākir's citations in his biographical article about Muslim clearly

the short notes found in Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī's *al-Jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*[19] and Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim's *al-Asāmī wa-l-kunā*.[20]

Al-Samʿānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb* includes a short biography of Muslim, with two reports praising the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[21] Although al-Samʿānī does not cite the chains of authorities, by way of comparison with *Tārīkh Baghdād* we may infer that he took the first report from al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, whereas the second report belongs to Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Manda. Despite the brevity of his biographical note, al-Samʿānī's collection at large is significant for the study of Muslim. Led by his interest in Muslim and his works, al-Samʿānī traveled to Naysābūr to study the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[22] During his stay in Muslim's native city, al-Samʿānī gathered reports about his earliest students that have no matches in Muslim's previous

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points in this direction. On four occasions, Ibn ʿAsākir cites al-Khaṭīb's report on the authority of al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī along with a parallel report on the authority of al-Ḥākim whose *isnād* does not include al-Khaṭīb (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lxviii, 88 = al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 123: Ibn Rāhwayh praises Muslim; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lxviii, 89–90 = al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 122: Abū Zurʿa and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī prefer Muslim to all *shaykh*s of his time; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lxviii, 92 = al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 122: Muslim composed the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from 300 000 audited traditions; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lxviii, 95 = al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 125: Muslim's death date). On four other occasions, Ibn ʿAsākir cites al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī on the authority of al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī without providing a parallel *isnād* (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lxviii, 90 = al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 123–124: Ibn ʿUqda prefers Muslim to al-Bukhārī; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lxviii, 91 = al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 124: Muslim kisses al-Bukhārī's forehead in an expression of reverence; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lxviii, 91 = al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 123: Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Manda praises Muslim and al-Bukhārī; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lxviii, 94 = al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 125: Muslim supports al-Bukhārī in the *lafẓ* dispute with al-Dhuhlī). It seems that Ibn ʿAsākir had a partial copy of *Tārīkh Naysābūr* or that he heard isolated traditions from it, without having a book. The same impression is conveyed by Ibn ʿAsākir's citations mentioning *Tārīkh Naysābūr* or al-Ḥākim's *Tārīkh* as the source of a biographical report. Once, Ibn ʿAsākir states about ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād that "this is what al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥāfiẓ mentions in *Tārīkh Naysābūr*, according to what I was informed (*fī-mā anbaʾanī*) by Abū Bakr Wajīh b. Ṭāhir and Abū Saʿd ʿAbdallāh b. Asʿad b. Ḥayyān, who said, etc." (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* xxxvii, 433–444). Ibn ʿAsākir's detached expression leads us to believe that his two informants were reporting to him an isolated tradition on the authority of al-Ḥākim that was otherwise present in his *Tārīkh*. By contrast, Ibn ʿAsākir states about Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasnawayh, "al-Ḥākim mentions him in *Tārīkh Naysābūr*, saying" (ibid. xlix, 150), which suggests an excerpt from a written copy of the work. Scheiner's assertion, "Ibn ʿAsākir had al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's book *Tārīkh Naysābūr* at hand" ("Ibn ʿAsākir's virtual library" 230) needs to be qualified, at least with regard to Muslim's biography in *Tārīkh Dimashq*.

[19] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 87 = Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ* viii, 182–183, no. 797.

[20] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 87 = Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim, *Asāmī* ii, 352, no. 1777.

[21] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iv, 503.

[22] Sellheim, al-Samʿānī 1024.

biographies. With the exception of Robson and Özafşar (citing Robson),[23] these precious reports, which are scattered across *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, have been unduly neglected by Muslim's biographers, both medieval and contemporary.

In the Muslim West, the Māliki judge of Ceuta ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā was the main contributor to Muslim's fame. In the introduction to his commentary *Ikmāl al-Muʿlim bi-fawāʾid Muslim*, al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ has a short biographical excursus on Muslim. The Qāḍī begins with three reports on the authority of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī citing al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī. Notably, in one of these reports al-Ḥākim adds to Ibn Rāhwayh's laudation of Muslim his own praise of Ibn Rāhwayh.[24] Since this statement by al-Ḥākim is not present in al-Khaṭīb's *Tārīkh Baghdād*, it is reasonable to assume that the Qāḍī consulted an original copy of al-Ḥākim's *Tārīkh Naysābūr* that may have differed from al-Khaṭīb's copy.

Apart from *Tārīkh Naysābūr*, the Qāḍī was conversant with al-Ḥākim's *Kitāb al-Madkhal ilā maʿrifat Kitāb al-Iklīl*, from which he cites al-Ḥākim's praise of al-Bukhārī and Muslim as well as his assertion that Muslim died before being able to complete the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[25] Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ likely possessed a copy of Maslama b. al-Qāsim's (Cordoba; b. 293/905–906, d. 353/964) now lost *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, from which he cites Maslama's acclamatory statement about Muslim.[26] Without revealing his immediate source, the Qāḍī cites statements about Muslim and his works by Abū Marwān al-Ṭubnī (Cordoba; 396–457/1006–1065), Abū Ḥāmid b. al-Sharqī (Naysābūr, 240–325/854–937), Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Āburrī (Sijistān; d. 363/974), and Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān (Naysābūr; d. 308/920), as well as Muslim's own boastful statement that the Partisans of Tradition will rely on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* for 200 years.[27] Insofar as Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān and Abū Ḥāmid b. al-Sharqī lived in Naysābūr, and al-Āburrī frequented the same city, it may be thought that *Tārīkh Naysābūr* or another presently lost work by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī was al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's source for these reports. Be that as it may, the Qāḍī's introduction to *Ikmāl al-Muʿlim* is a valuable addition to our biographical data about Muslim.

The renowned Damascene *ḥadīth* expert Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ exerted great efforts to collect information about Muslim for his work *Ṣiyānat Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (*Preserving Muslim's* Ṣaḥīḥ). Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ cites several biographical reports similar to those cited by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and Ibn ʿAsākir, although neither scholar is present in Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's chains of authorities.[28] Just like Ibn ʿAsākir's unique *isnād*s (see Appendix 1, Diagram 2), Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's chains pass through al-Bayhaqī, which leads one to infer that Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ was acquainted with Ibn ʿAsākir's biographical material on Muslim. On one occasion, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ refrains from disclosing his immediate informant.[29] Given the presence of the same tradition in Ibn ʿAsākir's unique material,[30] I suspect that in this case Ibn ʿAsākir was Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's unavowed source. In the same vein, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ cites two biographical reports that are found in al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's *Ikmāl al-Muʿlim*, without acknowledging his source.[31] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ claims to have possessed a parallel chain to one of al-Khaṭīb's biographical reports about Muslim on the authority of Ibn Manda (the only time he acknowledges his indebtedness to al-Khaṭīb's collection)[32] but does not identify the transmitters between himself and Ibn Manda who figure in this alternative chain. In the parlance of Muslim *ḥadīth* critics, such partial *isnād*s that lack several intermediaries between the collector and an informant far below his level are known as *muʿallaq* (suspended).

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[23] Robson, "Transmission" 54; Özafşar, "Rivâyet" 301. I am grateful to Fatma Kizil for drawing my attention to Özafşar's article and translating parts of it to me.

[24] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 97–98.

[25] Ibid. 100–101, 113–114 = al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Madkhal ilā maʿrifat Kitāb al-Iklīl* 72, 78 ≠ idem, *Madkhal ilā l-Ṣaḥīḥ* 112.

[26] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 100.

[27] Ibid. 99–101, 109–112.

In one of his citations, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ indicates that he possessed a copy of al-Ḥākim's *Tārīkh Naysābūr*, excerpts from which he read over to his informants for validation.[33] He also had access to a unique manuscript containing al-Ḥākim's presently lost book *Dhikr aʾimmat al-aqṭār al-muzakkīn li-ruwāt al-akhbār* (*Mentioning the imams of the provinces who sifted the transmitters of reports*), from which he derived information about Muslim's birthdate.[34] This datum was unavailable to Muslim's earlier biographers.[35]

Another Damascene contributor to Muslim's biography is Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī. Al-Dhahabī meticulously collected and arranged all information about Muslim's biography and method of *ḥadīth* criticism that was available to him. As may be expected, the larger part of al-Dhahabī's extensive biographical article in *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ* is derived from the earlier works of Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, al-Bardhaʿī, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, and Ibn ʿAsākir.[36] Additionally, al-Dhahabī must have possessed a copy of al-Ḥākim's *Tārīkh Naysābūr*, from which he cites a unique report about the place of Muslim's trade and his family estates.[37] From al-Ḥākim's *al-Madkhal ilā l-Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Dhahabī extracted al-Ḥākim's statement about Muslim's intended but unfinished structure of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[38] Regarding the same issue, al-Dhahabī consulted Ibn ʿAsākir's *al-Ishrāf ʿalā maʿrifat al-aṭrāf* (*Knowing the salient parts of traditions*).[39] Al-Dhahabī also surveys the earlier scholars' opinions about Muslim.[40] In his most remarkable comment, he avers that Muslim cut his ties of friendship with al-Bukhārī because of a methodological disagreement with him regarding the acceptability of an *isnād* in which the transmitter does not specify the exact way in which he received the tradition from his informant.[41]

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[28] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 61–67, 70–71.

[29] Ibid. 63–64.

[30] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 89: Isḥāq b. Manṣūr al-Kawsaj praises Muslim.

[31] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 67–68 = ʿIyāḍ b. Musa, *Muqaddima* 101, 110.

[32] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 68–69.

[33] Ibid. 64.

[34] Ibid. 64.

[35] The same collection was available to Ibn ʿAsākir (Scheiner, "Ibn ʿAsākir's virtual library" 230), but, strikingly, he does not mention anything about Muslim's birthdate.

The Cairene scholar Mughlaṭāy b. Qalīj does not include new biographical reports about Muslim in his *Ikmāl*, except for a statement of appraisal by Muḥammad b. al-Naḍr al-Jārūdī and Abū Yaʿqūb al-Qarrāb's (Herat; d. 429/1037–1038) report on the authority of Makkī b. ʿAbdān that Muslim died in 259/872–873.[42] The *Ikmāl* is, nevertheless, valuable for another reason. Largely neglected by present-day scholars, this collection incorporates data from many early biographical works that vanished during the centuries after Mughlaṭāy's death. True to form, Mughlaṭāy cites several biographical compendia by Muslim, including some that are presently lost. The latter group comprises the lists of those who passed on traditions to Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj, Sufyān al-Thawrī, and Mālik b. Anas, in the form of insertions under the respective biographical entries in the *Ikmāl*.

The familiar biographical reports by al-Ḥākim and Ibn Manda, often derived from secondary citations, form the basis of Muslim's biography in Ibn al-Jawzī's (Baghdad; 510–597/1126–1201) *al-Muntaẓam fī tārīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umam*,[43] ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī's (b. 541/1146–1147, d. 600/1203) *al-Kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl*,[44] Ibn Nuqṭa's (Baghdad; d. 629/1231) *al-Taqyīd li-maʿrifat ruwāt al-sunan wa-l-masānīd*,[45] Ibn Khalfūn's (Seville; 555–636/1160–1239) *al-Muʿlim bi-shu-*

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[36] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 557–580. See also al-Dhahabī's short treatise *Tarjamat al-imām Muslim*.

[37] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 570.

[38] Ibid. xii, 574 = al-Ḥākim, *Madkhal ilā l-Ṣaḥīḥ* 112.

[39] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 573–574.

[40] E.g., al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 574–577.

[41] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 573. For more on this issue, see pp. 156–162 below.

[42] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xi, 170.

[43] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam* xii, 171–172.

[44] Al-Maqdisī, *Kamāl* viii, 375–377.

[45] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* ii, 798–803. Ibn Nuqṭa's entry includes a valuable excursus on Muslim's

yūkh al-Bukhārī wa-Muslim,[46] Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr's (Mosul; 544–606/1149–1210) *Jāmiʿ al-uṣūl fī aḥādīth al-rasūl*,[47] al-Nawawī's (Damascus; 631–676/1233–1277) *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*,[48] al-Mizzī's (Damascus; 654–742/1256–1341) *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl*,[49] and Ibn Ḥajar's (Egypt; 773–852/1372–1449) *Tahdhīb Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl*.[50]

Unique bits of information about Muslim found their way into Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Bardhaʿī's (Azerbaijan; d. 292/904–905) compendium of Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī's pronouncements about the qualities of transmitters, Abū Yaʿlā al-Khalīlī's (Qazvin; b. ca. 366/976–977, d. 446/1055) *al-Irshād fī maʿrifat ʿulamāʾ al-ḥadīth*, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī's (Damascus; b. 581–582/1185–1186, d. 654/1256) voluminous dictionary *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, and Ibn Ḥajar's collection of the names of obfuscators of transmission, *Ṭabaqāt al-mudallisīn*. These reports will help us to shed light on important aspects of Muslim's method and his relationships with other *ḥadīth* scholars.

In addition to biographical reports, the present study draws on source material about the ways Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* was transmitted to posterity. Important information about the transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is included in the biographical dictionaries, most notably al-Samʿānī's *Ansāb*, Ibn Bashkuwāl's (Cordoba; 494–578/1101–1183) *Kitāb al-Ṣila*, al-Dhahabī's *Tārīkh al-islām* and *Tarjamat al-imām Muslim*, and al-Fāsī's (775–832/1373–1429) *Dhayl al-Taqyīd li-maʿrifat ruwāt al-sunan wa-l-masānīd*. Al-Fāsī's *Dhayl* is teeming with references to transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* during the author's lifetime and the two preceding centuries. Important as they are, the biographical dictionaries are of limited utility for the study of the transmission of Muslim' *Ṣaḥīḥ* (and any other collection for that matter). They mention someone as a transmitter in isolation or, in the best-case scenario, record his direct informant. Because of their focus on concrete individuals, the compilers of biographical compendia are not interested in these individuals' full *isnād*s to Muslim. Although in many instances the *isnād*s may be reconstructed as one studies the transmitter's *shaykh*s, their *shaykh*s, and so

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legal opinion about the permissibility of utilizing the hides of dead animals for making clothing.

[46] Ibn Khalfūn, *Muʿlim* 27–30.

[47] Ibn al-Athīr, *Jāmiʿ* i, 187–188.

[48] Al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* i, 11–23. Most of al-Nawawī's exposition, which focuses on Muslim's method in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, is based on Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's *Ṣiyāna*.

[49] Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* xxvii, 499–507. True to form, al-Mizzī devotes most of his entry to enumerating Muslim's *shaykh*s and students.

[50] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* x, 126–128. The end of Ibn Ḥajar's entry on Muslim is lost. This fact is regrettable, since Ibn Ḥajar frequently appended al-Mizzī's original work with additional, sometimes unique, biographical reports, precisely at the end of the entry.

forth up to the level of Muslim; such an exercise is burdened with mounting speculation. In the case of little-known transmitters, this kind of hypothetical reconstruction is downright impossible. For these reasons, I include most of the references found in the biographical dictionaries under the rubric "truncated transmissions."

There are two types of dictionaries, in which we find the collectors' entire *isnād*s to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The first type, under the names *mashyakha* and *muʿjam al-shuyūkh*, catalogs the collector's *shaykh*s together with the *isnād*s of one or more traditions that they passed on to the collector. These works include chains to individual traditions on Muslim's authority, which are usually identical to the paths of transmission of the entire *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Although the *shaykh* may well have transmitted only one tradition on the authority of Muslim, it may be treated as a metonymical representation of the entire *Ṣaḥīḥ*, especially after its canonization towards the end of the fourth/tenth century. The second type of dictionary documents the scholar's *isnād* to an entire *ḥadīth* collection. Known as *fihrist*, *barnāmaj*, and *thabat*, they grew popular from the fifth/eleventh century onward.[51]

In my survey of the transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I relied on al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's *al-Ghunya*, Ibn ʿAṭiyya's (Almeria; b. 481/1088–1089, d. 541–542/1146–1148 or 546/1151–1152) *Fihris*, Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī's (502–575/1109–1179) *Fahrasa*, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī's (Damascus; 569–643/1174–1245) *Juzʾ*, al-Tujībī's (North Africa, ca. 670–ca. 730/ca. 1271–ca. 1329) *Barnāmaj*, al-Dhahabī's *Muʿjam al-shuyūkh*, Ibn Ḥajar's *al-Muʿjam al-mufahras* and *al-Majmaʿ al-muʾassas*, al-Suyūṭī's (Egypt, 849–911/1445–1505) *Anshāb al-kuthub*,[52] al-Fulānī's (Medina; b. 1166/1752–1753, d. 1218/1803) *Qaṭf al-thamar*, and al-Shawkānī's (Yemen; d. 1250/1834) *Itḥāf al-akābir*. Especially valuable for our study is Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī's (Egypt; 1145–1205/1732–1791) recently published *Ghāyat al-ibtihāj*, in which the author records his informants for Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* together with their chains to the collection's source. Although late with respect to Muslim's lifetime and rife with *isnād*s that are hard to untwine, this work includes a number of unique paths of transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* through Makkī b. ʿAbdān.

In sum, four works by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī laid the foundation of Muslim's biography. By far the most important of them is the presently lost *Tārīkh Naysābūr*. This collection was accessible to several later biographers, including al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, al-Samʿānī, Ibn ʿAsākir, al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, and al-Dhahabī.

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[51] Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 254. For an insightful exposition on the abovementioned types of works, see ibid. 241–275.

[52] I am grateful to Christopher Melchert for drawing my attention to al-Suyūṭī's work.

By comparing their extensive biographies of Muslim, we may largely reconstruct al-Ḥākim's original text. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ possessed a copy of al-Ḥākim's *Dhikr a'immat al-aqṭār al-muzakkīn li-ruwāt al-akhbār*, but his fleeting reference to this book as a source for Muslim's birthdate does not allow us to judge whether it included other information about Muslim that Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ chose not to incorporate in his *Ṣiyāna*. Al-Ḥākim's *Kitāb al-Madkhal ilā maʿrifat Kitāb al-Iklīl* and *al-Madkhal ilā l-Ṣaḥīḥ* have survived, but the information about Muslim there is meager. Aside from al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, there are only a few early mentions of Muslim. Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī has a sketchy note about him in *al-Jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*. Two short statements about the reception of Muslim's works, going back to Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Akhram and Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ḥāfiẓ, are preserved in the *Risāla* by the famous Isfahani traditionist Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Manda. Although no biographical collections are associated with either al-Akhram or Abū ʿAlī, both must have had first-hand reports about Muslim from their *shaykh*s, who saw and heard the great Naysābūri traditionist. Our bibliographical survey clearly shows that fourth/ninth-century Naysābūr, Isfahan, and Rayy had been the earliest centers of interest in Muslim's deeds and works, from whence his fame spread across the Islamic world.

1.2 *Modern Research: In the Footsteps of Tradition*

For the present study, I consulted several arabophone monographs and articles. The following presentation is arranged chronologically, not in order of quality and importance.

Maḥmūd Fākhūrī's *al-Imām Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī ḥayātu-hu wa-Ṣaḥīḥu-hu* (*Imam Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī, his life, and his* Ṣaḥīḥ) is a short monograph published in 1979. It includes a biographical chapter about Muslim's life and works, and a study of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Fākhūrī focuses on the chronology of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s composition, its structure, and Muslim's criterion (*sharṭ*) for admitting traditions into the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. He also enumerates the different types of *ḥadīth* literature based on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

In 1982, Khalīl Ibrāhīm Mullā Khāṭir published a monograph entitled *Makānat al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (*The rank of the two* Ṣaḥīḥs) with the aim of rebutting those who found fault with some traditions in al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*s. The volume includes a systematically arranged exposition of the two scholars' method and expounds on the perception of their works, which ultimately came to be regarded as the soundest *ḥadīth* collections. Although underpinned by the presumption of the two scholars' infallibility, Mullā Khāṭir's discussion of the criticisms against them is an informative entry into the issues that accompanied the transformation of their *Ṣaḥīḥ*s into paragons of authenticity.

Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ṭawāliba's monograph *al-Imām Muslim wa-manhaju-hu fī Ṣaḥīḥi-hi* (*Imam Muslim and his method in his* Ṣaḥīḥ) is based on the author's PhD thesis at the Tunis University. Defended in 1988, the dissertation was published for the first time in 1998.[53] Ṭawāliba has collected the extant biographical reports about Muslim, cataloged his *shaykh*s, students, and the centers of learning that he visited, and described in brief his works, extant and lost. He examined the relationship between the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of Muslim and al-Bukhārī and surveyed the secondary literature based on Muslim's collection. Most of Ṭawāliba's research centers on Muslim's method, by which Ṭawāliba understands the evaluation of the *isnād*s and the way of dealing with *matn* differences and defects. Compared with Fākhūrī's monograph, Ṭawāliba has written a more detailed work that is superior in its exposition of Muslim's method.

Mashhūr b. Ḥasan Āl Salmān's *al-Imām Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj wa-manhaju-hu fī l-Ṣaḥīḥ wa-atharu-hu fī ʿilm al-ḥadīth* (*Imam Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, his method in the* Ṣaḥīḥ, *and his contribution to* ḥadīth *science* [1996]) is a two-volume study of Muslim's life and works, in which the author gives prominence to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Structurally, Āl Salmān's monograph agrees with Ṭawāliba's work to a degree that, had not the former been published two years earlier, one might be tempted to describe it as a *mustakhraj* of the latter.[54] Āl Salmān's detailed treatment of scholarly controversies regarding Muslim and his method is an indubitable merit of his work, but its execution is often disappointing. In his sprawling and largely inconclusive expositions, Āl Salmān piles up authority statements, labors to iron out their differences, and caps everything with lengthy summaries that boil down to the same authority statements reiterated in a shortened form.[55]

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿUtaybī's *Makānat al-Ṣaḥīḥayn wa-l-difāʿ ʿan Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (*The rank of the two* Ṣaḥīḥs *and defense of Muslim's* Ṣaḥīḥ [2007]) is another apologetic treatise praising Muslim's faultlessness. Unlike Mullā Khāṭir, who takes on Muslim's detractors in general, al-ʿUtaybī engages a single opponent, Shaykh ʿAdnān al-Qādirī. In a newspaper article, al-Qādirī questioned the authenticity of the tradition, cited by Muslim,[56] in which the Prophet com-mends the continuation of fasting during the first six days of the month of Shawwāl. In his rejoinder, al-ʿUtaybī adduces transmitter-critical arguments that, in his view, militate against the authenticity of an early version of the *ḥadīth* in which its *isnād* is not associated with the Prophet.

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[53] In the present monograph, I have used the second edition of Ṭawāliba's work, published in 1421/2000.

[54] Neither Ṭawāliba or Āl Salmān refer to each other's work, but one wonders about the reasons that led Ṭawāliba to publish his dissertation ten years after its defense and two years after the publication of Āl Salmān's monograph.

[55] See, for instance, Āl Salmān's tedious discussion of "Muslim's criterion" (*sharṭ Muslim*) in *ḥadīth* criticism; *al-Imām Muslim* ii, 457–497.

[56] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1164 (204) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 1187–1187.2.

Muḥammad al-Nūristānī published the short monograph *al-Madkhal ilā Ṣaḥīḥ al-imām Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj* (*An introduction to the* Ṣaḥīḥ *by imam Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj*) in 2007. As stated in the title, the monograph is a propaedeutic work that summarizes available knowledge about Muslim and his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Those conversant with the works of Ṭawāliba and Āl Salman will hardly need to go over al-Nūristānī's monograph.[57]

The authors of the above monographs take an apologetic stance on Muslim and his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which, in their view stands above criticism. The prominence they give to Muslim's method of evaluating traditions explains the structural similarities of their works, most evident in the monographs of Ṭawāliba and Āl Salmān. All the monographs share common shortcomings. Without exception, they include superficial introductory chapters, which lack a systematic description of the sources and state-of-the-art literature. The reader must glean the titles from occasional mentions in the main text and superficial footnote references. Āl Salmān and al-Nūristānī did not bother themselves to compile scholarly bibliographies. Ṭawāliba's monograph begins with a fragmentary presentation of his sources. The author provides no bibliographical data (date and place of publication, edition, etc.), which leaves the reader guessing between the many prints of a single work as well as wondering about the criteria of Ṭawāliba's PhD committee (or the book's editors), who connived at such a careless bibliography. In a similarly inept manner, al-ʿUtaybī omits the bibliographical data of his sources.

Although familiar with Muslim's oeuvre, while speaking about his method the authors of the abovementioned monographs mostly rely on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. However instructive it is about Muslim's understanding of sound traditions, his *magnum opus* must not be considered in isolation but within the broader context of his works. These works sometimes allow us to elucidate issues that are unclear in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Among these issues are Muslim's emphasis on the transmitter's renown (*shuhra*) as a criterion for validating unparalleled transmissions and interrupted chains and his alleged requirement of a continuous doubling of the *isnād* at each successive level of transmission.

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[57] In the short introduction to his book, al-Nūristānī acknowledges his indebtedness to Ṭawāliba and Āl Salmān; al-Nūristānī, *Madkhal* 8–9.

All arabophone monographs follow a standardized description of Muslim's life, based on the synoptic biographies by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, Ibn ʿAsākir, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, and al-Dhahabī, which, as we have seen, derive from al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's *Tārīkh Naysābūr* and, to a lesser extent, from Ibn Manda's *Risāla*. These monographs ignore off-key reports that may distort Muslim's idealized image and cast a shadow on his exemplary relationship with his famous peer, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī. Whereas Āl Salmān discusses the issue of Muslim's anonymous opponent at the end of the Introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, whom later scholars frequently identified as al-Bukhārī, the same issue is neglected by Fākhūrī, Ṭawāliba, and al-Nūristānī. I suspect that these writers were influenced by the apologetic consensus on the relationship between Muslim and al-Bukhārī, which excludes the possibility of methodological discord between the two pillars of *ḥadīth* criticism. As another point of scholarly consensus, all authors accept that Muslim died in 261/875. Even though Ṭawāliba, Āl Salmān, and al-ʿUtaybī list al-Samʿānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb* among their sources, none of them appear to have noticed his mention of 259/872–873 as another possible date of Muslim's death.

Aside from Muslim's methodology, the transmission history of his *Ṣaḥīḥ* has come to the attention of several recent writers. Among the abovementioned monographs, only Āl Salmān's *al-Imām Muslim* addresses this important topic in some detail.[58] In a 1999 article, Özafşar surveyed the transmissions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[59] A comprehensive chapter about the same topic is included in the introduction to Dār al-Taʾṣīl's first edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[60] In 2018, ʿĀdil b. Muḥammad al-Sabīʿī published an extensive survey of the transmissions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* entitled *Riwāyāt Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. Although poorly edited,[61] al-Sabīʿī's essay is a helpful guide into this still largely uncharted topic.[62] The studies of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s transmission are organized according to the generations (*ṭabaqāt*) of transmitters following Muslim. All are purely descriptive, that is, while recording the main transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* their authors do not engage in prosopographical analysis. For this reason, they either avoid or do not consider the implications of such significant data as Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Julūdī's loss of his records including Ibn Sufyān's transmission, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nasawī's problematic transmission on the authority of his contemporary al-Kisāʾī citing Ibn Sufyān, al-Kisāʾī's low reputation as a transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and Ibn Māhān's late discovery of Aḥmad al-Ashqar's narration on the authority of al-Qalānisī.

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[58] Āl Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim* i, 357–374.

[59] Özafşar, "Rivâyet."

[60] Taʾṣīl i, 117–176.

[61] E.g., on p. 128, the year 392 H is recorded as Muslim's birthdate! The same passage is repeated on pp. 156 and 157.

[62] In his bibliographical review, al-Sabīʿī ("Riwāyāt" 125–126) does not record Dār al-Taʾṣīl's study.

An important case in point is Aḥmad b. al-Sharqī's alleged transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Usually disregarded because of its mention in two late sources, al-Fāsī's *Dhayl al-Taqyīd* and al-Sakhāwī's *Ghunya*, Ibn al-Sharqī's narration has only received attention in al-Sabīʿī's study. While rightfully highlighting the suspicious silence of the Andalusian *ḥadīth* collectors about this narration, al-Sabīʿī ultimately supports its existence because it is mentioned by al-Fāsī on the authority of ʿUmar b. Diḥya.[63] Al-Sabīʿī does not survey al-Fāsī's *isnād*, which prevents him from noticing the feeble link between the Andalusian transmitter Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ghalbūn and his alleged informant, Abū Dharr al-Harawī, not to mention the 142-year gap between Ibn Diḥya's death and al-Fāsī's birth.[64] Neither al-Sabīʿī nor the other scholars who register Ibn al-Sharqī's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* examine the biographical reports about ʿUmar b. Diḥya, who was notorious for inventing traditions. Moreover, they fail to observe that al-Fāsī associates the same report with ʿUmar's brother, ʿUthmān b. Diḥya, thereby bearing witness to the utter confusion of this *isnād*.

All studies of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s transmission history focus on the major transmitters (e.g., Ibn Sufyān, Ibn Māhān, ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī, Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī, his great-grandson Manṣūr al-Furāwī, and al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ) to the exclusion of scores of less-well-known persons who contributed to the collection's spread throughout the Islamic world. The outstanding position of Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Julūdī as the transmitter of Ibn Sufyān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* has prevented modern students of Muslim's work from noticing that ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Dānī has preserved thirty-six traditions in the transmission of al-Julūdī's contemporary, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kisāʾī.

Material from Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is routinely used in theological debates. Despite Muslim's thoughtful arrangement of traditions in the *Book of faith* and the *Book of predestination*, I was unable to find an arabophone study of his theology. Muslim's fame as a traditionist and *ḥadīth* critic must have overshadowed his contribution to the development of traditionalist theology.

The onset of Western scholarship on al-Bukhārī and Muslim goes back to the second volume of Goldziher's classic *Muhammedanische Studien* (1890). In his short section on Muslim,[65] Goldziher focuses on his role as a *ḥadīth* critic. He astutely observes that Muslim groups all kindred traditions in a single cluster, unlike al-Bukhārī, who assigns them to different chapters in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. For this reason, Muslim's collection should be seen as a *ḥadīth*-critical exercise, which is not primarily concerned with the use of traditions in juristic practice. Goldziher became the first Western academic to touch upon the relationship between Muslim and al-Bukhārī, on the example of the contested acceptability of the generic preposition *ʿan* (from) as a term of scholarly citation.[66]

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[63] Al-Sabīʿī, "Riwāyāt" 170.

[64] Ibid. 171–172.

[65] Goldziher, *Studien* 245–248.

During the 120 years after the publication of Goldziher's *Studien*, Western academic interest in Muslim remained lackadaisical. In his monograph *The traditions of Islam* (1924), Alfred Guillaume devotes a few pages to Muslim and his *ḥadīth*-critical methodology.[67] In 1949, James Robson published an enlightening survey of the transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, likely inspired by Johann Fück's pathfinding essay about the transmission of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[68] Thirty-five years later, growing interest in the development of early *ḥadīth* criticism drew Gautier H.A. Juynboll's attention to Muslim's Introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. In a thoroughly annotated translation of this foundational text of *ḥadīth* criticism, Juynboll discusses Muslim's method and offers thoughts about the identity of his anonymous opponent at the Introduction's end. At the same time, Juynboll published an *EI*^{2} entry about Muslim, in which he expounds on Muslim's method and introduces the term "*matn* cluster" to describe the manner in which he groups under the same heading all traditions devoted to a single topic. In a 1994 monograph, Tarif Khalidi examined Muslim's Introduction and its significance for Arabic historical thought.[69] A short description of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and his method is included in John Burton's *Introduction to the hadith* (1994).[70]

The first academic monograph on al-Bukhārī and Muslim in a Western language was published by Jonathan Brown in 2007. Brown is mainly interested in the transformation of the two scholars' *Ṣaḥīḥ*s into canonical *ḥadīth* collections revered by the entire Sunni community as repositories of authentic reports about the Prophet's words and deeds. The monograph includes several sections dealing with Muslim's life and works, his method, and his relationship with al-Bukhārī.[71] For the first time, Brown has studied coherently the ritual function of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s and the veneration of their compilers.[72] In Chapter 7, I will provide additional evidence about the sanctification of Muslim and the rituals that have come to be performed on his grave since the end of the fifth/eleventh century. In two recent articles, Belal Abu-Alabbas[73] and Ghassan Abdul-Jabbar[74] address Muslim's methodology of *ḥadīth* criticism. Because of Muslim's significance as one of the founders of that scholarly branch, the interest in his methodology is expected to persist among students of the intellectual history of the third/ninth century.

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[66] For details on the dispute, see pp. 156–162 below.

[67] Guillaume, *Traditions of Islam* 31–32, 85–86.

[68] See Fück, "Beiträge."

[69] Khalidi, *Arabic historical thought* 39–43.

[70] Burton, *Introduction* 123–126.

[71] Brown, *Canonization* 47–98, 160–169.

[72] Ibid. 335–359.

Unlike the arabophone writers, several Western academics have cited Muslim's theological traditions, as part of general expositions on the issues of faith and predestination in Islam. However, they regard Muslim as a purveyor of explicative *ḥadīth*, not a theologian in his own right. Citations from Muslim's *Kitāb al-Īmān* and *Kitāb al-Qadar* are scattered throughout Guillaume's "Free will,"[75] Arent Wensinck's *Muslim creed*,[76] Montgomery Watt's "Free will and predestination,"[77] Helmer Ringgren's "Studies,"[78] William Graham's *Divine word*,[79] and Josef van Ess's *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie*.[80] None of these publications have treated Muslim's theological concepts as a separate topic. An important departure from this tendency has been marked by Aisha Geissinger's article on Muslim's anthropology and theology of the afterlife in *Kitāb al-Janna*. For the first time, Geissinger has analyzed an entire chapter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* as a single literary unit conveying a coherent message that has its moorings in the social order and theological debates as were familiar to Muslim and his contemporaries.[81] In another pathfinding study, Thomas Eich has thoroughly contextualized the three opening traditions in Muslim's *Kitāb al-Qadar*.[82] Muslim's theology is left unexplored in such excellent studies as Duncan Macdonald's *Muslim theology*, Watt's *Formative period*, Van Ess's *Theology and society*, and Binyamin Abrahamov's *Islamic theology*. The latter deals explicitly with the foundations of traditionalism[83] but falls short of tracing them to the works of third/ninth-century scholars, such as al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

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[73] Abu-Alabbas, "Principles."

[74] Abdul-Jabbar, "Collections" 145–147.

[75] Guillaume, "Some remarks" 57–58. Here Muslim only obscures and vulgarizes al-Bukhārī's superior texts.

[76] Wensink, *Muslim creed* 17–57 and *passim*.

[77] Watt, "Free will and predestination" 132, note 15.

[78] Ringgren, "Studies" 116–126.

[79] Graham, *Divine word* 83, 117–214.

[80] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 1–55, 102–103, and *passim*.

[81] Geissinger, "Are men the majority in paradise?"

[82] Eich, "Topos"; cf. idem, "The term *nasama*" 30–31.

[83] Abrahamov, *Islamic theology* 1–11 and *passim*.

Muslim's stance on the createdness of the pronunciation (*lafẓ*) of the Quran has come to the attention of Brown. In his opinion, there is insufficient evidence to support the hypothesis that, like al-Bukhārī, Muslim taught that *lafẓ* is created, on account of which he fell out with the head of Naysābūri traditionalists, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī.[84] In Chapter 4, I will present arguments that, indeed, Muslim and al-Dhuhlī quarreled over matters of theology.

2 Method

Writing about Muslim's life is above all an exercise in prosopography;[85] even more so is the history of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s transmission. Along the way from the third/ninth to the tenth/sixteenth century, we will meet hundreds of major and less-well-known transmitters of Muslim's *magnum opus*, who disseminated it across the vast expanse between al-Andalus in the west and Transoxiana in the east. The biographies of these men and women not only offer valuable information about the scholarly networks that preserved and circulated the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and attest to links between the centers of its transmission by way of pilgrimage, scholarly voyage, and mercantile travel, but they also signal discontinuities—whenever the possibility of transmission becomes tenuous or altogether vanishes.

Prosopography provides a partial remedy for the absence of contemporary or early sources about Muslim's life, which poses a major historiographical problem. Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's capacious *Tārīkh Naysābūr* has been regrettably lost, and the citations from it by Muslim's later biographers are selective and sometimes indirect. To offset this hurdle, we must direct our attention to the biographies of those who are known to have belonged to Muslim's scholarly circle. This shift of focus is capable of producing unexpected results. An illustrative case in point is the entry about Muslim's student Aḥmad b. Salama al-Naysābūrī in al-Samʿānī's *Ansāb*, in which Aḥmad states that Muslim died in 259/872–873.[86] This report contradicts the death date of 25 Rajab 261/05 May 875, which has dominated the scholarly discourse about Muslim for centuries.

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[84] Brown, *Canonization* 85–86.

[85] On the significance of prosopographical research in Islamic studies, see Juynboll, *Muslim tradition* 161–217; Judd, *Religious scholars* 23–26. On the genres of classical Islamic prosopography, see Gilliot, "Prosopography." For cautionary remarks about the limitations of Islamic biographical literature, see Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 180.

[86] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iv, 212.

Muslim's theological views may be gleaned from two main sources. One is the biographical literature, which is subject to the same limitations as the reports about Muslim's biography. Tapping from a single fount, the accounts of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ibn ʿAsākir, and al-Dhahabī were shaped under the canonical perception of Muslim's legacy articulated by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī. The information about Muslim's stance on important theological and political matters, such as the issue of *lafẓ*, is fuzzy and seems to reflect rival interpretations of Muslim's orthodoxy and his relations with the traditionalist party in Naysābūr in general and his famous colleague, al-Bukhārī, in particular.

Our immediate source for studying Muslim's theology is the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Although free from the issues besetting the biographical literature, this collection has problems of its own. As a tradition-based scholar, Muslim never sets out theological arguments in his own words. He lets traditions speak for themselves while leaving it to the reader to recognize the issue at hand and infer its solution, based on his ability to understand *ḥadīth* in correlation with external frameworks of reference. It is therefore important to contextualize the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s theological message within the historical circumstances that informed Muslim's attitude towards specific theological issues and determined his choice and arrangement of appurtenant traditions.

To tackle complex interpretative situations of the above type, Stephen Burge has proposed a methodology that he dubbed "compilation criticism." Building on Northrop Frye's *Great code* (1982) and Andrew Newman's *Formative period of twelver Shiʿism* (2000), Burge argues that individual traditions in topical collections[87] should not be treated as isolated units of meaning. They may be understood only in relation to their (1) adjacent traditions, (2) place in the collection at large, and (3) references to other *ḥadīth* collections. The process of compilation is embedded in specific historical circumstances that predetermine the compiler's selection of traditions and the way he arranges them when making a legal or a theological point.[88]

Muslim's selection of traditions was governed by considerations of authenticity, as outlined in the Introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, as well as by his legal preferences, theological concerns, and political attitudes.[89] The realization that the

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[87] Known as *muṣannaf*, such collections apportion their material to various legal, exegetical, or homiletic topics.

[88] Burge, "Myth, meaning and the order"; idem, "*Ḥadīth* literature."

[89] While, arguably, such concerns underlie the chapters in the *Muṣannaf*s of ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (126–211/744–827) and Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235/849), which are earlier than al-Bukhārī and Muslim, it remains to be studied to what extent they followed a specific arrangement of traditions within each individual chapter. ʿAbd al-Razzāq's *Kitāb*

Ṣaḥīḥ attained its shape in conversation with outside factors of influence will be conducive to our analysis of its theological chapters. By reading them contextually, we will be able to figure out the questions that Muslim addresses by including clusters of specific traditions under the headings of faith and free will and predestination and determine the reasons that made these issues so appealing to him.

3 Technical Terminology

Throughout this monograph, the reader will encounter a number of technical terms that require explanation. To facilitate reading and avoid ambiguity, in the following I discuss the most important of these terms. For even more terms relating to *ḥadīth* transmission, see Guenther's illuminating article "Assessing the sources."

ʿArḍ. See *qirāʾa*.

Aṣl (pl. *uṣūl*). Literally "origin" and "basis," this term refers to two concepts. First, in the structure of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* the *aṣl* is the lead-in tradition, around which the content of each individual section (*bāb*, pl. *abwāb*) is structured. Muslim uses the term *aṣl* to articulate the basic legal, theological, or moral message of the section, which he subsequently nuances with the aid of auxiliary traditions (see below). When later critics rejected a tradition as "baseless" (*lā aṣl*^{a} *la-hu*), they meant a narration that could not constitute an *aṣl* because, in the process of critical evaluation (*iʿtibār*, see below), it was proven to contradict an established *aṣl* or to be based on an unparalleled *isnād* comprising weak transmitters. Second, *aṣl* stands for the traditionist's original record of traditions, which his students use as a source for their transcripts (*nusakh*, sg. *nuskha*).

Auxiliary transmissions. In Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, the auxiliary traditions support the base tradition (*aṣl*) by introducing *isnād*s that run parallel to the main *isnād* down to a certain level of transmission at which point the two chains come together. If the parallel chains meet immediately below the level of two or more transmitters (e.g., A and B on the authority of C) or at the next lower level (e.g., A → B → E and C → D → E), the auxiliary *isnād*s are termed *mutābiʿāt* (sg. *mutābiʿ*). If the point of convergence is found still lower (e.g., A → B → C → G and D → E → F→ G), the auxiliary *isnād*s are termed *shawāhid* (sg. *shāhid*).[90]

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al-Qadar (*Book of predestination*), for example, is a record of traditions that represent opposing stances on predestination (Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 794–795), but hardly spell out ʿAbd al-Razzāq's own opinion on the issue.

[90] Ozkan, "Common link" 65–66.

High *isnād* (*isnād ʿālin*). By "high isnād" Muslim traditionists and *ḥadīth* experts designate the chain of transmission with the fewest intermediaries between a collector of traditions and the tradition's original speaker or a key transmitter at some remove from the original speaker. According to some *ḥadīth* experts, for an *isnād* to be high, the temporal gap between the death dates of two successive transmitters must be at least fifty years; others speak about at least thirty years.[91] *Ḥadīth* theorists regarded the high *isnād* as a bulwark against transmission errors.[92] Its actual importance, however, lies in the concept of proximity to the Prophet or a renowned transmitter from the later generations. The possessor of the shortest path to these authorities attains social prestige and scholarly preeminence. Ultimately, the pursuit of highness (*ʿuluww*) led to an uncritical acceptance of many chains that hardly met any criteria of authenticity.[93]

Ijāza (authorization, permission, license). Due to its significance for understanding the way Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* was transmitted, *ijāza* requires a nuanced exposition.[94] In the field of *ḥadīth* transmission, *ijāza* signifies the *shaykh*'s authorization of his students, who can then transmit on his authority traditions that they either heard from his mouth or received from him in another manner. In their chapters on *ijāza*, the early *ḥadīth* theorists Ibn Khallād al-Rāmahurmuzī (d. 360/971) and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī include numerous examples associating this practice with well-known scholars and *ḥadīth* transmitters, including al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (21–110/642–728), Makḥūl al-Shāmī (Damascus; d. 112–118/730–737), Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (Syria—Medina; d. 124/742), Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr (Syria, Arabia; d. 129–132/747–750), ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Jaʿfar (Egypt; d. 132–136/750–754), Abān b. Abī ʿAyyāsh (Basra; d. 138/755), Hishām b. ʿUrwa (Medina—Iraq; b. 61/680–681, d. 146/763), Shuʿayb b. Abī Ḥamza (Homs; d. 162–163/778–780), Khālid b. Khidāsh (Baghdad; d. 223/837–838), and Ibn Khuzayma (Naysābūr; 223–311/838–924). Even if formally going back to the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries, these reports are indicative of the transmission practices in the lifetimes of al-Rāmahurmuzī and al-Khaṭīb, who had to follow in the footsteps of exemplary forebears. As demonstrated by Garrett Davidson, sources earlier than al-Rāmahurmuzī bear witness to limited use of *ijāza* at the end of the third/ninth century, with its sphere of application restricted to nonlegal *ḥadīth*.[95]

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[91] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima* 261–262.

[92] Ibid. 256; cf. al-Rāmahurmuzī, *Muḥaddith* 216–222.

[93] On the high *isnād*, see Librande, "Categories"; Witkam, "High and low"; Senturk, *Narrative structure* 131–133, 147–149; Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 25–45.

[94] On *ijāza*, see al-Rāmahurmuzī, *Muḥaddith* 435–458; al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* ii, 281–344; ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ilmāʿ* 88–107; al-Silafī, *Wajīz*; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb* ii, 17–25; Sprenger, "Traditionswesen" 9–13; Goldziher, *Studien* 188–193; Guillaume, *Traditions of Islam* 36; Graham, "Traditionalism" 511–512; Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 108–151.

Al-Khaṭīb's extensive treatment of *ijāza* reveals important aspects of this practice in the fifth/eleventh century, the time when the transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* gained pace throughout the Islamic world. Many of al-Khaṭīb's reports testify to a liberal issuing and use of *ijāza*s in his lifetime. Sometimes a student or a fellow traditionist would bring a record (*kitāb, ṣaḥīfa, daftar*) to the *shaykh*, averring that it includes this *shaykh*'s traditions. Without much ado, the *shaykh* would authorize its further transmission on his authority. Instances in which the *shaykh* thoroughly read the records that were shown to him, as did al-Awzāʿī (Syria; 88–157/707–774)[96] and Ibn Ḥanbal (Baghdad; 164–241/780–855),[97] were apparently singular. Even these two pillars of *ḥadīth* scholarship would sometimes limit themselves to a perfunctory look at their students' records and promptly authorize them to transmit these records on their authority.[98] What is more, in Ibn Ḥanbal's lifetime Egyptian traditionists issued *ijāza*s without verifying the content of the notebooks presented to them.[99] In the previous generation, Mālik b. Anas (Medina; d. 179/795) is recorded to have done the same;[100] still earlier, al-Zuhrī was not foreign to this practice.[101] In another sign of transmission laxity, al-Layth b. Saʿd (Egypt; b. 94/712–713, d. 175/791) publicized traditions that he received as letters from other authorities without formally asking his correspondent for an explicit permission.[102] Without hesitation, he authorized to transmit on his authority anyone who asked for his sanction.[103]

Issuing *ijāza*s to absent persons through intermediaries was widespread from early on. Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (Kufa → Mecca; d. 198/814) authorized ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb (Egypt; 125–197/743–813) to transmit on his authority traditions that another person had read to him in ʿAbdallāh's absence the previous day.[104]

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[95] Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 113–117.
[96] Al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* ii, 288–289, no. 1044.
[97] Ibid. ii, 299, no. 1065; ii, 300, no. 1067.
[98] Ibid. ii, 288, no. 1043; ii, 294–295, nos. 1055–1056.
[99] Ibid. ii, 300–301, no. 1067.
[100] Ibid. ii, 301, no. 1068.
[101] Ibid. ii, 301, no. 1069.
[102] Ibid. ii, 287, no. 1040.
[103] Al-Rāmahurmuzī, *Muḥaddith* 440, no. 512; al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* ii, 288, no. 1042.
[104] Al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* ii, 292, nos. 1049–1050.

Similarly, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī (Naysābūr; b. ca. 172/788–789, d. 258/872) gave his *ijāza* to seven absent transmitters through the intermediacy of Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Bardhaʿī (Azerbaijan; d. 292/904–905).[105] Some *shaykh*s would issue authorizations to transmit their future narrations.[106] Blanket authorizations (*ijāzāt ʿāmma*) became commonplace in the fifth/eleventh and the following centuries. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan al-Hawzanī (Seville; b. 435/1043–1044, d. 512/1119) authorized Ibn ʿAṭiyya (Almeria; b. 481/1088–1089, d. 541–542/1146–1148 or 546/1151–1152) to transmit all collections that he possessed, including Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[107] Towards the end of his life, al-Muʾayyad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī (Naysābūr; b. 524/1129–1230, d. 617/1220) issued an unrestricted blanket license (*ijāza ʿāmma muṭlaqa*) authorizing everyone who was born in his lifetime to transmit on his authority everything he was known to have transmitted.[108]

Because of the inferior status that *ijāza* had in comparison with *samāʿ* (audition; see below), some traditionists concealed it behind circumlocutory terms that either denote or hint at audition. Clear statements, such as *aʿṭā-nī kitāb*^{an} (gave me a book) were theoretically preferable in cases of *ijāza*,[109] but in the lifetimes of al-Rāmahurmuzī and al-Khaṭīb transmitter practices allowed for the use of the roundabout *qāla* (said),[110] *ʿan* (from),[111] *ḥaddatha-nī/-nā* (told me/us),[112] *akhbara-nī/-nā* (reported to me/us),[113] and *anbaʾa-nā*

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[105] Ibid. ii, 299–300, no. 1066. For more on the acceptability of authorizing absent persons, see ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ilmāʿ* 103–105.

[106] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ilmāʿ* 105–107.

[107] Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Fihris* 121–122.

[108] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* ii, 417, no. 2525. On this type of *ijāza*, see ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ilmāʿ* 98; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb* ii, 17, 19–20. Some *shaykh*s issued licenses to unborn children (*ijāzāt al-maʿdūm*), by which they authorized someone and his future progeny to transmit on their authority—however, this was a highly disputed practice; ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ilmāʿ* 104–105; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb* ii, 22. Ibn Abī Dāwūd (Sijistān; d. 316/929) issued a comprehensive *ijāza* to transmit his works to an unnamed student together with his sons and their still unborn children; al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* ii, 295, no. 1058.

[109] Al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* ii, 308–309, no. 1076.

[110] Al-Rāmahurmuzī, *Muḥaddith* 436, no. 502.

[111] Al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* ii, 304, no. 1071.

[112] Al-Rāmahurmuzī, *Muḥaddith* 439, no. 509; 451, no. 540; al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* ii, 293, no. 1052; ii, 309–310, nos. 1078–1079; ii, 311, no. 1081; cf. ii, 298, no. 1061, in which Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad describes Ibn Jurayj's *samāʿ* from al-Zuhrī as being entirely based on *ʿarḍ* and *munāwala*. For a general statement that some scholars allowed using the expression *ḥaddatha-nā* in cases of *ijāza*, see ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 370–371; idem, *Ilmāʿ* 89–91.

[113] Al-Rāmahurmuzī, *Muḥaddith* 436, no. 501; 440–441, no. 513; al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* ii, 312, nos. 1082–1083; ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 370–371; idem, *Ilmāʿ* 91.

(informed us).[114] Sometimes, *ḥadīth* collectors from the generations of Ibn Ḥajar and al-Suyūṭī would take two parallel *isnād*s that alternated *samāʿ* and *ijāza* in such a manner that whenever one included audition, its counterpart had a license, and vice versa, and they would consider both as based solely on audition.[115] Such a terminological substitution obfuscated many instances of indirect transmission and obscured sources of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s manuscripts, especially when it became an indivisible part of the scholarly curriculum in Sunni Islam.

The above practices bear witness to a culture of *ḥadīth* transmission that condoned perfunctorily skimming through the student's notebooks, granting the authenticity of their attribution without examination, and, ultimately, authorizing people of unknown scholarly merits to transmit the entire scope of one's collections. Based on the adduced examples, we may think that, as the transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* became widespread, many transmitters, especially the pivotal ones, authorized numerous students to transmit on their authority material of unverified accuracy. In the best-case scenario, the written record would be based on audition (*samāʿ*) or reading over (*qirāʾa*) to the teacher, but presumably many records that students showed (*ʿarḍ, muʿāraḍa*) to renowned teachers were transcribed from original copies (*uṣūl*) of uncertain provenance.[116]

Another factor favoring transmission by *ijāza* was the requirement for high *isnād*s. In the introduction to his *Anshāb al-kuthub*, al-Suyūṭī acknowledges that he preferred *isnād*s consisting exclusively of *ijāza*s to *isnād*s combining *ijāza* with *samāʿ* whenever the former were higher than the latter.[117] Although realizing that the *ijāza* was inferior to reading to the *shaykh*,[118] al-Suyūṭī was conscious of the fact that many instances of perceived audition were only disguised *ijāza*s; hence, other criteria of selection could be applied to the respective *isnād*s.

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[114] Al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* ii, 309, no. 1077; ii, 311, no. 1080.

[115] E.g., A → *samāʿ* B → *ijāza* C and A *ijāza* D → *samāʿ* C combine to produce continuous *samāʿ*, notwithstanding that, in fact, A did not have an audition from D and B did not have it from C; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb* ii, 20.

[116] The biography of the Baghdadi traditionist and copyist Ibn al-Khāḍiba (b. after 430/1038–1039, d. 489/1096) gives us an inkling of the production of such copies. Ibn al-Khāḍiba recalls that in the year 466/1073–1074, when Baghdad was severely flooded, he struggled to sustain his family and had to copy Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* for remuneration seven times; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xix, 112. About the flood, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* viii, 403–404. Neither Ibn al-Khāḍiba's source, nor the identity of those who ordered the copies is known.

[117] Al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 59.

[118] Al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb* ii, 19.

The many limitations and hidden flaws of the *ijāza* system must be borne in mind as we consider the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Chapter 8. They were known to *ḥadīth* experts, who drew a clear distinction between *ijāza* and *samāʿ*, for which see the term "samāʿ" below.

Iʿtibār (corroboration). By this term, Muslim *ḥadīth* critics designate the process of looking for auxiliary narrations in the form of *mutābiʿāt* and *shawāhid* and collating them with the *aṣl*.

Low isnād (*isnād nāzil*). Any *isnād* is low that features one or several additional intermediaries in comparison with another *isnād* that carries a similar *matn* from the same original speaker or the same key transmitter at some remove from the original speaker.

Mukātaba (correspondence) is a procedure of *ḥadīth* transmission whereby one transmitter solicits another transmitter to communicate to him a single tradition, a group of traditions, or an entire *ḥadīth* collection in a written form. Traditions might also be exchanged as part of the ordinary correspondence between traditionists.[119]

Munāwala (handing over) is a procedure whereby the *shaykh* hands over to the student his *aṣl*, which the student copies and subsequently collates with the *aṣl* while aided by the *shaykh*. An early form of *munāwala* may have been in place already in the lifetimes of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (Damascus—Medina; d. 124/742),[120] ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Jaʿfar (Egypt; d. 132–136/750–754), and Bukayr b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ashajj (Medina → Egypt; d. 120/737).[121]

Mustakhraj (appendix) is a *hadith* collection that repeats the structure and contents of another (well-known) collection based on alternative chains of transmission. The *mustakhraj*'s chains coincide with the chains of the template collection at different levels of transmission and usually diverge from them at the level of the collector's teacher or his teacher's teacher.

Mutābiʿ (pl. *mutābiʿāt*). See "Auxiliary transmissions."

Qirāʾa (reading over). Usually followed by the preposition *ʿalā* (to), *qirāʾa* signifies the student reading over to the *shaykh*. In the *qirāʾa* sessions, the student reads over to the *shaykh* his transcript from the *shaykh*'s *aṣl*. In the best-case scenario, the two texts are entirely collated with the aim of finding and removing errors in the student's transcript. A technique closely related to *qirāʾa* is *ʿarḍ* (showing to [the *shaykh*]). It may have been practiced as early as the lifetime of al-Zuhrī, who in a somewhat careless manner approved without checking a notebook with traditions brought to him by the Umayyad prince Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd.[122]

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[119] Al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* ii, 330–331.

[120] Sprenger, "Traditionswesen" 13; Schoeler, "Recording" 59.

[121] Both ʿUbayd Allāh and Bukayr is said to have handed over records with traditions to al-Layth b. Saʿd; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* viii, 462, 465.

Samāʿ (audition). Listening to the *shaykh* throughout his public sessions ranked as the most reliable way of *ḥadīth* transmission, usually signaled by the verb *ḥaddatha-nī/-nā* (told me/us). Oral delivery was widespread in the second/eighth and the third/ninth centuries and became institutionalized as the *shaykh*'s *samāʿāt* in the fourth/eleventh century.[123] With the ever-growing corpus of traditions and the emergence of capacious *ḥadīth* collections in the third/ninth century, traditionists began to apply new methods of transmission. The *munāwala* was especially convenient as it passed the burden of copying the *shaykh*'s *aṣl* to the student. Although formally required to collate the student's copy with his *aṣl*, the *shaykh* would often limit the collation to a part of the work or authorize the student to transmit on his authority without collating at all.[124] Over time, audition lost its importance vis-à-vis *ijāza*. Routinely, the student would hear a small portion of the work from the *shaykh* and receive an *ijāza* for the remaining part. This is clear from the terms that Ibn Ḥajar and al-Suyūṭī use to describe how they received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from their *shaykh*s, as well as the *shaykhs*' way of communication with their teachers and so forth. They frequently admit to having gotten Muslim's collection partly by audition and partly by *ijāza*.[125]

***Samāʿ ḥuḍūr**^an^* (audition by attendance) is audition by small children or babies who had not attained the age of consciousness for listening to and recording *ḥadīth*. Audition by attendance might be confined to a ritual presence at one or several sessions by the *shaykh*, with the father or a servant making records for the child, whereupon the child is given an *ijāza* to transmit on the *shaykh*'s authority. We do not possess information about the spread of *samāʿ ḥuḍūr^an^* in Muslim's lifetime, but Bulliet has calculated that during the period between 317 and 514/929 and 1120, the typical *ḥadīth* student in Naysābūr commenced his study at an age ranging between 4.8 and 10.2 years old.[126] This practice differs strikingly from the habit of bringing small children to the *shaykh*'s lessons that came to prevail in later centuries.[127]

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[122] For a discussion of this tradition, see Lecker, "Biographical notes" 28–31. According to Sprenger and Abbot, *ʿarḍ* was widespread in al-Zuhrī's lifetime; Sprenger, *Leben* iii, xcvi–xcvii; Abbot, *Studies* ii, 53. However, this conclusion is based on Sprenger and Abbot's presumption that personal notes and written transmission of knowledge were the scholarly norm already in the first/seventh century.

[123] On the latter development, see Schoeler, "Recording" 97.

[124] Al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* ii, 301–303; cf. Sprenger, "Traditionswesen" 10.

[125] This practice goes as far back as the lifetime of al-Bukhārī and Muslim; Schoeler, "Recording" 108.

Shāhid (pl. *shawāhid*). See "Auxiliary transmissions."

4 Determining the *ḥadīth* Transmitters' Dates of Birth and Death

I took upon myself the task of identifying the birth and death dates of hundreds of *ḥadīth* scholars and transmitters whenever possible. The knowledge of these dates is significant for determining whether any of them may have met his alleged informant. It is also indicative of the *isnād*'s degree of highness and the age at which the reporter attended the informant's lessons. Although cumbersome, the mention of birth and death dates will give the reader an inkling of the perceived longevity of *ḥadīth* transmitters, whose lives mostly extended—if we are to believe the *isnād*s—to octogenarian, nonagenarian, and even centenarian spans.

Determining the *ḥadīth* transmitters' birth and death dates is a taxing endeavor, especially with respect to the first two centuries of the Islamic calendar. Sometimes, these dates are unknown, whereas on other occasions the sources give tentative chronologies that may vary within a considerable range of years. The problem is rooted in the history of *ḥadīth* criticism. During the second/eighth century, no systematic interest in the biographies of transmitters existed, whereas the third/ninth century saw the emergence and early development of critical *ḥadīth* scholarship. The early critics combed the *isnād*s for chronological hints; hence, the sprawling chronologies for many transmitters' death or the absence of such data altogether. After the advent of professional *ḥadīth* criticism, biographical information became more readily available. We frequently know the year and the month, and sometimes even the day of death, for most transmitters who flourished in the fourth/tenth and the later centuries. In many instances, these transmitters' birthdates are remembered with great accuracy.

For the birth and death dates of traditionists who were active during the second/eighth and the third/ninth centuries, I have relied on four synoptic sources. If a date is cited by Muḥammad b. Saʿd (Basra → Baghdad; d. ca. 230/845), I tend to prefer it because of its mention in the earliest surviving biographical dictionary. My other sources are al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Tārīkh Baghdād*,

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[126] Bulliet, "Age structure" 109; cf. Melchert, "Transmission of hadith" 234.

[127] Dickinson, "Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ" 498–499.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Mughlaṭāy's *Ikmāl* , and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's *Tahdhīb*, who had an outstanding interest in chronology. Whenever they give a range of dates but prefer one of them, I cite the preferred date, while realizing that the respective author may have made an arbitrary choice. If they give several dates without signaling that one of them is preferable to the others, and if no date is given by Ibn Saʿd, I cite the chronological range. If there is a range of dates within which one date is more specific than the others (e.g., 22 Rabīʿ ii 238 vs. 238), I prefer the specific date, because it allows me to avoid clumsy split dates, such as 238/852–853.

Local histories are likely to preserve the most accurate biographical data about the traditionists in a specific city or region. If extant, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's *Tārīkh Naysābūr* would have been paramount to the present study. Valuable excerpts from it, including death dates, are preserved in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Tārīkh Baghdād*, al-Samʿānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, and al-Dhahabī's *Tārīkh al-islām*. For the death dates of Andalusian traditionists, I rely on Ibn Bashkuwāl's (Cordoba; 494–578/1101–1183) *Kitāb al-Ṣila*, Ibn al-Abbār's (Valencia → Tunis; 595–658/1199–1260) *al-Takmila li-Kitāb al-Ṣila*, and al-Dhahabī's *Tārīkh al-islām*. If necessary, a comparison is made with data in other biographical works, such as Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ's (Basra; d. 240/854–855) *Tārīkh* and *Ṭabaqāt*, al-Fallās's (Basra; d. 249/864) *Tārīkh*, al-Bukhārī's (194–256/810–870) *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī's (b. 240/854–855, d. 327/938) *al-Jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, Ibn Ḥibbān's *Thiqāt*, Ibn ʿAsākir's *Tārīkh Dimashq*, al-Mizzī's (Damascus; 654–742/1256–1341) *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, and other works mentioned in the respective footnotes. Among modern-day publications, valuable chronological references are found in the second and the third editions of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Van Ess's *Theology and society*, and Juynboll's *Encyclopedia of canonical ḥadīth*.

5 Determining the Distance between Centers of Learning

Occasionally, I mention the distance between different centers of learning in the caliphate in kilometers and days of travel to give the reader an idea about the likelihood of scholars' movement between these centers. In each case, I have relied on the georeferences provided in the al-Ṯurayyā project.[128]

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[128] See https://althurayya.github.io/ (last accessed: 14 December 2021).

CHAPTER 2

Iraq and Northeastern Iran in Muslim's Lifetime: Politics and Intellectual Currents

1 The City of Naysābūr

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj spent most of his scholarly life in his native city of Naysābūr. Located in a valley 740 km. to the east of present-day Tehran, Nishāpūr was founded by the second Sasanid king, Shāpūr I (r. 239–270 CE) and rebuilt by Shāpūr II (r. 309–379 CE). The name of the city derives from the Pahlavi form *Nēv-shāpūhr*, "the fair [city] of Shāpūr."[1] Under the Sasanids, Nishāpūr became the administrative center of the province of Abarshahr. The first Arab conquerors and their successors hardly distinguished between the names of the city and its area; hence, Nishāpūr was designated as Abarshahr on many coins minted during the Umayyad and the early ʿAbbāsid periods. As early as about 772 CE (ca. 155 H) the mint name *nys'bwr* began to be mentioned, while Abarshahr continued to appear on ʿAbbāsid coins until about 825 CE (ca. 209 H).[2] The toponymic shift to the Arabicized form Naysābūr, which took place in the second half of the second/eighth century, is reflected in the early Arabic literary sources. Although familiar with Abarshahr,[3] they habitually refer to the city by the name Naysābūr, which I have chosen to use in this monograph.

The Arabs conquered Naysābūr in the year 30/651 or 31/652, led by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir, who served as ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān's governor of Basra between 29 and 35/649 and 656. Under the Umayyads and the early ʿAbbāsids, the city lost its importance to Marw, which lies 350 km. to the northeast of Naysābūr.[4] The city rose back to political and cultural prominence again under the Sunni Ṭāhirid dynasty, which ruled Khurāsān between 205 and 259/821 and 873. In 215/830, the second Ṭāhirid emir, ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn (r. 215–230/830–245),

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[1] Nöldeke, *Geschichte* 59, note 3; Jackson, *From Constantinople* 246.

[2] Gaube, "Abaršahr."

[3] Thus Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt* vii, 423) states that Nāfiʿ, the famous client (*mawlā*) of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar, was captured during the conquest of Abarshahr.

[4] On the early history of Nishāpūr and its region, see Jackson, *From Constantinople* 246–251. An enlightening sketch about Naysābūr is included in Bulliet, *Patricians* 5–19. On the province of Abarshahr (Aprshahr) and its districts, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr* 74–75; Gaube, "Abaršahr." For further details, see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate* 383; Frye, *Histories* 8–9; Honigmann and Bosworth, "Nis͟hāpūr" 62–64.

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chose the city as his government's residence. After the fall of the Ṭāhirids, Naysābūr continued to prosper under Sāmānid and Ghaznawid rule.

As the center of Ṭāhirid rule, Naysābūr was inevitably involved in the important events that shook the ʿAbbāsid caliphate during the first half of the third/ninth century. The Miḥna (ca. 218–237/ca. 833–852) contributed to the emergence of the Partisans of Tradition, an influential group of traditionists, jurists, and theologians, one of whom was Muslim. Towards the end of Muslim's life, Naysābūr was engulfed in the political turmoil that followed the killing of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil ʿalā l-Lāh in Sāmarrāʾ in 247/861 and the fall of the Ṭāhirid dynasty in 259/873.

2 The Miḥna

The ontological status of God's speech became the crux of a theological schism and political clash remembered as the Miḥna (Inquisition). The Miḥna was instituted by the caliph al-Maʾmūn (r. 198–218/813–833) in 218/833 with the aim of asserting his authority over the proto-Sunni religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*). Many of them were tried (*umtuḥina*; hence Miḥna) and asked to profess the rationalistic postulate that God's speech is created (*khalq al-Qurʾān*).[5] The Miḥna continued under al-Maʾmūn's successors, al-Muʿtaṣim (r. 218–227/833–842) and al-Wāthiq (r. 227–232/842–847), against mounting resistance by the *ʿulamāʾ*, who were led by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. The opponents of the *khalq* doctrine, who asserted that God's speech is eternal, coalesced into a party that came to be known as *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamāʿa* (Partisans of [prophetic] tradition and communal unity) and *ahl al-ḥadīth* (Partisans of Tradition). They insisted that legal and exegetical knowledge should be derived exclusively from textual sources (the Quran and *ḥadīth*) and shunned unrestricted use of reason (*raʾy*) in these matters. Ultimately, their opposition contributed to al-Mutawakkil's (r. 232–247/847–861) decision to put an end to the Miḥna between 232 and 237/847 and 852.[6]

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[5] On the Miḥna, see Van Ess, *Theology and society* iii, 483–521; Nawas, "Reexamination"; idem, "*Miḥna*"; Zaman, *Religion and politics* 106–114; Shah, "Trajectories." Melchert's article "Inquisition outside Baghdad" is the most comprehensive study of the Miḥna in the provinces of the caliphate. On the teaching of the Quran's createdness, see Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 203–257; Wolfson, *Philosophy* 263–303.

[6] On the chronology of the Miḥna, see Melchert, "Religious policies" 320–321; idem, "Inquisition" 201.

There are no extant attestations to the spread of the Miḥna in Naysābūr. Richard Bulliet has spoken about it in general terms, without specific examples;[7] it must have remained "a dead letter" in Naysābūr as well as across Khurāsān.[8] The Ṭāhirids in Naysābūr appear to have been on close terms with the traditionalist scholars. Isḥāq b. Rāhwayh (161–238/778–853), a believer in the eternity of God's speech,[9] was a prominent figure in the learned assemblies (*majālis*, sg. *majlis*) of two Ṭāhirid emirs. According to our sources, he explained in the presence of each of ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir (213–230/828–845)[10] and Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir (230–248/845–862)[11] the famous *ḥadīth al-nuzūl* (the *ḥadīth* of descent). Asserting that God sits on a throne and each night descends to the lowest heaven, this tradition was one of the mainstays of the traditionalist curriculum. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh also employed Ibn Rāhwayh as a tutor of his son Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, the last Ṭāhirid governor of Khurāsān (r. 248–259/862–873).[12] Although the former two reports depict ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir and Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh as initially sceptical about the possibility of God's movement from the highest to the lowest heaven, they go on to describe how both emirs eventually deferred to Ibn Rāhwayh's advocacy of *ḥadīth al-nuzūl*. In another report, Ibn Rāhwayh debates in a traditionist manner the meaning of faith (*īmān*) before Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh and a group of jurists and *ḥadīth* transmitters including the ascetic Abū l-Ṣalt ʿAbd al-Salām b. Ṣāliḥ al-Harawī (d. 236/851).[13] These reports suggest that during the Miḥna the Ṭāhirid governors of Khurāsān were sympathetic to the emerging Partisans of Tradition, hence hardly enthusiastic about the *khalq al-Qurʾān* teaching.

Even though Naysābūr remained on the fringe of the Inquisition, the trial of *ʿulamāʾ* in other centers of the caliphate triggered the emergence of a strong traditionalist party in the city. Since the 230s/840s, the party was headed by

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[7] Bulliet, *Patricians* 34–35.

[8] Melchert, "Inquisition" 207. The enforcement of the Miḥna in Isfahan, 860 km. to the southwest of Naysābūr, was lackadaisical, and ended immediately after al-Wāthiq's death in 232/847; ibid. 208.

[9] Ibn Rāhwayh argued, somewhat abstrusely, that the Quran is uncreated because "something that issues from God cannot be created." He also denounced as Jahmi heretics the abstainers who refused to take side in the creation dispute; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xi, 376.

[10] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Manda, *al-Radd ʿalā man zaʿama anna l-lāha fī kulli makān*, *apud* Ibn Taymiyya, *Sharḥ* 184–187.

[11] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xi, 376; noted by Holtzman, *Anthropomorphism* 193–194.

[12] Bosworth, "Tahirids and Arabic Culture" 70.

[13] Al-Ṭūsī, *Amālī* ii, 64; noted by Van Ess, *Theology and society* iii, 169. Ibn Rāhwayh had reservations about Abū l-Ṣalt's *isnād*, which passes exclusively through Shiʿi imams.

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī (b. ca. 172/788–789, d. 258/872), an influential Naysābūri traditionist, who made Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal the definitive guide (*imām*) between himself and God.[14] Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā was succeeded by his son, Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (better known by the soubriquet Ḥaykān). Ḥaykān spent a while as a leader of the volunteer militia (*muṭṭawiʿa*, *mutaṭawwiʿa*) who engaged in *jihād* against the heathen tribes on the eastern-Iranian border of the caliphate.[15] An ascetic warrior more than a traditionalist scholar,[16] Ḥaykān led the Partisans of Tradition in Naysābūr until his killing in 267/881 at the hands of the Balkhi warlord Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khujistānī (d. 268/882).

3 Political Factions

Since the beginning of the second/eighth century, parts of Khurāsān witnessed the spread of Khariji movements. In the first half of the third/ninth century, the Kharijis were strong in the rural areas of Sīstān in southern Iran, as well as in Bādghīs to the northeast of Herat and Kūhistān to the northeast of Kabul.[17] Between 179/795–796 and 213/828, Sīstān was controlled by the Khariji Ḥamza b. Ādhārak, who assumed the title "Commander of the faithful."[18] Their movement was also vibrant in Kirmān, which borders Sīstān from the west.[19] In 259/873, a Khariji rebel by the name of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān declared himself a caliph in Herat, 450 kilometers to the southeast of Naysābūr, assuming the title al-Mutawakkil.[20]

Shiʿi sentiments were strong in Northeastern Iran in the first half of the third/ninth century. Zaydi Shiʿism spread in Rūyān and Kalār by the efforts of the followers of al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 246/860).[21] In 250/864, the same regions witnessed a Zaydi revolt led by al-Ḥasan b. Zayd (d. 270/884). After skirmishes with the Ṭāhirid troops in 251/864–865, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd took over Ṭabaristān, whose main city, Āmul, lies 680 kilometers to the west of Naysābūr.[22] In the 250s (864–874), al-Ḥasan's followers on several occasions seized Rayy, 140 kilometers to the southwest of Āmul.[23] They also spread their rule into Gorgan, 500 kilometers to the northwest of Naysābūr.[24] The Zaydis received military backing from the Dailamite tribes, who inhabited the mountainous regions to the southwest of the Caspian Sea.[25] The Zaydis were proponents of the Muʿtazili theology,[26] which was strongly detested by traditionalist scholars, especially in the wake of the Miḥna.

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[14] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xix, 341.

[15] On the meaning of *mutaṭawwiʿa*, see Tor, *Violent order* 40–42.

[16] Ḥaykān is sometimes described as Ḥanafi in law (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm* iii, 54), which is not in tune with the traditionalist curriculum. In his fatal encounter with al-Khujistānī (see pp. 38–39 below), he was aided by both Partisans of Tradition (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*) and Partisans of free opinion (*aṣḥāb al-raʾy*); al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* xxxi, 530. The later designation probably stands for Ḥanafi scholars.

[17] Bosworth, "Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārids" 108.

[18] Ibid. 108–109.

[19] Tor, *Violent order* 117–118, 123–124.

[20] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* ix, 507 (iii, 1882; without mentioning the title of the rebel); Tor, *Violent order* 131.

[21] Madelung, "Minor dynasties" 206.

The 250s witnessed the rise to political prominence of the Sīstāni adventurer Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār (d. 275/879). At first, he sided with the Ṭāhirids and was instrumental in defeating the Khariji movement in Sīstān, Kirmān, and Bādghīs[27] but eventually turned against his overlords, whose government in Khurāsān under the emir Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir was past its heyday. On 04 Shawwāl 259/03 August 873, Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth entered Naysābūr,[28] to the acclaim of the local population, and put an end to the Ṭāhirid rule in Khurāsān. In 260/873–874, Yaʿqūb defeated the Zaydi troops in Ṭabaristān, upon which al-Ḥasan b. Zayd fled first to the Daylamites and subsequently to Kirmān.[29] Nonetheless, Yaʿqūb failed to uproot the Zaydis in Ṭabaristān, and al-Ḥasan b. Zayd continued to rule the province, largely unobstructed, until he died in 270/884.[30]

At the beginning of 262/end of 875, Naysābūr fell to the unscrupulous adventurer Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khujistānī (d. 268/882), who restored the *khuṭba* in the name of the Ṭāhirids.[31] In 267/880–881, the city became the scene of a pro-Ṣaffārid uprising led by al-Dhuhlī's son Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad (Ḥaykān).[32] Al-Khujistānī swiftly quashed the rebellion and according to some reports personally executed Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī.[33] Yaḥyā's involvement in the events shows that in the early 260s the traditionalist party in Naysābūr backed the Ṣaffārids. In their eyes, Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth's policy best served the interests of *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamāʿa*. Their opposition to al-Khujistānī was strengthened, if not triggered, by his decision to counter traditionalist influence in Naysābūr by bringing to the city scholars who "followed the teaching of the Iraqis." This expression likely stands for Ḥanafi followers of rationalist methodology (*raʾy*) in the derivation of law and articulation of theology.[34]

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[22] Spuler, *Iran in the Early Islamic Period* 162; Bosworth, "Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārids" 102–103; Madelung, "Minor Dynasties" 206; Tor, *Violent order* 147, 191.

[23] Madelung, "Minor Dynasties" 206; Tor, *Violent order* 151.

[24] Madelung, "Minor Dynasties" 206.

[25] Ibid. 207–209.

[26] Ibid. 207.

[27] Bosworth, "Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārids" 110, 112–113.

[28] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* ix, 507 (iii, 1881); Bosworth, "Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārids" 114.

[29] Bosworth, "Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārids" 115; Tor, *Violent order* 152–153.

[30] Bosworth, "Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārids" 103.

[31] Ibid. 116.

[32] Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* vi, 267–268; Bosworth, "Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārids" 117.

4 Theological Issues and Intellectual Trends

The impact of actions on the degree of one's faith (*īmān*) lay at the heart of the theological disputes during Muslim's lifetime. Far from being a question of dogmatic hairsplitting, the conception of faith sealed the prospects of salvation of the parties who fought in the first civil war (35–40/656–661). These included the followers of ʿĀ'isha, Ṭalḥa, and al-Zubayr, who were defeated by ʿAlī in the Battle of the Camel (15 Jumādā i 36/08 November 656) as well as the partisans of ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, who clashed at Ṣiffīn in Ṣafar 36/July 657. During the next two centuries, Muslims agonized over who bore the responsibility for the irreparable split in their unity. Those guilty of internecine bloodshed had committed a grave sin, the responsibility of which passed on to their adherents, past and present. But who were the culprits and what was their status with respect to *īmān*? Have they become infidels (*kāfir*, pl. *kuffār*)? May they have remained believers (*muʾminūn*, sg. *muʾmin*), albeit imperfect ones? Are the later generations entitled to judge them?

One end of the spectrum of opinion was occupied by the Kharijis, a party said to have coalesced around ʿAlī's disgruntled partisans in the aftermath of Ṣiffīn. They denied the sinners the status of believers (*muʾminūn*) and made licit putting them to the sword. Hence, their opponents from among the followers of ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya were unbelievers and even polytheists (*mushrikūn*), who had to be engaged in war.[35]

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[33] For a dramatic description of the personal encounter between al-Khujistānī and Ḥaykān, see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 199.

[34] Ibn Al-Athīr, *Kāmil* vi, 267. Ibn al-Athīr describes Ḥaykān's teaching as that of the Medinese scholars (*ahl al-Madīna*) and his opponents as followers of the teaching of *ahl al-ʿIrāq*. A generation after Muslim, Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī attached similar geographical designations to traditionalists and rationalists in Rayy; Dickinson, *Development* 3–5.

[35] Wensinck, *Muslim creed* 40; Watt, *Formative period* 124–125; Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 194; iv, 627–628.

On the other end of the spectrum stood the Murji'is. The movement arose in Kufa in the last quarter of the first/seventh century[36] and shortly thereafter spread towards eastern Iran and Transoxiana. Cook developed the argument that the early Murji'is were political activists who opposed the Umayyad caliphs, but later on, after the suppression of Ibn al-Ashʿath's revolt in 82/701, their teaching evolved towards theological moderation and political quietism.[37] In the second/eighth century, the Murji'is refused to condemn as an unbeliever any of the participants in the first civil war.[38] Some of them must have committed a grave sin, but the witnesses of the events were long since dead, and the Muslim community remained divided on the matter. Hence, there was no way to be sure, as the Kharijis were, which faction had erred and would consequently languish in Hell. It was better to put off the matter to Judgment Day, when God would make things clear and assign each party to Heaven or Hell according to the degree of their responsibility for the killing of fellow Muslims.[39]

The Murji'i teaching influenced Abū Ḥanīfa and his early followers in the second/eighth and the third/ninth centuries. In theology, the Murji'is and the early Ḥanafis famously understood *īmān* as the inward profession of belief in God (*taṣdīq*) and its verbal confession (*iqrār*) to the exclusion of the obligatory acts of outward obedience (*ṭāʿāt*) prescribed by the Sharia.[40] Because actions are irrelevant to *īmān*, one's belief remains constant and cannot increase or decrease as a result of one's success or failure to perform the *ṭāʿāt*, such as prayer (*ṣalāt*), fasting (*ṣawm*), and almsgiving (*zakāt*). The perpetrator of a grave sin retains his status as a believer (*muʾmin*), which must nevertheless be qualified with the adjective *ḍāll* (one who strayed from the right path).[41] During Muslim's lifetime, the *murjiʾism* was a tenet of Muslim's ascetic townsman Muḥammad b. Karrām (d. 255/869).[42]

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[36] Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim* 228–238; Watt, *Formative period* 127–128; Cook, *Early dogma* 27–47, 68–88, esp. 79–83; Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 176–204; ii, 260–262. For traditions suggesting an earlier date, some time during the first civil war (35–50/656–661), see Athamina, "Early Murji'a" 114. Without a comprehensive study of their origin and later development, such traditions may not serve as a clinching historical argument.

[37] Cook, "Activism and quietism"; idem, *Early dogma* 27–43; cf. Van Ess, "Ḍirār b. ʿAmr" 4.

[38] For more on this issue, see Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim* 228–241; Rudolph, *Māturīdī* 39, 56, nos. 27–32; 70, nos. 4–5. Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, who died about two decades ahead of Muslim's birth, held a similar opinion; Van Ess, "Ḍirār b. ʿAmr" 1–2.

[39] Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 226; Cook, *Early dogma* 27–28. The early Shiʿi heresiographer al-Nawbakhtī (d. 300–310/912–922) apparently counted the Sunnis as Murji'is; Watt, *Formative period* 121–123, citing al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq* 6–15.

[40] Abū Ḥanīfa, *ʿĀlim wa-mutaʿallim* 42; cf. ibid. 57; Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, *Taḥrīsh* 58; Wensinck, *Muslim creed* 45 and note 3; Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 632, 636; Watt, *Formative period* 131–134; Rudolph, *Māturīdī* 27–28, 38, 54, 67. Abū Ḥanīfa based his opinion on a historical argument: Muḥammad first demanded faith, whereas the legal commandments (*farāʾiḍ*) were sent down to him only later; Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 222–223; iv, 629; cf. idem, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 107.

Muslim was active in Iraq and eastern Iran, where, apart from Abū Ḥanīfa, the teaching of Jahm b. Ṣafwān (d. 128/746) was influential in the first half of the third/ninth century. Unlike the Murjiʾis, who thought that the inward recognition of God should be accompanied by an outward declaration of belief (*shahāda*), the Jahmis held the view that *īmān* consists of only the first element and does not require any outward act of bodily limbs, including the tongue.[43] Most of the Muslims in eastern Iran and Transoxiana were non-Arabs who could hardly pronounce the *shahāda* in Arabic, a linguistic constraint that contributed to the spread of the Jahmi doctrine among them.[44] When, in the 150s/770s, Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān (Herat; d. 163/779) visited Naysābūr, he found the city's intellectual atmosphere suffused with Jahmi tenets and began to promote milder *murjiʾism* as a counterbalance.[45]

The theological parties that clashed over the status of the sinner in this world were unanimous that in the Hereafter he was destined to Hell. They nevertheless disagreed about the duration of the punishment. The Kharijis, once again, took the most intransigent stance, arguing that the sinner would reside in Hell forever. This view was shared by the rationalist Muʿtazilis; their belief in divine justice (*ʿadl*) and God's irrevocable promise and threat (*al-waʿd wa-l-waʿīd*) required that the sinner who did not repent remain in Hell with no hope of pardon. Thus, the Muʿtazilis made God's mercy conditional on the sinner's repentance; without such repentance, God will not put an end to his torment in Hell.[46] To the Partisans of Tradition, the issue of mercy was of utmost importance. As a result, we shall see Muslim advocating divine mercy for any believing sinner who did not lapse into polytheism.

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[41] Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 224. On the political quietism of the early Murjiʾis, see Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim* 229–230; Athamina, "Early Murjiʾa" 115–118. On the early Ḥanafis, see Rudolph, *Māturīdī* 38, 55, nos. 18–23; 70, no. 1; 75.

[42] On the relationship between Murjiʾism and early Ḥanafis, see Madelung, "Early Murjiʾa"; idem, *Der Imam al-Qāsim* 235–236. On the Karramis, see ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, *Farq* 223; al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* i, 147; Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 684.

[43] For an early description of the Jahmi teaching in Khurāsān, see Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, *Taḥrīsh* 54–55; cf. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim* 238.

[44] Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 559; iv, 635–636; cf. Rudolph, *Māturīdī* 26–29.

[45] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* vii, 16; Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 637–638.

[46] Gimaret, Muʿtazila 790; Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 308; iv, 610; Watt, *Formative period* 229.

Closely related to the issue of divine mercy was the traditionalist teaching of the eschatological intercession (*shafāʿa*), which presumes that Muḥammad and Muslims who enter Paradise will be able to plea for the salvation of sinners who entered Hell. Just like the possibility of divine mercy, the intercession was not to the taste of the Kharijis[47] and the Muʿtazilis.[48] Both groups painted a gloomy future for the sinners: They could not attain salvation either by God's grace or through an act of righteous intercession. Muslim's advocacy of intercession is also directed against radical Murjiʾi thinkers who rejected this theologoumenon arguing that the profession of faith is sufficient for one's salvation.[49] By Muslim's lifetime, the Basran Murjiʾi Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Shabīb (d. ?) rejected the Prophet's intercession.[50] In the few decades before Muslim's birth, the Prophet's intercession was also denied by Ḍirār b. ʿAmr (d. ca. 180/796).[51]

Ruminations about the status of works and predestination led some ascetic thinkers to deny the legitimacy of *kasb* (licit commercial gain) in providing for one's sustenance (*rizq*). An early exponent of this teaching was Shaqīq al-Balkhī (Transoxiana; d. 194/809–810), who repudiated any action in pursuit of worldly gain. Towards the end of the second/eighth century, repudiation of gain (*inkār al-kasb; taḥrīm al-makāsib*) had become a central point in the theology of a group of ascetic Muʿtazilis (*ṣūfiyyat al-muʿtazila*). In Muslim's lifetime, an extreme form of *inkār al-kasb* was advocated and practiced by Muḥammad b. Karrām (b. ? Zarang, southwestern Afghanistan; d. 255/869 near Jerusalem), who spent part of his life in Naysābūr. The radical deniers of *kasb* called for exclusive reliance on God (*tawakkul, ittakāl*) as the only legitimate giver of sustenance, which, in practical terms, turned most of them into mendicant vagabonds.[52] Muslim will be seen arguing against *tawakkul* in both *Kitāb al-Īmān* and *Kitāb al-Qadar*, because of this teaching's implicit depreciation of acts as a path to salvation or perdition and its crude predestinarianism.

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[47] Al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* iii, 35; Watt, *Formative period*, 138, 141; Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 608, 663.

[48] Ibn Khuzayma, *Tawḥīd* 769, noted by Holtzman, *Anthropomorphism* 283; al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* iii, 35; Wensinck, *Muslim creed* 61; Watt, *Formative period* 138, 229; Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 609–610.

[49] Ibn Khuzayma, *Tawḥīd* 770. The possibility of intercession may have been rejected as early as the end of the first/seventh century by Ṭalq b. Ḥabīb al-ʿAnazī (Kufa, d. ca. 95/714), who is often described as a Murjiʾi; Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 181–182.

[50] Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 144.

[51] Ibid. iii, 58; for Ḍirār's death date, see ibid. iii, 35.

[52] On different aspects of the Karrami movement, see Bosworth, "Rise"; Malamud, "Politics"; Van Ess, *Theology and society* iii, 141–146; idem, *Der Eine und das Andere* i, 532; 626–630; Watt, *Formative period* 289–291; Melchert, "Sufis"; idem, "Baṣran origins" 231–232. On *tawakkul*, see Lewisohn, Tawakkul; Malamud, "Politics" 42–44.

Divine predestination (*qadar*) and the human capacity (*qudra*) to act of one's own volition was another important theological issue encountered by the Partisans of Tradition. The issue had legal reverberations, insofar as the actions are judged against the norms of the divine law, and the agent is rewarded or punished accordingly in the Hereafter. In Western scholarship, the topic is habitually referred to as "free will and predestination," but one must bear in mind that the first part of this designation does never occur as such in the parlance of Muslim scholars.[53] They speak of man's capacity to act (*istiṭāʿa, qudra*), which God creates and man wields to choose between good and evil. This capacity may be created immediately before the action, giving the human agent freedom of choice, or simultaneously with the action, in which case divine predestination is entirely at play.[54] In any case, the expression "free will" may be deployed with reference to the issue of *qadar* only by way of approximation and with a full realization of the limited semantic overlap between the two notions.

Another important caveat is that the exponents of free will did not use the terms "Qadari" and "Qadariyya" as self-designations. They were coined by the predestinarian party, in whose opinion the Qadaris illegitimately broached the issue of divine predestination. They were Qadaris because they dared to talk about God's *qadar* and reject some of its aspects. To add confusion to the issue, some early scholars used *qadar* to designate the proponents of divine predestination. Thus, when asked who the Qadaris are, Ḍirār b. ʿAmr answered, "The Qadaris are those who perpetrate sins (*yaʿmalūna bi-l-maʿāṣī*) and pretend to be innocent by stating that they (that is, their sins) come from God."[55] A few lines thereafter, Ḍirār speaks about the proponents of free will as Qadaris.[56]

Debates about *qadar* may have begun as early as 50/670 but gained traction only several decades later.[57] In politics, early Qadaris opposed the Umayyad caliphs, who may have sponsored the doctrine of divine predestination to perpetuate their rule as ratified by God's decree.[58] Apart from the political Qadaris, there existed theological Qadaris, who gave prominence to theoretical questions. They asked whether God has predetermined evil and acts of disobedience, and, if so, why He is threatening to punish sinners, who do not act of their free volition. Political Qadaris were widespread in Syria during the late Umayyad period,[59] but with the advent of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, they gradually ceased to exist.[60] Their theological brethren remained influential in Basra,[61] the Arabian Peninsula,[62] and throughout eastern Iran.[63] The Qadaris were not a homogeneous group; various flavors of them are found across the political and theological spectrum. By the end of the second/eighth century,

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[53] Noted by Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 546.

[54] For more on the human capacity to act and the Islamic understanding of free will, see Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 538–552.

[55] Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, *Taḥrīsh* 85. Ḍirār's scoffing remark may be a *reductio ad absurdum* of second/eighth-century predestinarian tenets. His point of departure may have been the early Qadari belief that God predetermines the good, whereas men are responsible for the evil; on the latter conception, see Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 116; idem, *Theology and society* ii, 158–159.

[56] Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, *Taḥrīsh* 86; on the development of the term "Qadariyya," see Watt, *Formative period* 116–118; Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 122–128.

[57] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 56–74; esp. 181. The year 50/670 lies at the fringe of

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what Van Ess's methodology and evidence bear out; it is more likely that the question of *qadar* was brought up by early Muslim theologians in the last quarter of the first century H/ca. 694–719. An inclination towards the latter chronology is seen in Van Ess's statement that we may tentatively date the onset of deliberations about *qadar* in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 65–86/685–705); ibid. 76. In a later work, Van Ess stated that in Syria Qadari tenets might be attested with certainty only about 110/729; *Theology and society* i, 82. In Iraq, Qadari ideas were broached towards the end of the first/seventh century; ibid. ii, 54. See also Macdonald, *Muslim theology* 128–129; Guillaume, "Free will" 45; Watt, *Formative period* 85–88; Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 548–550, 555, and *passim*.

[58] Guillaume, "Free will" 62–63; Watt, *Formative period* 82–85, 95, 99–100. Crone (*Medieval thought* 35) doubted the efficacy of a determinist theology of power, pointing out that the Umayyads' enemies were mostly determinists. This argument is certainly valid with regard to Kharijis, Murji'is, and Shiʿis, who believed in predestination, but determinism still might have been an effective means of promoting a pro-Umayyad stance among the Muslim populace at large.

[59] Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 147–149.

[60] It is impossible to draw a clear line of distinction between religious tendencies and politics under the early ʿAbbāsids. The caliph al-Mahdī (r. 158–169/775–785) is reported to have interrogated—not too harshly—a group of Medinese Qadaris; Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 771–773; Zaman, *Religion and politics* 138. Al-Ṭabarī does not go into details about the issue of interrogation but remarks that the interrogated individuals were able to persuade al-Mahdī that *qadar* was the opinion (*raʾy*) and religion (*dīn*) of the preceding caliph, al-Mahdī's father, al-Manṣūr (r. 136–158/754–775); al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* viii, 178 (iii, 534). The close relationship between *qadar* and politics is obvious, and the reference to al-Manṣūr's presumptive qadarism may have something in common with the anti-Umayyad stance of the earlier political Qadaris.

[61] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 64; in Muslim's lifetime, one third of the Basran *ḥadīth* transmitters counted as Qadaris; Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 57.

[62] Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 721–733, 749–784, 791–793.

[63] The Muʿtazilis, who followed the teaching of free will, were present, albeit not particularly influential, in Naysābūr; Van Ess, *Theology and society* vi, 282–284; on their spread in Iran, see ibid. iv, 271–289.

Qadari ideas were influential among the Kharijis,[64] and the doctrine of free will underpinned the Muʿtazili notion of divine justice (*ʿadl*).[65] In the third/ninth century, the Qadaris gradually melted into the Muʿtazili movement. In the eyes of Sunni theologians, this increased the Qadari opprobrium by the stigma of being associated with the failed caliphal project (theologically prepared and enforced by the Ḥanafis and embraced by the Muʿtazilis) to promulgate the rationalist teaching of *khalq al-Qurʾān*.

Against the belief in free will, already the precursors of the traditionalist movement came up with the notion of divine predestination. As early as the second third of the second/eighth century, Sufyān al-Thawrī's (Kufa; b. 97/715–716, d. 161/778) demanded that one's statement *anā muʾmin* (I am a believer) be qualified with the phrase *in shāʾa Allāh* (God willing) in submission to God's inscrutable foreordination of events.[66] Muslim's senior contemporary and one of the most influential early Partisans of Tradition, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, readily embraced this predestinarian tenet. As a believer in predestination, Muslim saw it necessary to defend this teaching by prophetic *ḥadīth*. Because of its importance and theological complexity, he devoted to *qadar* an entire book in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which will be treated in detail in Chapter 4.

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[64] Watt, "Free will and predestination" 133–136; idem, *Formative period* 88, 97 (about the early second/eighth century); cf. Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 642–661.

[65] Watt, "Free will and predestination" 137–143.

[66] Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 259–260.

CHAPTER 3

Life and Worldview

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj b. Muslim b. Ward b. Kushādh, Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Qushayrī was born in Naysābūr at the beginning of the third century Hijra. The year of his birth is a matter of scholarly disagreement. Until the lifetime of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, it remained unknown. Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī does not address the chronologies of Muslim's birth and death. Abū Yaʿlā al-Khalīlī (d. 446/1055) only remarks that Muslim died in his middle age (*fī ḥadd al-kuhūla*) after the year 260/873–874,[1] whereas his younger contemporary al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī dates Muslim's death to 25 Rajab 261/05 May 875.[2] Neither mentions Muslim's birthdate, which, judging from Abū Yaʿlā's hazy expression, may be set sometime in the first decade of the third century Hijra.

More than a century after al-Khaṭīb's death, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ discovered the missing information in a unique copy of al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's presently lost *Dhikr aʾimmat al-aqṭār al-muzakkīn li-ruwāt al-akhbār*. Citing Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb b. al-Akhram (Naysābūr; b. ca. 250/864–865, d. 344/955), al-Ḥākim states that Muslim died in 261 at the age of fifty-five lunar years, which sets his birthdate in 206/821–822.[3] Ibn Khallikān (608–681/1211–1282), a student of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, recalls that his teacher may have set Muslim's birth in 202/817–818. Ibn Khallikān then cites al-Ḥākim's *Dhikr aʾimmat al-aqṭār*, which he bought off from Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's legacy, and confirms that according to al-Ḥākim Muslim was born in 206/821–822.[4] A hundred years after Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, al-Dhahabī suggested an earlier birthdate. In *Tārīkh al-islām*, he states that according to some people Muslim was born in 204/819–820, but this chronology may be pushed further back.[5] The latter possibility finds support in the report—cited by al-Dhahabī without identifying the source—that Muslim died in 261/875 at the age of sixty lunar years; hence, he must have been born in 201/816–817.[6] Muslim's modern-day biographers understandably vacillate between the varying birth-

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[1] Abū Yaʿlā al-Khalīlī, *Irshād* iii, 825–826.

[2] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 125.

[3] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 64.

[4] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* v, 195.

[5] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 183; cf. idem, *Siyar* xii, 558; *Tadhkira* i, 588. The year 204 may have something to do with al-Shāfiʿī's death in the same year; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya* xiv, 556.

[6] Al-Dhahabī, *ʿIbar* i, 375.

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dates found in the Islamic biographical literature. Brockelman mentions 202/817 and 206/821–822 as two equal possibilities, followed by Sezgin and Juynboll.[7]

In an unparalleled report, Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī points to 184/800–801 as the year of Muslim's birth.[8] Given that Muslim began to study *ḥadīth* in 218/833–834, the birthdate documented by al-Zabīdī seems untenable; in the second/eighth century, traditionists usually became students at an age ranging from fourteen to eighteen years.[9] The same conclusion is suggested by reports that Muslim undertook his first pilgrimage in 220/835 (see below). To be valid, the pilgrimage would usually be performed upon reaching puberty, which suggests that in 220/835 Muslim was in his teens.[10]

Setting aside al-Zabīdī's aberrant report, we may conclude, based on the biographical data at hand, that Muslim was born between 201 and 206/816 and 822. If he began to study *ḥadīth* at the age of fifteen, 202/817–818, which Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ mentioned to his students (perhaps based on the same calculation), would seem the best guess about Muslim's birthdate.

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[7] Brockelman, *History* i, 144; GAS 136.

[8] Al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 59.

[9] The age of engaging in *ḥadīth* study was not a constant value and changed over time; Melchert, "Transmission" 232–235; Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 66–75. With respect to the second/eighth century, my limited statistical data shows that al-Faḍl b. Dukayn (Kufa; b. 130/747–748, d. 218–219/833–835) began to study *ḥadīth* at the age of fourteen (al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* i, 221), ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb (Egypt; b. 125/742–743, d. 197/813) began at the age of seventeen (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* vi, 73), Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ (Kufa; b. 127–129/744–747; d. 197/812) began at the age of eighteen, which Ibn Jurayj considered early (al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* i, 199), and Sulaymān b. Ḥarb al-Washiḥī (Basra—Mecca; b. 140/757–758, d. 234/839) was also eighteen years old when he began his study of *ḥadīth*. Qabīṣa b. ʿUqba (active Kufa; d. 213/828–829) heard from Sufyān al-Thawrī (Kufa; 97–161/716–778) from the age of sixteen to the age of nineteen. According to many reports, Qabīṣa's transmission from al-Thawrī is unreliable, because he was too young during his *ḥadīth* sessions with him; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* viii, 348–349. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Fazārī (Kufa → Miṣṣīṣa; d. 188/804) is an outlier: He began to study *ḥadīth* at the age of twenty-seven; Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* i, 273. Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq al-Ḥarbī (Baghdad, b. 198/813–814; d. 285/899), who was born only four years before Muslim, engaged in the study of *ḥadīth* some time after 210/825–826 (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxi, 101), perhaps in his mid-teens. In his useful study about the age structure of education in Naysābūr, Bulliet has gathered data about the period 317–514/929–1120, which begins 115 years after Muslim's birth. According to Bulliet, the typical students during that period began their education at the age range of 4.8–10.2 years; Bulliet, "Age structure" 109. Taking into account that the professed age of becoming a student gradually decreased over the course of the third/ninth century, we may safely assume that at the century's onset Muslim became a student at the age of fifteen.

[10] The famous *ḥadīth* critic Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī was born in 240/854–845, and he undertook his first pilgrimage in 255/868, during which he reached puberty shortly before arriving in Mecca; Dickinson, *Development* 20.

Information about Muslim's ancestry is virtually absent. From an isolated report by Ibn ʿAsākir on the authority of al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī citing Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ḥabīb al-Farrāʾ (Naysābūr; b. 177/793–794, d. 272/886), we learn that Muslim's father, al-Ḥajjāj b. Muslim, was a *ḥadīth* transmitter and a *shaykh* of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's father, the Naysābūri ascetic jurisprudent ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ḥabīb b. Mihrān al-ʿAbdī (d. 206/822).[11] Ibn ʿAsākir likely misrepresents the actual relationship between al-Ḥajjāj b. Muslim and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ḥabīb. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Muslim is glaringly absent in the biographical sources and the *isnād*s of known traditions. By contrast, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb is better documented and, according to indirect witnesses, he was older than Muslim's father, who died early in his son's childhood, supposedly before 210/825–826.[12] That ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was al-Ḥajjāj's *shaykh*, not the other way around, is suggested by Muslim's statement, "he was one of our best *shaykh*s,"[13] in which the pronoun "our" likely refers to Muslim's father, al-Ḥajjāj. Born four years before ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's death, Muslim could not have attended his *ḥadīth* transmission sessions.[14] Against Ibn ʿAsākir's assertion, we should take into account another variant of the same report, found in Mughlaṭāy's *Ikmāl*. Here Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb states that al-Ḥajjāj was a *shaykh* (*kāna min al-mashyakha*), without mentioning ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.[15] Although this variant is free from the chronological inconsistency afflicting Ibn ʿAsākir's report, one should not discount the possibility that, having detected the anachronism, Mughlaṭāy emended the original text.

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[11] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 89.

[12] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f11a. According to al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (*apud* al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xiv, 249), ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's *shaykh*s were Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Dhiʾb (Medina; d. 158–159/774–776), Zāʾida b. Qudāma (Kufa; d. 161/777–778), Sufyān al-Thawrī (Kufa; 97–161/716–778), ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mājishūn (Medina—Baghdad; d. 164/780–781), Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Nuʿaym al-Qāriʾ (Medina; d. 169/785–786), and Mālik b. Anas (Medina; d. 179/795). Al-Ḥajjāj b. Muslim does not fit in this chronological and regional framework. From the death date of Ibn Abī Dhiʾb, who was ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's oldest known *shaykh*, we infer that ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was born ca. 145/762–763. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Muslim may have been born in the same time span, but this possibility is undermined by the fact that his son Muslim was born in 202/817–818, whereas ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's son Muḥammad was born quarter of a century earlier, in 177/793–794; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 453. One may argue that al-Ḥajjāj fathered Muslim at an advanced age (fifty-five to sixty lunar years), whereas ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was much younger at the time of Muḥammad's birth, or call into question Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's early birthdate on account of his astounding longevity—ninety five lunar years,—but the combined biographical evidence, as it stands, makes it more likely that ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ḥabīb was one or two decades older than al-Ḥajjāj b. Muslim. One wonders about the possible relationship between Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's birthdate and Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī's abovementioned anomalous report that Muslim was born in 184/800–801 (see p. 47, note 8).

[13] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xx, 261.

[14] The onset of *samāʿ ḥuḍūr*^{an}, whereby small children would be brought by their fathers to hear from renowned *shaykh*s, may be dated to the beginning of the fourth/tenth century; Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 67–68.

Muslim's ancestors are said to have been *mawālī* (clients) of the Arab tribe Qushayr b. Kaʿb.[16] If accurate, this report may refer to the early form of contractual clientage (*walāʾ al-muwālāt*; *walāʾ al-islām*), by which converts of non-Arab origin were attached to an Arab patron and, consequently, to the patron's clan. Given that this type of *walāʾ* existed until the end of the Umayyad caliphate, either Muslim's grandfather or his great-grandfather would have been a convert.[17] The Marwānid period (64–132/684–750) saw many Iranian landowners (*dihqān*s) migrating to the cities in pursuit of protection from the Umayyad tax collectors. Here they acquired protection by way of *walāʾ*, sometimes accompanied by conversion to Islam.[18] In support of the possibility that Muslim hailed from such a family, note that he possessed hereditary agricultural estates.

On the other hand, Bulliet has argued that conversion to Islam in Naysābūr and its hinterland gained pace only between ca. 170 and 240/786 and 854.[19] Bulliet's conclusions derive from the generational distribution of *nisba*s[20] recorded in the surviving abridged version of al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's *Tārīkh Naysābūr*. If one takes this distribution as indicative of the spread of conversion during the early ʿAbbāsid period, then the striking expansion of the *nisba* al-Qushayrī in al-Ḥākim's fourth generation of transmitters (170–240/786–854)[21] should not be overlooked. It suggests that Muslim's father may have been the earliest convert to Islam, presumably in the last three decades of the second/eighth century. During this period, conversion-based *walāʾ* was long since obsolete, but a *mawālī* origin might be claimed as a mark of priority in embracing Islam.[22] On Bulliet's scenario, Muslim's family may have sought a higher social standing by disguising their late conversion as a much earlier *walāʾ* with the Arab tribe of Qushayr.

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[15] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xi, 170; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* x, 127.

[16] Al-Tujībī, *Barnāmaj* 93–94; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 558.

[17] On the chronology and typology of this kind of *walāʾ*, see Crone, *Roman, provincial and Islamic law* 36, 38–40, 90–91, 155–156, note 11. On the institution of *walāʾ* as a mark of islamization of society during the first four Islamic centuries, see Nawas, "Client's client" 152. The great-grandfather of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, the other pillar of Sunni *ḥadīth* scholarship, was a contractual client of the governor of Bukhara, Yamānī al-Juʿfī; Melchert, al-Bukhārī.

[18] Crone, *Slaves on horses* 51–52.

[19] Bulliet, "Conversion-based patronage" 260–261.

[20] The *nisba* is a surname taking the form of a relative adjective indicating the person's belonging to a kindred, religious, or a professional group, or a specific locality, e.g., al-Qushayrī, al-Shīʿī, al-Bazzāz, al-Naysābūrī. Sometimes, one person bears two or more *nisba*s, reflecting different aspects of the person's identity. Thus, Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj often appears in the biographical literature as al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī, with reference to his tribal affiliation and his native city.

[21] Bulliet, "Conversion-based patronage" 254–255.

Muslim was married to the daughter of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Ṣaffār,[23] but the sources are unforthcoming with biographical information about Muslim's wife, whose name we do not know, and his father-in-law, who may have been a coppersmith (*ṣaffār*). We are told, nevertheless, that Muslim had only female progeny.[24] According to al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, he had a sister. Without recording her name, al-Ḥākim identifies Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (Naysābūr; d. ?) as her son.[25] Barely known to the later biographers,[26] Muslim's nephew does not seem to have been a traditionist of note.

Muslim had two sources of income. He owned family estates (*ḍiyāʿ*) in Ustuwā near Naysābūr,[27] from which he received rent. He also practiced the trade of draper (*bazzāz*) and taught *ḥadīth* in Khān Maḥmish,[28] a caravansary in Naysābūr whose location I was unable to identify.[29] Taking into account his scholarly pursuits, Muslim tapped into all three major sources of social influence in Naysābūr, which Bulliet defined as landholding, trade, and religion.[30] Muslim lived in the city quarter of al-Zamjār (Ramjār).[31] The location of this quarter is presently unknown, but it may have been close to Naṣrābād, a quarter in the eastern part of Naysābūr that was known as the residence of scholars and merchants.[32]

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[22] Ibid. 262.

[23] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 343; noted by Āl Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim* i, 20.

[24] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Maʿrifa* 224.

[25] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f25b.

[26] Al-Mizzī included him in the list of Isḥāq b. Manṣūr al-Kawsaj's informants; *Tahdhīb* ii, 474.

[27] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f16b; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 187; idem, *ʿIbar* i, 375; Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xi, 169.

[28] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f16b; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 187; idem, *Siyar* xii, 570; Cohen, "Economic background" 26.

[29] My search in *Tārīkh Naysābūr* and *Muʿjam al-Buldān* has shown that Maḥmish occurs as a personal name but not as a toponym. Khān Maḥmish may have been a caravansary and market place that belonged to someone called Maḥmish. Itinerant scholars taught in Khān Maḥmis, where they probably used to stay during their sojourn in Naysābūr; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 288–289; xiv, 64–65. From the report that in 270/883–884 a large crowd gathered there for a *ḥadīth* transmission session (loc. cit.), one infers that the place was spatious. It may have included a mosque.

[30] Bulliet, *Patricians* 20. According to Melchert's estimate, the most common sources of income of Muslim men of religion were trade and rents; *Ahmad* 5–6.

[31] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f16b. In al-Samʿānī's lifetime, Ramjār was a large quarter known by the name Jahār Rāhak; *Ansāb* iii, 90.

Muslim was tall. Towards the end of his life, he had white hair and a white beard. He wore his turban with its end suspended between his shoulders.[33] According to a legendary report transmitted by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, Muslim's life ended in a manner befitting so great a *ḥadīth* scholar. During a session of recounting *ḥadīth* (*mudhākara*), Muslim was told a tradition he could not recall. He immediately retired to his house and set about combing his records. As his work dragged on, Muslim's relatives gave him a basket of dates, which Muslim ate out throughout the night until he found the *ḥadīth*. The large number of consumed dates proved fatal to Muslim, and he died on the following day.[34]

Based on a report by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, Muslim's biographers conventionally accept 25 Rajab 261/05 May 875 as his death date.[35] Not surprisingly, this date made its way into all modern biographical accounts about Muslim.[36] In contrast to these reports, Makkī b. ʿAbdān, who was one of Muslim's outstanding students and transmitted most of his works, asserted that Muslim died in 259/872–873.[37] The same date appears in a statement by another longstanding student of Muslim, Aḥmad b. Salama al-Naysābūrī's (d. 286/899), transmitted by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī. "I accompanied Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj since the year [2]27 until I buried him in the year 259," Aḥmad b. Salama said.[38] The first report is cited by Mughlaṭāy (Cairo; d. 762/1361) whereas the second is cited by al-Samʿānī (506–562/1113–1166). Although considerably later than Muslim, both Mughlaṭāy and al-Samʿānī were in possession of presently lost sources. Mughlaṭāy extracted his report from Abū Yaʿqūb al-Qarrāb's (Herat; d. 429/1037–1038) *Tārīkh al-sinīn*, which was devoted to the death dates of transmitters,[39] whereas al-Samʿānī had access to al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's *Tārīkh Naysābūr* and, likely, to other Naysābūri sources. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of their citations. The likelihood that they refer to the actual date of Muslim's death grows stronger when we take into account al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's report that Muslim visited Baghdad in the year 259 H, which is the last dated event in his life. Be that as it may, in al-Ḥākim's lifetime there seem to have existed two alternative reports placing Muslim's death either in the year 259/872–873 or on 25 Rajab 261/05 May 875. Al-Ḥākim preferred the latter date, probably because its precise chronology was more appealing to his historical sense. Had Muslim died in 259/872–873, one wonders if his death was somehow related to Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth's conquest of Naysābūr on 04 Shawwāl 259/03 August 873.

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[32] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl*, f59a. On Naṣrābād, see Bulliet, "Medieval Nishapur" 81–82.

[33] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam* xii, 171; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 570; Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xi, 169.

[34] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 125.

[35] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f16b; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 125; al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd* i, 56–57; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iv, 503.

[36] GAS 136; Juynboll Muslim; Brown, *Canonization* 81.

[37] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xi, 170.

[38] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iv, 212.

[39] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxix, 256; GAS 389.

Muslim was buried in Maydān Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān cemetery to the east of the fortress of old Naysābūr. The sources connect Maydān Ziyād with a location known as Turbābād.[40] According to Girāyilī, the tomb's present-day location has been identified next to the railway near the hill of Turbābād.[41] Before the advent of the Safavid dynasty in 1501, the tomb was a place of devotional visits (*mazār*).[42]

1 *Shaykh*s and Centers of Learning

Muslim began his study of *ḥadīth* in 218/833–834 when he attended the sessions of three prominent proto-Sunnis: Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Tamīmī (Naysābūr; d. 226/840),[43] the ascetic jurisprudent Bishr b. al-Ḥakam (Naysābūr; d. 237–238/851–853), and Isḥāq b. Rāhwayh (Marw → Naysābūr; 161–238/778–853), an influential traditionalist at the Ṭāhirid court in Naysābūr.[44] Muslim undertook his first pilgrimage in 220/835, during which he heard from several important masters. This group includes ʿAbdallāh b. Maslama al-Qaʿnabī (Medina → Basra → Mecca; b. after 130/747–748, d. 221/835–836), a student of Mālik, whom al-Dhahabī considers as Muslim's oldest *shaykh*.[45]

Muslim's audition from al-Qaʿnabī is questionable. Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ records al-Qaʿnabī's death in the year 220/835, without further specification.[46] In the next generation of biographers, al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) modified this chronology in a remarkable manner: al-Qaʿnabī died as he came to Basra (*nazala Baṣra*) in 221/835–836.[47] Al-Bukhārī's not entirely clear wording suggests that al-Qaʿnabī died shortly after his return from travel, arguably pilgrimage, in January or February of 836. This scenario finds partial support in Abū Mūsā Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā's (Basra, d. 252/866) assertion that al-Qaʿnabī died in Mecca on 06 Muharram 221/31 December 835.[48] Al-Fasawī (d. 277/890) states hesitantly that al-Qaʿnabī died either at the very end of 220/December 835 or at the beginning of Ṣafar 221/the end of January 836.[49] The one-month gap between the two possible death dates suggests an attempt to harmonize two groups of reports, one of which sets al-Qaʿnabī's death in 220, whereas the other insists on 221. Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965) is confident that al-Qaʿnabī died in Ṣafar 221/25 January–22 February 836.[50] Thus, we observe a gradual shift in al-Qaʿnabī's death date from an unspecified date, perhaps prior to the pilgrimage season of 220/835, to the beginning of 221/836, which may be thought to assert that he performed the pilgrimage in 220/November–December 835. If so, al-Qaʿnabī could have met the young Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj at Mecca, although one still wonders if this presumably short encounter was sufficient for him to transmit to Muslim some seventy traditions he cites on his authority in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[51] It stands to reason, then, that Muslim may be citing al-Qaʿnabī through an intermediary or based on a written source. Later in his life, Muslim will argue that someone's contemporaneity with his alleged informant provides sufficient ground for accepting his transmissions on the authority of this informant.[52] One wonders if, as he formulated this lax principle, Muslim could have had in mind his fleeting encounter with al-Qaʿnabī.

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[40] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* fi6b; cf. al-Samʿānī, Muntakhab iii, 1507. For details and a minor controversy regarding the location of Muslim's tomb, see Bulliet, "Medieval Nishapur" 81–82.

[41] Girāyilī, *Nīshābūr* 541. I am grateful to Ali Aghaei for this reference.

[42] See pp. 240–243 below.

[43] Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Tamīmī studied with Mālik b. Anas, but he should not be confused with Mālik's famous student and compiler of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī.

[44] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 183.

[45] Ibid. xx, 183.

[46] Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt* 229.

Around 225/839–840, Muslim embarked on a second voyage in pursuit of knowledge, which included Khurāsān, Iraq, the Ḥijāz, Syria, and Egypt.[53] Ibn ʿAsākir avers that at an unspecified time Muslim visited Damascus, where he heard from Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Saksakī (Damascus; d. ?) traditions on the authority of al-Walīd b. Muslim (Damascus; d. 194–195/809–811).[54] Mentioned only by Ibn ʿAsākir, this report raised scholarly brows. Al-Dhahabī thought it improbable that, while in Damascus, Muslim would hear traditions only from the barely known al-Saksakī to the exclusion of other Damascene *shaykh*s.

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[47] Al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-awsaṭ* ii, 316.

[48] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* viii, 203.

[49] Al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifa wa-l-tārīkh* i, 205.

[50] Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt* viii, 353.

[51] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* viii, 204.

[52] See pp. 156–162 below.

[53] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 183.

[54] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lxviii, 85.

He therefore points out—granting Ibn ʿAsākir the benefit of the doubt—that Muslim may have only passed through Damascus, or he may have become ill, which prevented him from attending the lessons of the local *shaykh*s.[55]

Notwithstanding al-Dhahabī's reasonable doubt about Muslim's visit to Damascus, Muslim may have had a penchant for little-known transmitters. In a hitherto neglected report, al-Samʿānī cites Muslim's statement that he traveled the world in search of *ḥadīth* and eventually found it in the village of Firyānān near Marw. Al-Samʿānī explains that Muslim had in mind the transmissions of Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Firyānānī.[56] Strikingly, al-Firyānānī is a notoriously weak transmitter, who "transmitted on the authority of trustworthy traditionists what is not present in their *ḥadīth*."[57] According to Ibn ʿAdī, he reported unrecognized traditions (*manākīr*) on the authority of al-Naḍr b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī, Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, Ibn al-Mubārak, and others.[58] Even if Muslim found many traditions with al-Firyānānī, he apparently had misgivings about their authenticity, as none of them has found its way into the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. As a distant possibility, al-Samʿānī may have confused Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Firyānānī with the Basran Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥakam b. Farwa (d. 247/861–862), on whose authority Muslim transmits four traditions.

In his comprehensive list of Muslim's *shaykh*s, al-Mizzī has recorded 214 names (see Appendix 2).[59] Fifty-nine of them (27.6 percent of the total) were active in Baghdad, while fifty-one (23.8 percent) were active in Basra, and thirty-one (14.5 percent) were active in Kufa. If we add to this already impressive number seven *shaykh*s who were active in Wāsiṭ and Ubulla, the total number of Muslim's Iraqi *shaykh*s will increase to 148 persons, that is, 69.2 percent of al-Mizzī's list. Clearly, Muslim spent most of his time as a traveling *ḥadīth* student in the Iraqi centers of learning. For the last time, he came to the imperial capital, Baghdad, in 259/872–873.[60] Khurāsān comes second

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[55] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 184; idem, *Siyar* xii, 562.

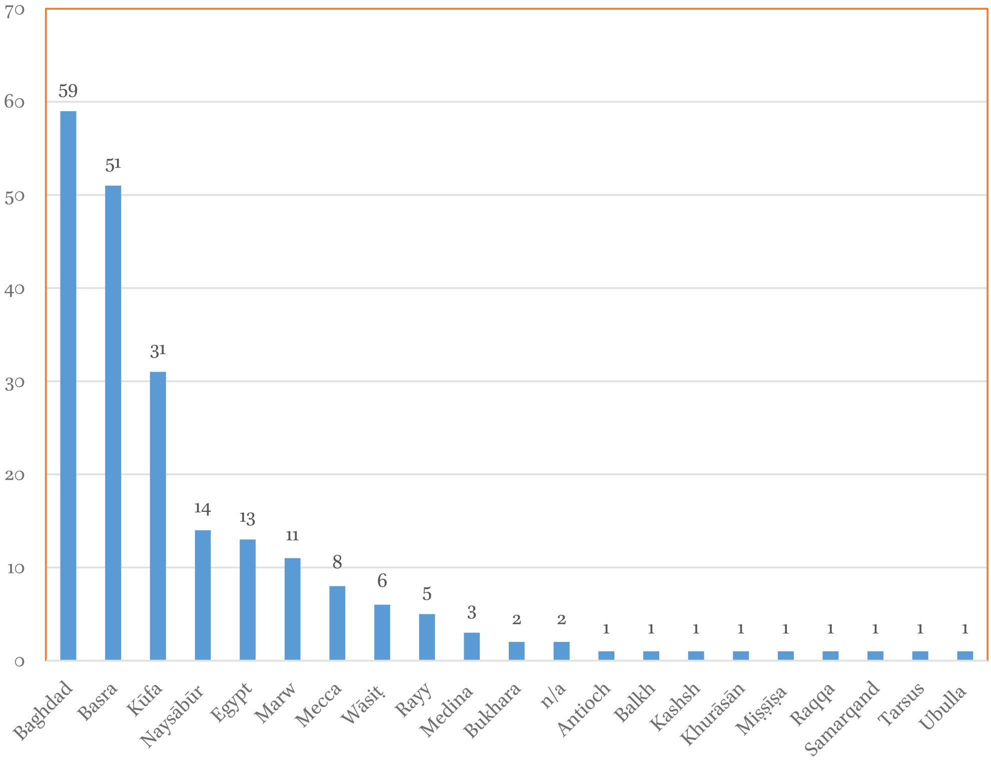
[56] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iv, 155.

[57] Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥūn* i, 45.

[58] Ibn ʿAdī, *Kāmil* i, 176.

[59] Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* xxvii, 499–504. Al-Dhahabī (*Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 183) has counted 224 *shaykh*s. Most likely, this is an error whereby al-Dhahabī, or a copyist of his work, misread 224 for 214. Less likely, al-Dhahabī's figure signals that he worked with a manuscript of *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl* that included ten more *shaykh*s than the extant copy of the same work. An electronic count by Dār al-Taʾṣīl excluding the Introduction of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* yielded 225 names of informants, of which 204 names are found in the base *isnād*s and twenty-one names are unique to the auxiliaries; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Taʾṣīl) i, 30.

[60] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 122.



GRAPH 1 Geographical distribution of Muslim's *shaykh*s according to al-Mizzi's list

with Naysābūr (fourteen *shaykh*s), Marw (eleven *shaykh*s), Rayy (five *shaykh*s), Balkh (one *shaykh*), Bukhara (one *shaykh*), Khurāsān (one *shaykh*), and Samarqand (one *shaykh*). The total number of Muslim's Khurasāni *shaykh*s stands at thirty-four persons, that is, 15.9 percent of al-Mizzī's list. Egypt was of some import in Muslim's scholarly travel, attested to by 13 *shaykh*s (6.1 percent). Muslim's Egyptian *shaykh*s are of relatively late death dates, ranging between 242–264/856–878, which suggests that he came to Egypt in the later part of his scholarly career. In the Ḥijāz, Muslim met eleven *shaykh*s (eight Meccans and three Medinese) accounting for 5.1 percent of al-Mizzī's list. Muslim apparently avoided Syria; he has one *shaykh* from Raqqa in upper Mesopotamia (Jazīra) and another one from Tarsus in Anatolia, whereas his alleged visit to Damascus finds no support in al-Mizzī's list. To meet his Egyptian *shaykh*s, Muslim may be thought to have passed into Egypt through southern Syria or by sea, on his way back from pilgrimage.

Forty-five of Muslim's *shaykh*s bear the name Muḥammad, twenty-two are Aḥmads, and fifteen are ʿAbdallāhs. By contrast, only four are named Ḥasan, another four are named ʿAbbās, whereas the names ʿAlī and al-Ḥusayn are represented by three and one *shaykh*s respectively. This distribution of personal names outlines certain preferences in the proto-Sunni onomasticon in the first half of the third/ninth century. The names Muḥammad and ʿAbdallāh reflect adherence to the prophetic Sunna. The same applies to Aḥmad, which is often considered one of the Prophet's alternative names.[61]

Important information about Muslim's scholarly priorities may be gleaned from the list of his chief informants in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. For the following study, I have chosen twenty-three informants each of whom passed on to Muslim ninety-nine or more traditions. As a basis for my selection, I have used the earliest preserved count of this type, performed by the unknown author of the presently lost work *Zahrat al-mutaʿallimīn fī asmāʾ mashāhīr al-muḥaddithīn*. *Kitāb al-Zahra* was available to Mughlaṭāy and Ibn Ḥajar, who include its counts of the number of citations by al-Bukhārī and Muslim under each respective biographical entry. This count, which at the time of al-Zahra's composition was an arduous enterprise, may now be compared with a similar count based on the electronic version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in *al-Maktaba al-Shāmila*. I have counted as a separate transmission each mention of a given name, irrespective of its being part of the base tradition (*aṣl*) or of one of its auxiliaries (*mutābiʿāt*) that Muslim cites as clarifying evidence. My count excludes the repetitions, that is, one person's repetitive mention within a single narration, mainly by way of comparing this person's expression with the expression of other transmitters of the same narration.[62] In Appendix 3, I also record the count by Dār al-Taʾṣīl, which, unlike my count, excludes the Introduction.[63] Graph 2 below reflects my count, based on *Shāmila*. Since many numbers in *Kitāb al-Zahra* differ greatly from my count, the reader will notice that, against the evidence in *al-Zahra*, the last three informants in Graph 2 passed on to Muslim less than ninety-nine traditions. For a comparative table and a detailed analysis of *al-Zahra*'s count, see Appendix 3.

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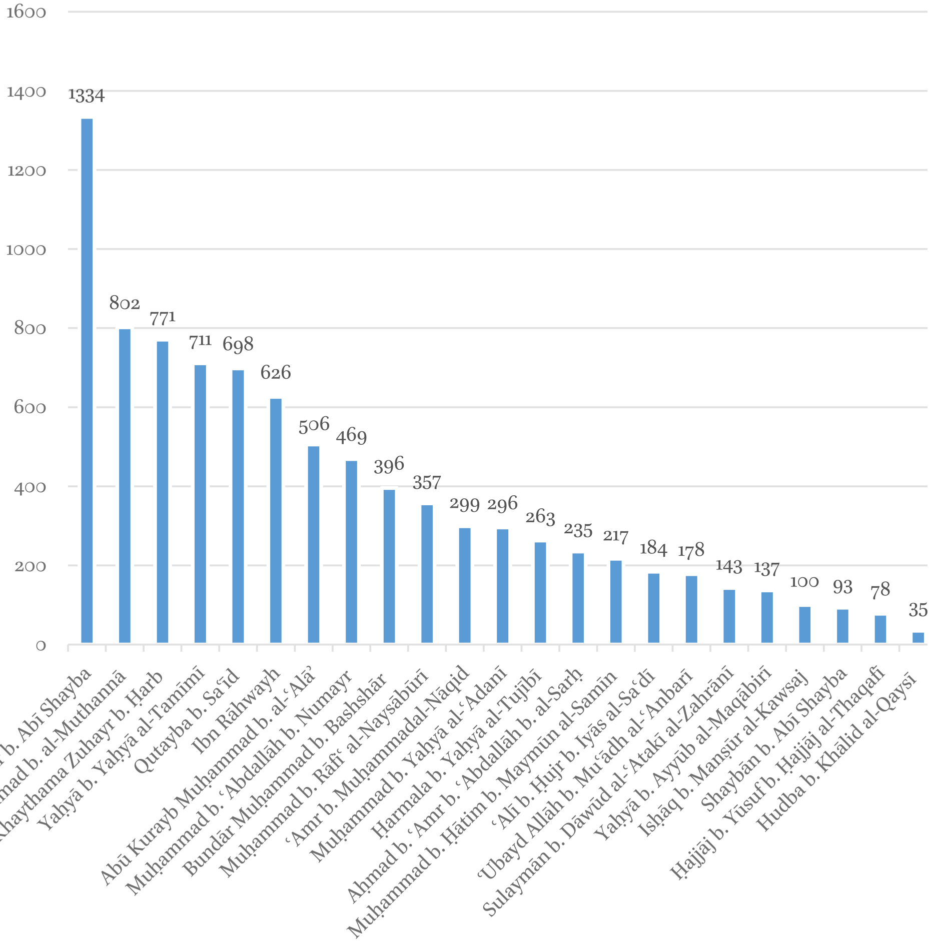
[61] Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* i, 84–85; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-awsaṭ* i, 36.

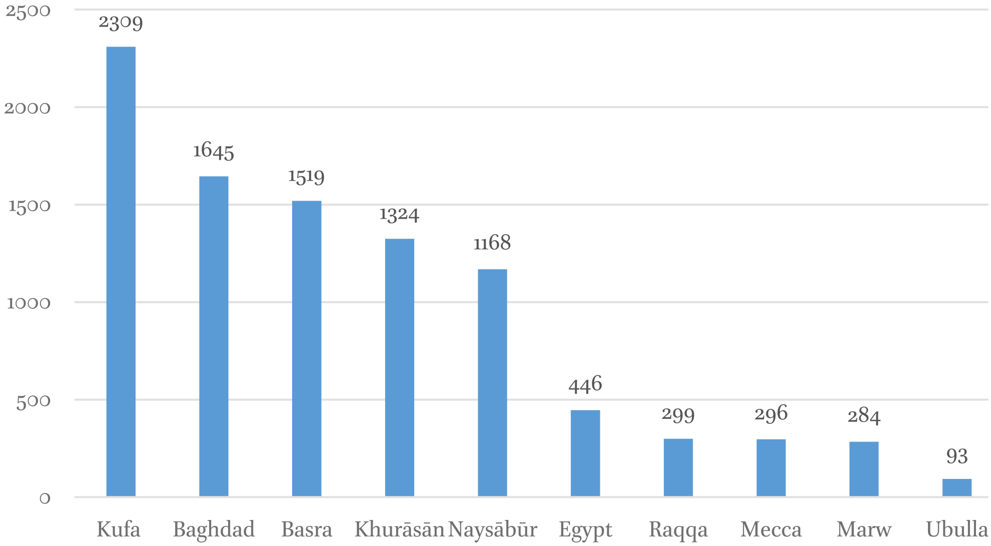
[62] E.g., Zuhayr b. Ḥarb and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr told us, and the expression belongs to Zuhayr; ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2316 (63) = Taʾṣīl, no. 2390.1.

[63] The editors of Dār al-Taʾṣīl do not specify which database they used, but, given the similarity of my results with theirs, it is likely *al-Shāmila*.



GRAPH 2 The number of traditions transmitted to Muslim by his major *shaykh*s according to al-Shāmila (excluding repetitions)

Our study of Muslim's major *shaykh*s points in the same direction as al-Mizzī's complete record of Muslim's informants. Muslim collected most of his *ḥadīth* in two regions. Iraq ranks first with 5566 traditions, which account for 59.3 percent of Muslim's citations of his major *shaykh*s. Khurāsān is second, with 2776 traditions, which account for 29.5 percent of Muslims citations. Egypt trails behind with only 4.8 percent. A native of Naysābūr, Muslim traveled with relative ease to the scholarly centers in the Jibāl and Northeastern Iran, such as Rayy, Marw, and Balkh. He could reach Baghdad in about forty days, from where he could travel to Kufa in four days and to Basra in thirteen days. He would need forty-two days to reach Fusṭāṭ, if he set off from Baghdad, or forty-eight days if his



GRAPH 3 The relative weight of the centers of learning in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* according to the number of transmissions by his major *shaykh*s

journey began in Mecca, at the end of the pilgrimage season. Clearly, the distance to Egypt was formidable while Muslim hardly needed to frequent the western parts of the caliphate, given that in his lifetime the Partisans of Tradition were active mostly in Iraq and central and Northeastern Iran.

2 Doctrinal Affiliation

By the time of Muslim's birth, the future legal schools (*madhāhib*; sg. *madhhab*) were in a state of flux. Individual jurisprudents in the major scholarly centers of the caliphate were divided into adherents of tradition (*ḥadīth*), who derived legal norms exclusively from the textual sources, and adherents of discretionary opinion (*raʾy*), who gave precedence to reason in the articulation of the same norms.[64] Between these two groups, Melchert identified a third one, which in the first half of the third/ninth century amalgamated rationalist approaches with traditionist jurisprudence, thereby giving rise to the semi-rationalist party. The semi-rationalists were loosely associated with al-Shāfiʿī.[65] Where does Muslim stand in this legal and epistemological spectrum?

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[64] Melchert, *Formation* 1–7, 198; Dickinson, *Development* 1–5. It is not my intention here to enter the scholarly debate about the formation of the legal schools in Sunni Islam. In short, Schacht and Melchert posited a development from regional to personal schools, whereas Hallaq argued that a transition had taken place from individual juristic doctrines to doctrinal schools; Schacht, *Introduction* 28–36; 57–68; Melchert, *Formation* 32–47; Hallaq, "From regional to personal schools" 26. For an overview and synthesis, see Powers, "Schools" 42–47.

As we have seen, Muslim began his study of *ḥadīth* with ʿAbdallāh b. Maslama al-Qaʿnabī, a student of Mālik and a compiler and transmitter of his *Muwaṭṭaʾ*. Muslim's interest in the Māliki tradition apparently carried on into his mature scholarship. Among the most cited *shaykh*s in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, we find the Egyptians Ḥarmala b. Yaḥyā and Aḥmad b. ʿAmr b. al-Sarḥ. Ḥarmala had been one of al-Shāfiʿī's followers[66] but eventually abandoned al-Shāfiʿī's legal teaching for that of Mālik.[67] We do not know when Ḥarmala changed his mind, but Muslim, who visited Egypt in the last two decades of Ḥarmala's life, must have encountered him as a Māliki jurisprudent. Aḥmad b. ʿAmr wrote a commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*,[68] and Muslim likely sought him out in his capacity as an expert in Mālik's traditions.[69] Muslim's appreciation of Mālik transpires from his works. His short collection recording the names of Mālik's *shaykh*s is preserved in Mughlaṭāy's *Ikmāl*.[70] In another, presently lost, collection entitled *Musnad ḥadīth Mālik*, Muslim may have compiled an appendix to the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, tracing its *isnād*s back to the Prophet.[71]

Despite his interest in the teaching of Mālik, in key legal issues Muslim sided with al-Shāfiʿī's opinion. He accepted and defended al-Shāfiʿī's permission to sell a *mudabbar* slave[72] while his master is alive if the latter had no other property. According to the Ḥijāzī, Kufan, and Syrian jurists of his time, such a sale was not permissible under any condition.[73] In his deliberation on the legal possibility to use the skins of dead animals (*uhub al-sibāʿ*) that were not slaughtered by the Islamic law, Muslim followed al-Shāfiʿī in sanctioning the use of such hides after tanning.[74] Muslim also authored a treatise in which he defended al-Shāfiʿī's legal opinions against criticism by Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Marwazī.

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[65] Melchert, *Formation* 69–71; idem, "Adversaries" 245–252.

[66] Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* v, 548.

[67] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Tartīb* iv, 172; noted by Melchert, *Formation* 81.

[68] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Tartīb* iv, 174.

[69] In the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim always uses the *isnād* Aḥmad b. ʿAmr b. al-Sarḥ on the authority of Ibn Wahb, who was one of Mālik's closest students.

[70] For more on this collection, see p. 196 below.

[71] For more on this collection, see pp. 204–205 below.

[72] *Mudabbar* is a slave who, by oath of his master, shall become free after the master's death.

[73] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 997 (58–59) = Taʾṣīl, no. 1709; Muslim, *Tamyīz* 196–198, nos. 70–74; al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* xi, 141–142.

[74] For a detailed discussion of this issue, see pp. 200–202 below.

Parallels with al-Shāfiʿī's teaching may be found in Muslim's *ḥadīth* criticism and legal epistemology. In *ḥadīth* criticism, Muslim likens *ḥadīth* transmission to court testimony.[75] He uses language that strongly reminds us of al-Shāfiʿī's expressions in the *Risāla*. Thus,

> Al-Shāfiʿī: "[*ḥadīth* transmission] may differ from the [court] testimony in some respects and agree with it in other [respects]" (*qad yukhālifu l-shahādāt fī ashyāʾ wa-yujāmiʿu-hā fī ghayrⁱ-hā*).[76]
>
> Muslim: "Even if the meaning of the report differs from the meaning of the [court] testimony in some respects, they nevertheless agree in most of their meanings" (*wa-l-khabar wa-in fāraqa maʿnā-hu maʿnā l-shahāda fī baʿḍ al-wujūh fa-qad yajtamiʿāni fī aʿẓam maʿānī-himā*).[77]

Abu-Alabbas has argued that Muslim's treating of *ḥadīth* transmission as analogous to forensic testimony is similar to al-Shāfiʿī's approach.[78] Despite the formal similarities highlighted by Abu-Alabbas, al-Shāfiʿī and Muslim differ on several important points. First, al-Shāfiʿī faces an opponent who asserts that al-Shāfiʿī's criteria of transmitter probity are analogous to the approbation of court witnesses. Al-Shāfiʿī argues in response that *ḥadīth* transmission and court testimony differ in many respects.[79] Then, without going into detail, he concedes that they are similar in other respects.[80] In what may be a polemical response to al-Shāfiʿī's argued dissimilarity, Muslim asserts that the two types of testimony are mostly identical. Second, al-Shāfiʿī uses the testimony simile in his deliberation on the acceptability of the unparalleled report (*khabar al-wāḥid*), whereas Muslim speaks about reports in general. Third, Muslim specifies that the reports by ungodly men (*fāsiq*, pl. *fussāq*)[81] are as unacceptable as their testimony. That is, al-Shāfiʿī only states that *ḥadīth* transmission and forensic testimony may be similar, whereas Muslim draws the same comparison with the added reference to the split between Partisans of Tradition and followers of heresy. Such an emphasis on orthodoxy is understandable: Unlike al-Shāfiʿī, Muslim witnessed the Miḥna and adhered to the movement of the Partisans of Tradition.

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[75] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 9.

[76] Al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla* 372, no. 1008.

[77] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 9.

[78] Abu-Alabbas, "Principles" 328. For al-Shāfiʿī's comparison of *ḥadīth* transmission with testimony in legal matters, see *Risāla* 372–392, nos. 1007–1085.

[79] Al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla* 373, nos. 1009–1013; 386–394, nos. 1071–1089.

[80] Ibid. 373, no. 1014: *thumma huwa yujāmiʿu l-shahādāt fī ashyāʾ ghayr mā waṣaftu* (and it [scil., *ḥadīth* transmission] is similar to [court] testimony in matters other than what I [just] described). The only aspect of similarity that al-Shāfiʿī mentions explicitly is that a *ḥadīth* report and court testimony should be accepted when formal requirements of acceptability are met; ibid. 386, no. 1071.

[81] I use Juynboll's translation of the term, for which see "Muslim's introduction" 271.

Muslim's legal hermeneutics exhibits Shāfiʿī traits. In the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, he cites a statement ascribed to the Basran ascetic Yazīd b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr (d. 108/726–727 or 111/729–730)[82] that *ḥadīth* may abrogate (*nasakha*) other *ḥadīth* just as Quranic verses may abrogate other Quranic verses.[83] By allowing *ḥadīth* to abrogate *ḥadīth*, Muslim refers to a hermeneutical principle articulated by al-Shāfiʿī.[84] It seems that, just like al-Shāfiʿī, Muslim restricted the working of *naskh* within each source of law and did not allow for it to operate between the Quran and the Sunna.[85] Muslim's use of the term *naskh* with respect to *ḥadīth* suggests that he treats the Sunna as a variety of revelation—a teaching whose roots go back to al-Shāfiʿī.[86]

At the beginning of the Introduction, Muslim defines two groups of people with respect to the knowledge of Tradition. These are "the specialists" (*al-khāṣṣa min al-nās*), who are "endowed with some discernment and knowledge of its (scil., *ḥadīth*'s) occasions and causes." These specialists may benefit from collecting a large number of traditions. Against the specialists, Muslim pits "the common people" (*ʿawāmm al-nās*), whose gathering of many traditions is pointless, since they are unable to understand even a few of them.[87]

At first sight, Muslim's dichotomy *khāṣṣa*/*ʿawāmm* in the knowledge of Tradition mirrors al-Shāfiʿī's division between the specialized reports (*akhbār al-khāṣṣa*) and the reports for the common people (*akhbār al-ʿāmma*).[88] However, one must note two important points of difference. First, al-Shāfiʿī speaks about the Quran and the derivation of legal norms from it, whereas Muslim is concerned with the collection of *ḥadīth*, and, implicitly, with its use as a source of knowledge, both legal and otherwise. Second, Muslim's scornful reference to the common people as those who have no knowledge of *ḥadīth* hardly compares to al-Shāfiʿī's nuanced deployment of the terms *khāṣṣa* and *ʿāmma* as degrees of expertise in the perception of Quranic norms, some of which are clear to all while others require specialized competence in order to be understood and explained to those lacking such competence. Although Muslim may have been acquainted with al-Shāfiʿī's teaching about *khāṣṣa* and *ʿāmma*, his use of these terms at the beginning of the Introduction signals a more primitive stage in the development of their underlying conceptions.

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[82] Yazīd b. ʿAbdallāh's brother Muṭṭarif (d. 95/713–714) was a "Qadarite ascetic"; Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 68.

[83] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 344 (82) = Taʾṣīl, no. 333. For more examples, see Abu-Alabbas, "Principles" 330, note 109. Note that Abu-Alabbas's examples 3 (*Kitāb* 5, *Bāb* 54) and 5 (*Kitāb* 13, *Bāb* 25) are instances of Quranic abrogation. In the remaining three examples, *naskh* is mentioned in the chapter headings, which were not formulated by Muslim but by later transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ibn Shikhkhīr's statement is anachronistic. In his lifetime, *ḥadīth* was only emerging as a source of legal norms, and no systematic theory of Quranic abrogation existed.

[84] Al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla* 108–109, nos. 324–326.

[85] On al-Shāfiʿī's understanding of *naskh*, see Lowry, *Early Islamic theory* 89–93.

[86] Melchert, "Qurʾānic abrogation" 84; Lowry, *Early Islamic theory* 165.

[87] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 4.

[88] On al-Shāfiʿī's epistemological dichotomy, see Calder, "Ikhtilâf and ijmâʿ" 76–79 and *passim*; Lowry, *Early Islamic theory* 268–273.

In sum, Muslim was appreciative of some of al-Shāfiʿī's opinions in the field of positive law. He was familiar with al-Shāfiʿī's method of *ḥadīth* criticism and probably knew his division between *ʿāmm* and *khāṣṣ*. On the other hand, he did not blindly follow al-Shāfiʿī's views. Throughout his scholarly career, Muslim was interested in Mālik's teaching, and, as observed by al-Sakhāwī, the teachings of other leading *ḥadīth* transmitters and critics.[89] Likely aware of these specificities of Muslim's *madhhab*, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī classed him, together with al-Bukhārī, among the traditionist jurisprudents (*fuqahāʾ ahl al-ḥadīth*).[90] Strikingly, al-Ḥākim defines these scholars as "the proponents (*aṣḥāb*) of analogy, discretionary opinion, deduction, dispute, and examination."[91] Al-Ḥākim's epistemological classification is unusual; under the same rubric, he classes adamant traditionalists, such as Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī, ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Dārimī, and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Khuzayma. He may nevertheless be right to associate Muslim and al-Bukhārī with rationalist trends in jurisprudence. As we shall see, Muslim shared al-Bukhārī's opinion that the pronunciation of the Quran is created, which led Melchert to regard al-Bukhārī as one of the semi-rationalists.[92] Muslim, who came to loggerheads with al-Dhuhlī because of his theological opinions, was not a rigid traditionalist who took *ḥadīth* at face value without giving a thought to its manifest and hidden meanings. He followed a moderate rationalist methodology, firmly anchored in the textual sources. Even if reminiscent of al-Shāfiʿī's approach, Muslim's method did not emulate the teaching of any specific master of the past.[93]

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[89] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ghunya* 36–37.

[90] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Maʿrifa* i, 274–275.

[91] Ibid. i, 246.

[92] Melchert, "Adversaries" 245–246. On the semi-rationalists, see ibid. 241–252.

[93] Leading third/ninth-century traditionalists, such as Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Wāra, were interested in al-Shāfiʿī's legal hermeneutics and theology (Maqdisi, *Rise of colleges* 104–105), without being adherents of the early Shāfiʿīyya.

3 Piety

Indifference to worldly affairs (*zuhd*) and moral exactitude (*waraʿ*)[94] are perennial themes in the biographies of many *ḥadīth* transmitters. It has been observed that the understanding of *zuhd* by the third/ninth-century Partisans of Tradition did not involve a complete withdrawal from mundane activities into the spiritual domain.[95] Only stringent ascetics, such as Muslim's contemporary Karramis, would denounce worldly gain (*kasb*) in favor of complete reliance (*tawakkul*) on God.[96] A merchant and landowner, Muslim could not have been an epitome of such strict abstinence. Biographical reports suggest that he grew up in a milieu characterized by mild forms of asceticism. His father studied under the Naysābūri jurisprudent ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ḥabīb b. Mihrān al-ʿAbdī (d. 206/822).[97] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was praised as someone who, in his time, equaled the ascetic ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak (Marw; d. 181/797) in his fondness of raiding, fasting, and going on pilgrimage.[98] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was a student of Ibn Abī Dhi'b (Medina; d. 158–159/774–776) and Sufyān al-Thawrī, unswerving ascetics who did not spare the political authority words of rebuke and moral guidance.[99]

Similar tendencies are observed in the biographical reports about ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ḥabīb's son Muḥammad (b. 177/793–794, d. 272/886), who was one of Muslim's important Naysābūri *shaykh*s.[100] Once Muḥammad besought God to make the rulers (*salāṭīn*) and those around them forget his name.[101] Perhaps he was not endowed with the courage of Sufyān al-Thawrī and Ibn Abī Dhi'b to reproach the authorities openly and opted to stay out of their way. As a student of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, he may have seen it best not to meddle in politics, especially after the tribulations of the Miḥna, in which surging political tensions caused a dogmatic split in the Muslim community. From what we know about Muslim's attitude to politics, it appears that he was similarly restrained. The Naysābūri Sufi (!) Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (b. 325/937 or 330/962, d. 412/1021) is said to have seen a dream in which the caliph ordered that Muslim should lead the prayer.[102] Al-Sulamī's dream is a faint suggestion that Muslim had encounters with the political authorities. But even if we make the precarious leap from dream to reality and assume that Muslim obeyed the caliph's order, he would have yielded to political pressure only in matters of religion apart from mundane affairs, such as the office of judgeship (*qaḍāʾ*), the refusal of which was an earmark of pietistic courage.[103] The absence of witnesses to an encounter between Muslim and the rulers other than al-Sulamī's dream[104] suggests that he was disinclined to take part in activities that went beyond trade, theology, and *ḥadīth* scholarship. In his everyday life, he likely followed the same pattern of self-restraint, unremitting seriousness, and moral exactitude as did other third/ninth-century *ḥadīth* scholars.[105]

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[94] For more on the meaning of these complex terms, see Dickinson, *Development*, 68–71 and the sources cited by him.

[95] Dickinson, *Development* 68–69; Melchert, Piety 428–432.

[96] On *tawakkul*, see Reinert, *Lehre* 1–22, 54–140.

[97] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 89.

[98] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xiv, 249.

[99] On Sufyān al-Thawrī, see Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ* i, 105–114. On Ibn Abī Dhi'b, see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* vii, 558–563; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* ix, 600–604; Dickinson, *Development* 77.

[100] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* x, 261.

[101] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 607.

Muslim's piety does not seem to have included the militant element that was characteristic of some zealous proto-Sunnis in the second/eighth and the third/ninth centuries.[106] The group of radical upholders of the Sunna, who were prepared to take resolute action against anyone they perceived as deviating, even slightly, from the right path, included al-Bukhārī's nemesis, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī and his bellicose son Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad. In contrast to such unremitting activism, Muslim was inclined to moderation. In *Kitāb al-Imāra* (*Book of commanding*) in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, he cites strings of traditions that enjoin obedience to the rulers and their representatives, keeping one's oath of allegiance to the caliph, acquiescing to an unjust ruler so long as he remains Muslim, and preserving the unity of the umma.[107] These traditions militate against Khariji and Muʿtazili political activism, but the most intransigent among the Partisans of Tradition could have been their aim as well.

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[102] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 91–92.

[103] Muḥammad b. Wāsiʿ al-Azdī (d. ca. 120/738) turned down an offer to become a judge in his native Basra; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* ix, 500; Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir (Kufa; d. 132/750) refused to accept the office of Kufa's judge and the governor of Iraq Yūsuf b. ʿUmar had him shackled; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* viii, 546. Misʿar b. Kidām (Kufa; d. 152–155/769–772) turned down al-Manṣūr's offer to become a *qāḍī*; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* x, 115. Al-Awzāʿī was offered the judgeship but refused to accept it; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* vi, 242. Muslim's older contemporary al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr (Naysābūr; d. 238/852) was offered the judgeship of Naysābūr. He went into hiding and prayed to God (*dāʿa Allāh*) for three days, at the end of which his supplication was granted, and he died; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xvii, 142–143. In like manner, Naṣr b. ʿAlī al-Jahḍamī died in 250/864, after learning that the caliph al-Mustaʿīn wanted to appoint him as *qāḍī* of Basra; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* xxix, 360–361. On the tense relationship between early *ḥadīth* scholars and the political authorities, see Dickinson, *Development* 71–78.

[104] Al-Dhahabī (*Siyar* xii, 566) mentions the story without specifying that it was an oneiric vision. In this manner, al-Dhahabī's version asserts the factuality of the caliph's endorsement of Muslim, but at the same time it becomes surreal: Born at least sixty-four lunar years after Muslim's death, al-Sulamī cannot have seen him in person as he avers in al-Dhahabī's narration. About al-Sulamī's penchant for forging traditions supporting the Sufi cause, see Brown, *Canonization* 156.

[105] For more on the ethos of traditionalists, see Melchert, "Piety."

[106] On proto-Sunni activism, see Tor, *Violent order* 158–161 and the references cited by her. As an evidence of activist position, Tor cites the statement *idhā qaḍā l-hākim bi-l-jawr aw khilāf ahl al-ʿilm fa-huwa radd* (*Violent order* 158), which is present in al-Bukhārī *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*, *Bāb Idhā qaḍā l-ḥākim bi-l-jawr*. This is however a sub-section (*bāb*) heading not a tradition by Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, as stated by Tor; *Violent order* 158, note 7. These headings were not present in al-Bukhārī's original text. Tor has erroneously interpreted the heading as a statement of political activism directed against a ruler who is deemed

Muslim's moderation notwithstanding, he would take to task those who deviated from the moral exactitude of the Partisans of Tradition. On one occasion, he let personal animosity drive his negative opinion about a fellow traditionist. According to al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh al-Saʿdī, who "had a long tongue," used to "belittle Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, on which account Muslim slandered him without evidence."[108] Ibrāhīm al-Saʿdī (d. 267/880) was a Naysābūri traditionist and littérateur (*adīb*).[109] The reason for the antagonism between him and Muslim is a matter of guess, but "a long tongue" may point to al-Saʿdī's literary pursuits as a behavioral and scholarly pattern that brought him to a head with the solemn character of the Partisans of Tradition, one of whom was Muslim.[110] To him, al-Saʿdī would have been a worthless buffoon.

4 Political Views

4.1 *Muslim and the Miḥna*

Biographical data suggest that Muslim sided with those who regarded the pronunciation (*lafẓ*) of the Quran as created.[111] This balanced theological opinion, famously advocated by al-Bukhārī, incensed al-Dhuhlī and his traditionalist followers in Naysābūr. In their view, al-Bukhārī and Muslim made a concession to

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unjust. Part of al-Bukhārī's *Kitāb al-Aḥkām* (*Book of judgments*), the heading and the tradition underneath evidently deal with the repeal of unjust legal rules rather than opposition to unjust rulers. The adequate translation of the heading is, "If the judge passes an unjust judgment or contravenes the people of knowledge, then it (scil., his judgment) is repealed."

[107] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 1834–1854 (31–64) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 1882–1902.3.

[108] Al-Sijzī, *Suʾālāt* 82, no. 41; Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* i, 326.

[109] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* vi, 29.

[110] On the different understanding of piety by the Partisans of Tradition and *ahl al-adab*, see Melchert, "Piety" 432–433.

[111] On this issue, see Chapter 4 below.

the rationalistic doctrine of *khalq al-Qurʾān*, the central tenet of the recently abolished Miḥna. Painting Muslim as an upholder of the createdness of God's speech was, however, a gross misrepresentation of his theology. He considered the Quran and *ḥadīth* as the indispensable sources of revealed knowledge, an opinion that certainly precluded giving reason free rein in the derivation of law and articulation of theology. What is more, traditionists, such as ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī, who gave in to political pressure during the Miḥna, were kept on record and frequently disparaged by their triumphant orthodox colleagues.[112] Muslim would not have avoided the same fate had he embraced the rationalistic teaching about God's created speech. But he was hardly exposed to the perils of being questioned about the Quran's essence; as we have seen, the Ṭāhirid rulers of Naysābūr kept aloof from the dogmatic and political endeavor of al-Maʾmūn and his two successors.

As an indirect indication of Muslim's negative perception of the Miḥna, we may point to the inclusion of *ḥadīth al-ruʾya* (the tradition about the beatific vision) in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[113] Holtzman has shown that this tradition played an important role in the dogmatic disputes during the Miḥna.[114] Whereas rationalist theologians rejected the beatific vision as inanity, the traditionalists from Ibn Ḥanbal's circle stood by the authenticity of *ḥadīth al-ruʾya*. By citing several traditions substantiating the beatific vision, Muslim sides with the Partisans of Tradition and signals his rejection of a key conception shared by those who upheld the Miḥna. A symptomatic feature of Muslim's oeuvre is that he never cites Ibn al-Madīnī.[115] One may reasonably suppose that, apart from a hypothetical methodological disagreement,[116] Ibn al-Madīnī's capitulation to the Miḥna's executors played a role in Muslim's shunning of this famous *ḥadīth* critic.

4.2 *The Status of ʿAlī and the Four-Caliph Teaching*

At the early stages of their movement, the Partisans of Tradition promulgated the teaching about the "rightly guided caliphate," an exemplary period of thirty years after the death of the Prophet in 11/632, during which four of his closest Companions, to wit, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and ʿAlī, ruled the Muslim community in succession. The inclusion of ʿAlī among the rightly guided caliphs was a notable concession to the Shiʿis, whose claim that ʿAlī had been a legitimate caliph was squarely rejected by the Umayyads and frequently impugned by the proto-Sunni traditionists during the early Abbasid period.[117]

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[112] On the contradictory opinions about Ibn al-Madīnī, see Su, "ʿAlī ibn al-Madīnī."
[113] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 174–183 (280–303), 191 (316) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 165.1–173, 174.5, 181.
[114] Holtzman, *Anthropomorphism* 99–105, 185–186.
[115] Noted by Van Ess, "Ḍirār b. ʿAmr" 54.
[116] See p. 156 below.

The earliest recognizable exponents of the four-caliph doctrine were the traditionists Nūḥ b. Abī Maryam (Marw; d. 173/789–790), ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak (Marw; d. 181/797), Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān (Basra; d. 198/813), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī (Basra; d. 198/814), and Hushaym b. Bashīr (105–183/723–799) after he moved from his native Wāsiṭ to Basra.[118] The same teaching was espoused by the renowned *ḥadīth* critic Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn (Iraq; d. 233/848).[119] The Basran origins of the four-caliph teaching received support in a recent study by Su.[120] He further argued that during the second half of the second/eighth century, the Batri Zaydis in Kufa embraced this teaching, joining ranks with many of their proto-Sunni counterparts.[121] Su's evidence points to the end of the second/eighth century as the most likely date of the doctrine's spread in Kufa.[122] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal promoted the four-caliph teaching in Baghdad, whereupon it became widespread among the Partisans of Tradition.[123]

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[117] Thus, the Egyptian authority al-Layth b. Saʿd (b. 94/712–713, d. 175/791) catalogues as rightly guided caliphs only Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān; Ibn Maʿīn, *Tārīkh* 491, noted by Zaman, *Religion and politics* 53, note 73; see also Zaman, *Religion and politics* 56–59. On techniques applied by the Partisans of Tradition with the aim of incorporating ʿAlī as a praiseworthy participant in the early-Islamic history, see Husayn, "Rehabilitation" 569–581.

[118] Crone, ʿUthmāniyya 953; Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 494; Melchert, *Ahmad* 96–97.

[119] Ibn Main, *Tārīkh* iii, 465, no. 2285; noted by Zaman, *Religion and politics* 51–52.

[120] Su, "Early Shiʿi perspective" 33–34.

[121] Ibid. 34–39.

[122] Su's chronology of the four-caliph teaching in Kufa vacillates between one or two generations before Ibn Ḥanbal ("Early Shiʿi perspective" 32, 34) and the late second/eighth century; ibid. 33, 39. The trigger of uncertainty is Su's presumption that the *isnād* ascriptions are predominantly authentic, which leads him to recognize Ḥashraj b. Nubāta as the earliest disseminator in Kufa of the Safīna tradition endorsing the four-caliph doctrine; ibid. 31. Ḥashraj's death date is unknown. Al-Mizzī records only six persons as his informants (al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* vi, 506), of whom we know the death dates of Saʿīd b. Jumhān (Basra; d. 136/753–754) and Abū Janāb Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥayya al-Kalbī (Kufa; d. 147/764–765). Admittedly, Ḥashraj may have met these two men late in his traditionist's career, but their death dates may equally suggest that he flourished in the second half of the second/eighth century. What is more, three of Ḥashraj's informants are Basrans, one is Kufan, one is Wāsiṭi, and another one, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm *ṣāḥib* Abī Qilāba, is impossible to identify. This regional distribution does not fit well with a Kufan transmitter profile. In sum, a late second/eighth-century Kufan acceptance of the four-caliph teaching, overlapping with the early years of Ibn Ḥanbal's scholarship, seems more feasible than one in the lifetime of the previous generation of Kufan traditionists. The former chronology tallies to some degree with Melchert's observation that in the second/eighth century, Kufan proto-Sunni traditionists upheld the view that there were only two caliphs, Abū Bakr and

To Aḥmad and his generation, granting the legitimacy of ʿAlī's caliphate was a political decision, likely triggered by the policies of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn on the eve of the Miḥna. In 211–212/826–828, along with the teaching of the created Quran, al-Maʾmūn proclaimed ʿAlī's precedence over all other Companions.[124] Against the latter notion, the Partisans of Tradition regarded Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān as the Prophet's best Companions in descending order but stopped short of according ʿAlī the merit of being the Prophet's fourth best Companion.[125] Although a legitimate caliph, he was no better than Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and the other Companions who fought in the first civil war. In this manner, the Partisans of Tradition charted a middle course between ʿAlī's radical detractors, the ʿUthmāniyya[126] and the Nāṣiba,[127] and his adamant followers, who disallowed the first three caliphs as impostors.

The new ecumenical perception of ʿAlī transpires already in Muslim's Introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. He cites several reports to the effect that ʿAlī's overzealous partisans distorted his legacy after his death.[128] These reports dovetail with the tendency to rehabilitate ʿAlī that spread in the proto-Sunni circles of the second half of the second/eighth century. Instead of viewing him as the cause of sedition, as did the members of the Umayyad dynasty, representatives of these circles now put the blame for the trauma of the first civil war on ʿAlī's associates and supporters.[129] In this manner, they paved the way for the construction of ʿAlī's image as a legitimate leader of the early-Islamic community, which Muslim incorporated into the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

In line with the changing attitude to ʿAlī, Muslim modifies the *matn* of a tradition that originally disparaged the Prophet's cousin. In the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, we read,

> … on the authority of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, who said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṣ) say manifestly without concealment, "Verily, the family of Abū …

ʿUmar, whereas their Basran counterparts added ʿUthmān as the third caliph but excluded ʿAlī from the list; Melchert, "Rightly guided caliphs" 64, 71 and *passim*.

[123] Madelung, "Frühe Häresiographie" 223; Zaman, *Religion and politics* 51. Aḥmad transmitted hundreds of traditions in praise of ʿAlī; Husayn, "Rehabilitation" 568, 582.

[124] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* viii, 619 (iii, 1099), Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Azdī, *Tārīkh al-Mawṣil* 373; noted by Nawas, "Reexamination" 618.

[125] For Ibn Ḥanbal's articulation of this teaching, see Melchert, "Rightly guided caliphs" 69.

[126] On the ʿUthmāniyya, see Watt, *Formative period* 75–77; Crone, ʿUthmāniyya; Zaman, *Religion and politics* 55–56. On the historical development and doctrinal nuances, see Melchert, "Rightly guided caliphs" 68, 70.

[127] On the Nāṣiba, see Melchert, *Ahmad* 96; idem, "Sectaries" 293. Many Nāṣiba may have been Murjiʾis; Athamina, "Early Murjiʾa" 120.

[128] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 14.

[129] Husayn, "Rehabilitation" 567–568, 570–571.

> (that is, so-and-so) are not guardians (*awliyāʾ*) of mine, but my guardian (*walī*) is God and the righteous among the believers.”’[130]

Contrary to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ’ statement in the *matn*’s introduction, the tradition is unclear, as, in its present form, it omits the name of the person whom the Prophet disavowed. That the original *matn* included Abū *Ṭālib is suggested by the context of citation. Immediately before the tradition at issue, Muslim cites five traditions stating that Abū Ṭālib, who did not convert to Islam, will suffer the least punishment in Hell.[131] There are also direct witnesses to the existence of variant *matn*s in which the Prophet says, “The family of Abū Ṭālib are not guardians of mine.”[132] An anti-Shiʿi traditionist would cite the *matn* in full. Muslim, however, removed the embarrassing name, in keeping with the conciliatory policy of the Partisans of Tradition. He could not ignore the tradition altogether, since it was well known in the proto-Sunni circles. Therefore, he made a virtue out of necessity by recasting the *matn* in a way that proclaims the ecumenical manifesto of *ahl al-ḥadīth*.

Muslim’s acceptance of the four-caliph teaching is signaled by two features in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. First, Muslim does not transmit the three-caliph tradition, which asserts that in the Prophet’s lifetime the Companions considered no one as equal to Abū Bakr, then (*thumma*) ʿUmar, then ʿUthmān. No other Companion would be ranked according to merits.[133] By excluding ʿAlī from the elite cohort of the Prophet’s best Companions and successors, this tradition either questions or outright denies the legitimacy of his caliphate. Second, Muslim has an extensive chapter on the merits of ʿAlī, which follows similar chapters devoted to Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān.[134] In his analysis of the said chapter, Lucas has observed that it includes several markedly pro-Shiʿi traditions, which convey “the subtle suggestion that the succession of the first four caliphs mirrored their respective excellence.”[135] That is to say, Muslim promoted the four-caliph doctrine, which aimed at reconciling ʿAlī’s followers with the rest of the Muslim

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130 ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 366 (215) = Taʾṣīl, no. 206; noted by Husayn (“Rehabilitation” 575).

131 ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 209–210 (357–360), 212 (362) = Taʾṣīl, 200–201, 203.

132 Husayn, “Rehabilitation” 575–577. According to the commentator on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā (*Ikmāl* i, 600), the tradition is about al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya (d. 31/651–652). Al-Ḥakam who is the father of the Umayyad caliph Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (r. 64–65/684–685) and the grandfather of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 65–86/685–705) is said to have been cursed by the Prophet for eavesdropping on him (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* iii, 365–368).

133 The tradition is present in al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* no. 3687.

134 ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 2404–2409 (30–38) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 2483–2488.

135 Lucas, *Constructive critics* 265.

community along the lines set out by the Partisans of Tradition. Unlike many of them, who would not compare ʿAlī's merits to those of his caliphal predecessors (especially ʿUthmān) and considered him equal to Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and the rest of the Companions, Muslim seems to have ranked ʿAlī as the fourth best Companion of the Prophet.

4.3 *The Umayyads*

Hostility towards the fallen Umayyad caliphate (41–132/661–750) was not a hallmark of the Partisans of Tradition, but anti-Umayyad bias could nevertheless trickle into their works for political and theological reasons. Politically, the early ʿAbbāsids were ill-disposed toward the Umayyad dynasty, manifesting the attitude of the Hāshimi party, which assumed power as a result of the ʿAbbāsid revolution (129–132/747–750). In 211/826–827, when Muslim was nine years old, al-Maʾmūn ordered that no one should express sympathy for the founder of the Umayyad caliphate, Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (r. 41–60/661–680) or prefer him to any of the Prophet's Companions.[136] At the level of theology, the ʿAbbāsid propaganda painted the Umayyads as ungodly rulers who disobeyed divine commandments and unjustly shed Muslim blood. Against this position (although not necessarily in denial of ʿAbbāsid legitimism), during the early ʿAbbāsid period quietist pro-Umayyad views went hand-in-hand with Murjiʾi proclivities.[137] The Murjiʾis shared with the proto-Sunnis important political and theological stances, but all the same, the nascent traditionalist party viewed Murjiʾism as its dogmatic antagonist.[138] As the boundaries between the political and theological parties stiffened in the first half of the third/ninth century, not least following the Miḥna, Muslim was circumspect in dealing with the Umayyad caliphate, even though by his lifetime it had remained only a memory of bygone past. This specificity of his attitude was noted by Guillaume, who observed, "the two great works of Bukhārī and Muslim may be searched in vain for any generous recognition of the merits of the Umayyads."[139] Their vices, however, are implicitly addressed on several occasions.

In *Kitāb al-Īmān*, Muslim cites several traditions that stigmatize as *nifāq* (hypocrisy) the hatred of the Prophet's Medinese Companions, known as the Helpers (*Anṣār*).[140] This understanding of hypocrisy refers back to the Umayyad period, during which the caliphs and their local representatives had been hostile to the *Anṣār*, because of their perceived betrayal of the Umayyad ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, which led to his killing at the hands of rebels on 17 Dhū al-Ḥijja 35/16 June 656. The conflict between the Umayyads and the people of Medina culminated in the infamous Battle of the Ḥarra and the subsequent sacking of the city by the troops of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (r. 60–64/680–683) in Dhū al-Ḥijja 63/August 683.[141] Later on, in 82/701–702, the then heir apparent, Sulaymān b ʿAbd al-Malik, ordered that the records of Abān b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (d. 105/723) about the life and raids of the Prophet be burnt on account of their excessive sympathy for the *Anṣār*.[142] There is no need to go into further detail to understand the context of Muslim's group of traditions that makes the hatred of the *Anṣār* an earmark of *nifāq*. To any recipient from the first half of the third/ninth century, it implicitly denigrates the Umayyads as ungodly rulers who, albeit verbally professing Islam, flouted the Islamic norms of honesty and loyalty to the Prophet and his closest associates.

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[136] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* viii, 618 (iii, 1098).

[137] Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim* 234–238; Athamina, "Early Murjiʾa" 118–122.

[138] Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim* 236; Zaman, *Religion and politics* 59–60.

[139] Guillaume, *Traditions of Islam* 24.

[140] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 74–77 (128–130) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 65–68.

In *Kitāb al-Qadar*, Umm Ḥabība, the wife of Muḥammad and daughter of his nemesis, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, states, "O God, let me enjoy for a long time (*amtiʿ-nī*) [the company of] my husband, the Messenger of God, my father, Abū Sufyān, and my brother Muʿāwiya," to which Muḥammad replies that, instead of asking for something that is foreordained, she had better beseech God to spare her the torments of the grave and the Hereafter.[143] To this point, this predestinarian tradition conveys the message that God is omnipotent and no worldly authority, including that of the Umayyad clan, can meddle in the divine decree. But this is not the whole story. The tradition ends with a conversation between an unnamed person and the Prophet. The anonymous interlocutor asks, "Are the monkeys and the swine transformed [people]?" The Prophet answers, "When God, the Most Powerful and Most Exalted, destroys or torments a people, He does not allow them to have progeny. The monkeys and the swine existed before that."

This conversation, which asserts the Quranic principle that no one may be held responsible for the sins of other people, including by inheritance, is supplementary. As we shall see in Chapter 4, the tradition alludes to the Quranic verses in which God turns into apes and swine a group of transgressors—thought to be Jews—who violated the sanctity of the Sabbath.[144] By mentioning these transgressors along with the Umayyads, the Umm Ḥabība tradition not only makes a theological statement but also casts the Umayyads in the unfavorable light of a clan whose iniquity may incur a punishment of the same severity as the one that befell those Jews who violated the Sabbath. In this way, the motif of Umm Ḥabība's reprehensible haughtiness at the beginning of the tradition is recast into a metaphoric denigration of the Umayyads as a whole at the tradition's end.

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[141] On the battle, see Veccia Vaglieri, al-Ḥarra.

[142] Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Akhbār* 275–276; for details, see Anthony, *Muhammad* 87–89.

[143] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2663 (32–33) = Taʾṣīl, no. 2755.

[144] See pp. 120–121 below.

The originator of this anti-Umayyad *ḥadīth* should be sought in the lower tiers of the *isnād*. A feasible candidate is the Kufan traditionist ʿAlqama b. Marthad (d. ca. 120/738). ʿAlqama, known for his Murjiʾi convictions,[145] may have been hostile to the then-ruling Umayyad dynasty. Another possible originator is Misʿar b. Kidām (Kufa, d. 152–155/769–772), an outspoken Murjiʾi, who was on close terms with the ʿAbbāsids but late in his life turned against them.[146] The likening of the Umayyads to the metamorphic monkeys and swine brings to mind other denigrating reports putting members of the Umayyad clan in the company of apes and swine. One such report by the *akhbārī*s al-Madāʾinī (d. ca. 228/843–844) and al-Haytham b. ʿAdī al-Ṭāʾī (d. 206–207/821–822) was known to al-Balādhurī (d. ca. 278/892). According to it, Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, who is depicted by early ʿAbbāsid historians as the model villain, had a tame monkey by the name of Abū Qays. The caliph would give the monkey wine and indulge in its drunken conduct. One day, the caliph ordered the monkey to be mounted on a donkey while he, intoxicated as well, rode behind it on his horse. Suddenly, the horse stumbled; the caliph fell out of the saddle, broke his neck, and died. Thus, the wicked Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya died a befitting death.[147]

The *isnād* line below al-Madāʾinī and al-Haytham b. ʿAdī is unknown. The two *akhbārī*s were active two generations after ʿAlqama b. Marthad and one generation after Misʿar b. Kidām, which does not exclude the possibility that the report about Yazīd's wine-drinking monkey was known in Kufa in the first half of the second/eighth century. The same may be said about a tradition that was likely put into circulation by Shahr b. Ḥawshab (d. 100/718–719 or 111–112/729–731), an ascetic Syrian who traveled to Iraq. Shahr recalls how in order to avoid paying homage to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, he escaped to somewhere in the Syrian countryside. There he met the ascetic Companion ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (d. 65/684–685), in a pitiful state, who related to him a tradition according to which Hell will collect the Umayyads together with the apes and the swine.[148]

Apparently, in the later part of the Umayyad caliphate piously minded Muslims were associating Yazīd and the unholy representatives of the Umayyad dynasty with the metamorphic apes and swine mentioned in the Quran. ʿAlqama b. Marthad or Misʿar b. Kidām would borrow the same figurative language to infuse the Umm Ḥabība tradition with an anti-Umayyad sentiment. The tradition must have continued to be popular in the early ʿAbbāsid period, despite that it casts shade on one of the Prophet's wives.[149] Although Muslim used it to address the issues of divine predestination and mercy, he was most likely aware of its political implications, which suggests that he was far from sympathetic to the Umayyad dynasty.

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[145] On ʿAlqama, see Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 212–213.

[146] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* x, 115; Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 208–209.

[147] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* v, 30; noted by Cook, "Monkeys" 73.

[148] ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf* ix, 198–199, no. 21714.

Muslim's disapproval of the Umayyads may be gleaned from *Kitāb Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba* in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Apart from negatively referring to the virtues of Abū Sufyān,[150] it includes an apocalyptic section censoring the notorious governor of Iraq al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī (d. 95/714), who was responsible for the killing of ʿAbd al-Malik's rival, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, in Mecca in 73/692.[151] One also notes that neither Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān nor his confidant, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, are included in *Kitāb Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*. Apart from an anti-Umayyad slant, this may be an indication of a wider project to elevate the status of ʿAlī and the Hāshimis above that of many other Companions, especially those who opposed ʿAlī in the first civil war.[152]

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[149] Umm Ḥabība may have been disliked by anti-elitist and ascetic traditionists, because she was betrothed to the Prophet in a lavish ceremony organized by the Christian king of Abyssinia; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* x, 95–97.

[150] Muslims would not sit together with Abū Sufyān until he asked the Prophet for three favors: To merry Abū Sufyān's daughter Umm Ḥabība, to employ Abū Sufyān's son Muʿāwiya as his scribe, and to appoint Abū Sufyān as a military commander. Abū Sufyān had his wishes granted, the tradition concludes, only because, when asked about something, the Prophet would always say "yes"; ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2501 [168] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2582.

[151] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2545 (228) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 2626–2627.

[152] Lucas, *Constructive critics* 284.

CHAPTER 4

Muslim's Theology

As a collection of traditions that does not include theological deliberations, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* gives the impression that Muslim rejected "speculation […] in the issues of dogma."[1] This approach is in tune with the methodology of the Partisans of Tradition, which centers on the textual sources to the exclusion of overt speculation. Nonetheless, this influential group of Muslim scholars did not stay away from the issues of dogma that were raised by various parties of speculative theologians during the second/eighth and the first half of the third/ninth centuries. These issues are prominent throughout Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, most notably in *Kitāb al-Īmān* (*Book of faith*) and *Kitāb al-Qadar* (*Book of predestination*), which incorporate his understanding of faith and the relationship between the actions of men and God's will and predestination.

Muslim's selection and arrangement of traditions in these two books are not fortuitous. They testify to Muslim's keen awareness of the thorny theological questions of his time and show that his tradition-centric theology is not hostile to the application of reason. As noted by Melchert, "al-Bukhārī and Muslim are both examples of traditionists who adhered in theology to the middle, semi-rationalist party rather than the extreme traditionalist party of their day."[2]

1 Muslim, al-Bukhārī, and the Perception of the Quran

The famous traditionist and evaluator of transmitters Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) began to frequent Naysābūr in 209/824–825, nine years before the onset of Muslim's *ḥadīth* studies. For the last time, al-Bukhārī betook himself to the city in the year 250/864–865 and spent there five years.[3] While Muslim may have come to know al-Bukhārī during one of his earlier sojourns in Naysābūr, it was during his last visit, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī asserts, that "Muslim followed the path of al-Bukhārī, looked into his knowledge […], accompanied him, and paid him constant visits."[4] According to al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's standard report, Muslim sided with al-Bukhārī to an extent that

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[1] Brown, *Canonization* 85.

[2] Melchert, "God created" 117.

[3] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xix, 250, citing al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's *Tārīkh Naysābūr*.

[4] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 124.

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embroiled him in a conflict with Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī, the uncompromising head of the traditionalist party in Naysābūr.[5]

The issue at stake was the pronunciation (*lafẓ*) of the Quran. The end of the Miḥna in 237/852 signaled the victory of the Partisans of Tradition, who asserted the uncreated nature of God's speech. Even if triumphant, they continued to face theological challenges from within and without. One of them was the mild form of "creationism," stating that while God's speech is essentially uncreated, its pronunciation (*lafẓ*) is created during the act of ritual recitation (*tilāwa*). Among its early proponents were Ibrāhīm b. Khālid Abū Thawr (d. 240/854–855), al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857–858), and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Karābīsī (d. 248/862), all active in Baghdad.[6] The createdness of *lafẓ* was espoused by Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Marwazī (b. 202/817–818, d. 294/906). He argued that faith (*īmān*), confession (*iqrār*), testimony (*shahāda*), and the recitation of the Quran by one's own words are created.[7] Born in Baghdad, Muḥammad b. Naṣr was brought up in Naysābūr. Then he spent some time in Iraq, settled again in Naysābūr in 260/873–874, and moved to Samarqand where he died in 294/906.[8] Muslim knew his teachings and penned a presently lost treatise *al-Radd ʿalā Muḥammad b. Naṣr* (*Rebuttal of Muhamad b. Naṣr*), in which he refuted some of Muḥammad's legal opinions that disagreed with al-Shāfiʿī.[9]

Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād (Marw → Egypt; d. 228/843), who eventually died in prison because he refused to profess the createdness of the Quran, considered human actions as created—in a manner that likely paved the way for the *lafẓ* doctrine. Nuʿaym maintained that God's speech (*kalām Allāh*) and its revelation (*waḥy*) that Jibrīl conveyed to the Prophet are uncreated. In his opinion, while reciting the Quran the Prophet passed on "uncreated speech." At the same time, the articulation—be it by the angel Jibrīl (*kalām Jibrīl*) or by the Prophet (*kalām al-nabī*) and, implicitly, by any human being—is created (*makhlūq*). With the Prophet's death, the revelatory unity of uncreated and created speech had fallen apart, and there remained in this world only the created recitation of the Quran.[10] In the opinion of rigid traditionalists, such as Maslama b. al-Qāsim al-Qurṭubī (293–353/905–964),[11] Nuʿaym's dichotomy of eternal divine speech and its created pronunciation was scandalous for presuming the existence of two Qurans—one preserved in the heavenly tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*) and the other created during the act of ritual recitation.[12] Nuʿaym's adversaries were likely scandalized by the resemblance his teaching bore to a similar dichotomy postulated by Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, who, nevertheless, taught that both the Quran on the preserved tablet and the recited Quran are created.[13]

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[5] Ibid. xv, 125.

[6] Van Ess, "Ḍirār b. ʿAmr" 51–52; Melchert, *Formation* 71–72.

[7] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xiv, 39.

[8] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* iv, 509; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lvi, 111; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xiv, 36.

[9] See pp. 205–206 below.

[10] Abū Bakr al-Khallāl, *Sunna* vii, 78, no. 2120; Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 812.

[11] Maslama b. al-Qāsim is described as a mentally weak person (*ḍaʿīf al-ʿaql*) who held

Al-Bukhārī was acquainted with Nuʿaym's teaching and defended it as orthodox in his treatise *Khalq afʿāl al-ʿibād*.[14] Al-Bukhārī rebuts some thinkers, whom he dubs Jahmis and deniers [of God's attributes], by which he means the Muʿtazilis. They aver that God does not speak and, if He spoke, then His speech is created. These thinkers teach, al-Bukhārī goes on, that the recited Quran (*al-Qurʾān al-maqrūʾ*) is created, thereby failing to differentiate between the ritual recitation (*tilāwa*) performed by God's servants and that which is recited (*maqrūʾ*).[15] Like Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, al-Bukhārī holds for created only the human articulation during the act of *tilāwa*. The object of recitation (*maqrūʾ*) is not created (*ghayr khalq*).[16] Like Ibn Kullāb, al-Bukhārī cites Q 21:2 and asserts that God brings forth (*aḥdatha*) things in a manner that is completely different from the corresponding human capacity.[17] By positing that the referent of the human recitation of the Quran is originated in time (*muḥdath*), al-Bukhārī introduces a medium between the speech of God and its human articulation, which are ontologically incomparable. The conception of *muḥdath*, which shares in the nature of uncreated and created, allows him to establish a semantic link between the two. Without such a link, the *tilāwa* would be only a pretentious imitation of God's uncreated speech.

During al-Bukhārī's last visit to Naysābūr, al-Dhuhlī learned, to his chagrin, that al-Bukhārī regarded the human pronunciation of the Quran as created. Muslim took al-Bukhārī's side in the ensuing theological scandal and broke

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despicable anthropomorphist opinions (*kalām sūʾ fī l-tashbīh*); Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Tārīkh* ii, 130, no. 1423; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxvi, 98.

[12] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* x, 462–463.

[13] Van Ess, "Ḍirār b. ʿAmr" 275.

[14] Al-Bukhārī, *Khalq al-afʿāl* ii, 192–193, no. 380.

[15] Ibid. ii, 162, no. 321.

[16] The latter statement is recorded by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī on the authority of al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* ii, 353. Here al-Bukhārī uses the term *matluww* instead of *maqrūʾ*.

[17] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* nos. 7518–7519. Al-Bukhārī's understanding of *aḥdatha* was noted and extensively commented by Ibn Ḥajar; *Fatḥ al-bārī* xiii, 414–417. On Ibn Kullāb, see pp. 78–79 below.

ranks with al-Dhuhlī.[18] Thus, the standard account paints a picture of personal friendship and dogmatic accord between Muslim and al-Bukhārī in the last five years of al-Bukhārī's life. However widespread, this account raises questions. Its source, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, born sixty lunar years after Muslim's death, was the earliest advocate of al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's canonicity.[19] In this capacity, he would be inclined to depict the two collectors as pillars of *ḥadīth* scholarship who worked in concert and shared similar opinions in which Muslim followed the example of his elder and better al-Bukhārī.

According to some indications, already before al-Bukhārī arrived in Naysābūr, Muslim had professed theological opinions that irked his fellow Partisans of Tradition. Al-Ḥākim's standard report includes the clause, "Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā [al-Dhuhlī] was told that Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj has followed his (scil., al-Bukhārī's) teaching in the past and the present, and that he was reproached for this in Iraq and the Ḥijāz, but he did not abjure it."[20] Al-Ḥākim's expression "followed his teaching in the past and the present" looks like a rhetorical turn of phrase asserting the longstanding friendship between the two men. All the same, it is not bereft of factuality. In another report, al-Ḥākim quotes Muḥammad b. al-Yaʿqūb b. al-Akhram's learned opinion that even before al-Bukhārī's arrival in Naysābūr, Muslim "has manifested the *lafẓ* teaching, without concealing it."[21] Al-Akhram's comment suggests that Muslim held the pronunciation of the Quran for created long before 250/864–865, without necessarily presuming al-Bukhārī as the source of this conviction. Al-Bukhārī's arrival in Naysābūr was important in that it provided Muslim with a powerful ally and encouraged him to divulge his opinion, which ultimately triggered the clash with al-Dhuhlī's party.

Muslim's siding with al-Bukhārī in the pronunciation dispute was probably the last straw that shattered an already strained relationship with al-Dhuhlī's followers. An earlier quarrel, recorded by al-Ḥākim on the authority of Makkī b. ʿAbdān (Naysābūr; b. 242/856–857, d. 325/937), involved Dāwūd b. ʿAlī al-Ẓāhirī (Baghdad, d. 270/884) and al-Dhuhlī's son Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad (Ḥaykān).[22] The report sets the event "in the days of Isḥāq b. Rāhwayh" (161–238/778–853), that is, either during the Miḥna (ca. 218–237/ca. 833–852) or immediately thereafter. Ḥaykān engaged in a dispute with Dāwūd and apparently lost it—unaided by Muslim, who stood by silent. We may think that the argument raged at a scholarly assembly presided by Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir or one of his confidants. Upon learning about Muslim's desertion of Ḥaykān, al-Dhuhlī immediately stopped transmitting on Muslim's authority, whereas Muslim sent back to al-Dhuhlī all traditions he had previously recorded from him.

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[18] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 125, citing al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī on the authority of Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb b. al-Akhram, who was one of al-Dhuhlī's closest associates.

[19] For more on this, see Brown, *Canonization* 154–205.

[20] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 125; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 94; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* v, 194.

[21] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 460, 572. Al-Khaṭīb (*Tārīkh* xv, 125) has the same report without al-Akhram's comment.

[22] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 93; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 178–179; idem, *Siyar* xii, 571–572.

The report does not specify the point of contention between Dāwūd b. ʿAlī and Ḥaykān, which gives al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī some ground to conjecture that it recounts the story of an old estrangement (*waḥsha qadīma*) between Muslim and al-Dhuhlī as opposed to their ultimate estrangement (*waḥsha akhīra*).[23] Al-Ḥākim's two-estrangement scenario suggests that Muslim had an early disagreement with al-Dhuhlī, which was unrelated to theology, and became embroiled in the *lafẓ* issue only after al-Bukhārī's last coming to Naysābūr. Against this scenario, Brown has raised the possibility that the falling-out between Muslim and al-Dhuhlī was entirely unrelated to the *lafẓ* dispute. Brown's hypothesis rests on two arguments: (1) Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, who knew about al-Bukhārī's theology of *lafẓ*, says nothing about Muslim's association with the same doctrine; (2) Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Hārūn al-Qurashī (Naysābūr; d. ?) preferred Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* to al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* because Muslim was not tainted by the *lafẓ* scandal.[24]

Al-Dhuhlī was a Sunni zealot[25] and his harsh retort along with Dāwūd b. ʿAlī's involvement in the first accident point in a direction that contravenes al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's two-estrangement scenario and Brown's denial-of-*lafẓ* hypothesis. Dāwūd b. ʿAlī and Ḥaykān must have clashed over theology and politics, not jurisprudence. Dāwūd b. ʿAlī is known to have held that the articulation of the Quran is created.[26] According to another report, al-Dhuhlī wrote to Ibn Ḥanbal to inform him that Dāwūd b. ʿAlī was spreading in Naysābūr the errant teaching that the Quran is *muḥdath*, that is, uncreated yet originated in time.[27] This teaching is well in tune with the theology of the Basran scholar Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Kullāb (d. 244/855), who distinguished between divine speech (*maqrūʾ*), which is eternal, and its recitation (*qirāʾa*), which is created. In line with this notion, he interpreted Q 21:2 and Q 26:5, which mention "a new reminder from their Lord" (*dhikr min rabb^{i}-him*

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[23] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 93–94; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 572.

[24] Brown, *Canonization* 85–86.

[25] Tor, *Violent order* 136–141.

[26] Van Ess, "Ḍirār b. ʿAmr" 52; idem, *Theology and society* iv, 253–254.

[27] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* ix, 347; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 92; idem, *Siyar* xiii, 103; Melchert, "Adversaries" 244.

muḥdath). According to Ibn Kullāb, the expression *dhikr muḥdath*, in which *dhikr* metaphorically represents the Quran, indicates that the reminder is created. It nevertheless refers to uncreated content.[28]

One may hardly doubt that Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī and Ḥaykān quarreled over the issue of *lafẓ*. Whereas Ḥaykān advocated the traditionalist opinion that God's speech is not created,[29] al-Ẓāhirī would have agreed only in part. Namely, speech is God's eternal capability,[30] but the words by which human beings articulate it are indeed created. Furthermore, as suggested by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī's letter to Ibn Ḥanbal, Dāwūd would have asserted that the referent of the human pronunciation of the Quran (*matluww*), although uncreated, was originated in time (*muḥdath*). Such a tripartite view of the Quran as (1) uncreated divine speech, which (2) is revealed to humankind in specific temporal and spatial circumstances, and (3) is clad in the created sounds or articulation, allowed Dāwūd to solve the conundrum of how the eternal, infinite, and indivisible speech of God may inhere in the created, finite, and discrete sounds and words that human beings utter. The earlier equivalent of Dāwūd's *muḥdath* may be seen in Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād's understanding of *waḥy* as a conveyor of God's speech to its human enunciator. Muslim's silence in Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī's *majlis* suggests either acquiescence or wholehearted endorsement of his teaching. Whatever the case, Muslim stood away from the traditionalist perception of divine speech as an uncreated unity. Al-Dhuhlī and his followers would not pay attention to theological subtleties. To them, Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī and Muslim, who was likely familiar with Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād's teaching,[31] postulated the existence of two types of divine speech and introduced an ontological chasm between the earthly Quran and the heavenly tablet.

The conflict between Muslim and al-Dhuhlī may not have been as pitched as perceived by the majority of later biographers. Al-Samʿānī—an expert in the biographies of Naysābūri scholars, who had an access to presently lost sources, including al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's *Tārīkh Naysābūr*—has an indicative report under Muḥammad b. al-Naḍr al-Jārūdī (d. 291/904). Al-Jārūdī took great pride in his close friendship with Muslim, which he maintained until Muslim's death. This statement is significant since al-Jārūdī grew up in the company of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī and often stayed in his house.[32] Al-Samʿānī, who does not identify the source of this report,[33] does not say a word about a deterioration in al-Jārūdī's relationship with either Muslim or al-Dhuhlī, which one expects to have happened if the two scholars were embroiled in a conflict of the magnitude described by the later sources. Al-Jārūdī is also remembered for his posthumous laudation of Muslim.[34] If historically accurate, this report suggests that Muslim's falling-out with al-Dhuhlī had no long-lasting consequences.

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[28] On Ibn Kullāb's teaching, see Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 206–211; Watt, *Formative period* 286–289.

[29] This was Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's early formulation, which later evolved into describing the Quran as "uncreated" (*ghayr makhlūq*) and, ultimately, "eternal" (*qadīm*); Van Ess, *Theology and society* iii, 498–499.

[30] Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 253.

[31] Muslim cites Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād once, in the Introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

The dispute about *lafẓ* appears to have subsided in Naysābūr after al-Dhuhlī's death in 258/872. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Marwazī, who was an outspoken advocate of the createdness of human actions, including the ritual recitation of the Quran, is said to have gained prominence in the city immediately after al-Dhuhlī had passed away. Al-Dhuhlī's son Ḥaykān and those around him acknowledged Muḥammad b. Naṣr's merits and prominence.[35] Evidently, they were not as outraged by the *lafẓ* teaching as had been al-Dhuhlī. Recall that Ḥaykān is sometimes described as Ḥanafi in law and that in his clash with al-Khujistānī he received the support of Naysābūri *ahl al-raʾy*,[36] which allows one to suppose that in comparison with his father he was less intransigent in theology.

When considering Muslim's relationship with the local scholarly and political elites, we must keep in mind that, unlike al-Bukhārī, he was a native of Naysābūr. It was here that Muslim owned land and engaged in profitable trade. He could not just leave the city, as did al-Bukhārī after his relationship with al-Dhuhlī had fallen apart.[37] Although his siding with the proponents of *lafẓ* was not to the taste of adamant traditionalists, his support for al-Bukhārī may have not been as pronounced and wholehearted as depicted by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī about a century after the events. In a hint of a rift between Muslim and al-Bukhārī, al-Dhahabī averred that "because of his acrid temper" (*li-ḥidda fī khuluq^{i}-hi*) Muslim turned away from al-Bukhārī and did not cite his traditions in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[38] While apparently an inference from the said lack of citation, al-Dhahabī's remark may nevertheless reflect a historical reality in which

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[32] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* ii, 8.

[33] Al-Dhahabī cites parts of the same report on the authority of al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī; *Tārīkh al-islām* xxii, 301–302.

[34] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xi, 170.

[35] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xiv, 36.

[36] See p. 37, note 16.

[37] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 459.

[38] Ibid. xii, 573.

Muslim tempered his support for al-Bukhārī, lest it imperil his social and economic fortunes in Naysābūr.

2 Muslim and the Definition of Faith

Muslim's *magnum opus*, *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ*, is chiefly perceived as a collection of sound traditions that go back to the Prophet Muḥammad through uninterrupted *isnād*s populated by upright and reliable transmitters. Because of this collection's legal significance, its theological aspects have been often neglected. To Muslim, however, they were as important as the legal norms conveyed by most of the traditions constituting the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. This and the following section are the first systematic reconstruction of Muslim's theology, which grants us a glimpse of the theological concepts of the early Partisans of Tradition.

The pivotal role of theology in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is signaled by its opening *Kitāb al-Īmān* (*Book of faith*). In this extensive book, Muslim deploys 360 prophetic traditions divided into ninety-six chapters to expound on his understanding of faith in Islam.[39] I have divided the ninety-six chapters in *Kitāb al-Īmān* into fourteen groups, each devoted to a specific theological issue. Admittedly, this division is artificial, and one may apply it only while remaining alert to the following caveat. Muslim is a tradition-based theologian, who presents his audience with strings of traditions devoid of explicatory comments, and it is up to the recipient to unravel the implied theological message. This is not an easy task, insofar as the same tradition may address diverse theological issues, especially if it is an extensive compound narrative. Sometimes, a single word may be infused with a high hermeneutical value. Muslim as a rule does not set out fixed thematic boundaries to signal the beginning and the end of his arguments for or against a theological doctrine but seamlessly proceeds from one topic to another. Nor does he identify his adversaries, whom the recipients must infer from their background knowledge about the political and intellectual history of Iraq and Northeastern Iran in the second/eighth and the third/ninth centuries. In the following analysis, I identify Muslim's opponents as Ḥanafi, Murji'i,

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[39] The number of 360 traditions is based on ʿAbd al-Bāqī's numeration. According to Dār al-Taʾṣīl's numeration, the chapter comprises 453 traditions. The difference of ninety-three traditions is benign, since ʿAbd al-Bāqī does not assign a number to each auxiliary transmission. The number of sections in Dār al-Taʾṣīl is 133, because of their reliance on Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī's manuscript, which often marks a section with a specific title and follows it up with one or several sub-sections entitled *Bāb min-hu* (*A section on the same* [*topic*]). ʿAbd al-Bāqī has only the sections that bear specific titles.

Muʿtazili, and Khariji theologians, but detours against the followers of Ibn Karrām and Ibn Kullāb should by no means be excluded. It must be borne in mind that theological polemists may assign designations such as "Murji'i" or "Jahmi" with little regard for doctrinal nuances; the Partisans of Tradition often use them as blanket derogatory descriptions of their adversaries.[40]

All references to paragraph numbers in the following analysis are according to ʿAbd al-Bāqī's edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

2.1 *§§1–10. The Definition of Faith* (īmān) *and Islam*

Kitāb al-Īmān opens with the famous tradition in which the Prophet defines the meaning of *īmān* and Islam before a strange interlocutor, who turns out to be the Angel Gabriel (§1).[41] *Īmān* is the inner belief in God, His angels, scriptures, messengers, predestination, and resurrection on Judgment Day, which Muslim theologians frequently call "accepting the truth in one's heart" (*taṣdīq bi-l-qalb*). Islam comprises the outward actions that endorse this belief, to wit, declaring one's faith (*shahāda*), serving (*ʿabada*) God without associating (*ashraka*) with Him other objects of devotion, praying (*ṣalāt*), almsgiving (*zakāt*), fasting (*ṣawm*), and performing the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*). To the Partisans of Tradition, *īmān* and Islam form an indivisible unity, which they designate as *dīn* (religion), in line with the Prophet's words, "This was Gabriel, who came to you to teach you your *dīn*."[42]

The next nine chapters focus on the importance of actions. In §§9–10, Muslim treats the *shahāda* as an outward expression of *īmān*.[43] Significantly, traditions nos. 31 (52) and 32 (53) at the end of §10 warn against an exclusive reliance (*ittikāl*) on the declaration of faith, thereby implying the centrality of actions to the completeness of faith.[44] The main thrust of this chapter is against early Ḥanafis/Murji'is and Jahmis, who refused to admit actions into the definition of faith. Apart from them, Muslim likely engages the Karramis, who advocated exclusive reliance on God (*tawakkul*) and disdained worldly actions in pursuit of gain (*kasb*).

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[40] Van Ess, "Ḍirār b. ʿAmr" 21–24, 55–56.

[41] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 8–10 (1–7) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 1–2.2.

[42] Al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* i, 145.

[43] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 24–33 (39–55) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 16–25.1.

[44] See Wensinck, *Muslim creed* 49 for a similar conclusion, with a stronger emphasis on the significance of faith in orthodox Islam.

2.2 *§§ 11–14. Faith* (īmān) *and Actions* (*Islam*) *Are Indivisible. Īmān Comprises More Than Seventy Branches* (shuʿab). *It Increases and Decreases in accordance with the Quality of Actions*

In this section, Muslim engages the Ḥanafi/Murji'i teaching that the multiple designations of faith (*īmān*), such as *taṣdīq* (confirming as true [the tenets of faith]), *maʿrifa* (knowledge), *iqrār* (confession), Islam, *yaqīn* (certainty), and *dīn* (religion), do not imply diversity of its content, because their meaning always boils down to the profession of monotheism.[45] Muslim asserts that *īmān* does not refer exclusively to the internal belief in God, as Ḥanafis and Murji'is would have it, but rather to the belief in God that the believers manifest by performing a variety of actions and duties, all indispensable for the completeness of their faith. The degree of one's belief is contingent on the performance of these actions.

Significantly, Muslim equates Islam with a specific manifestation of *dīn*, the generic religion that signifies God's jurisdiction over the world and its inhabitants. In no. 34 (56), he cites a tradition in which the Prophet states, "He has tasted the faith (*īmān*) who has willingly accepted God as his Lord, Islam as his religion (*dīn*), and Muḥammad as his prophet."[46] The tradition makes two important theological connections. First, Islam (which Muslim understands as the acts of obedience to God according to His revelation to Muḥammad) is an inseparable part of *īmān*; and second, Islam is *dīn*. In this way, Muslim oppugns the early Ḥanafi/Murji'i thesis that, as generic monotheism shared by all prophets alike, *dīn* pre-exists the legal obligations (*sharāʾiʿ*, *farāʾiḍ*) and the corresponding actions, which are specific to each individual prophet and his community.[47] In Muslim's lifetime, the Naysābūri ascetic Muḥammad b. Karrām followed a similar teaching.[48] It detaches the generic *dīn* from the particular acts of obedience and views it as constant belief that does not change in degree.[49] To Muslim's opponents, *īmān* is substantively similar to *dīn* and dissimilar to the legal obligations. Muslim's tradition no. 34 (56) militates against this conception. It suggests that, while being an aspect of *īmān*, Islam qualifies *dīn* in a distinctive manner, which—in other traditions—Muslim understands as the ritual duties incumbent upon Muslims (e.g., § 5, no. 16 [19–22]). Thus, Islam is the aspect of *īmān* that includes one's works based on an Islamic set of divine ordinances.

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[45] Abū Ḥanīfa, *ʿĀlim wa-mutaʿallim* 14; cited by Rudolph, *Māturīdī* 54, nos. 6, 8. On *dīn*, see Abū Ḥanīfa, *ʿĀlim wa-mutaʿallim* 40; noted by Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 231.

[46] *Dhāqa ṭaʿm al-īmān man raḍiya bi-l-lāh rabb^{an} wa-bi-l-islām dīn^{an} wa-bi-Muḥammad rasūl^{an}*; ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 34 (56) = Taʾṣīl, no. 26.

[47] Abū Ḥanīfa based his argument on equating *īmān* with *dīn* on Q 42:13; Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 224.

[48] See pp. 42–43 above.

[49] Rudolph, *Māturīdī* 53, no. 5, citing Abū Ḥanīfa, *ʿĀlim wa-mutaʿallim* 11–13.

Muslim's understanding of *dīn* as specific divine legislation is clear from the beginning of his introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, in which he asserts that prophetic Tradition helps to determine "the precedents of *dīn* and its norms" (*sunan al-dīn wa-aḥkām^{u}-hu*)[50] and that "reports about the matters of *dīn* determine the licit and illicit, the ordained and forbidden, and the commendable and reprehensible."[51] Incidentally, in *Kitāb al-Tamyīz* Muslim defines the *sunan* (precedents, customary practices) and *āthār manqūla* (transmitted reports) as the origin (*aṣl*) of the *adyān* of the Partisans of Tradition.[52] The word *adyān* is the plural form of *dīn*, and, in this context, it may be understood only as the laws (not religions!) that the Partisans of Tradition derive from the *sunan* and *ḥadīth*.

By equating Islam to the Law and subsuming both under *īmān*, Muslim rebuts his opponents' claim that legislation is later than belief and, therefore, the degree of abidance by the Law does not affect one's status as a believer. A similar polemical message is implied in his understanding of *dīn* as the legislation derived from the customary practices and traditions that are specific to the Islamic community.

2.3 *§§ 15–19.* Īmān *and the Construction of the Islamic Community*

In this section, *īmān* is treated as pivotal for the construction of the Muslim community. *Īmān* means to love God and His Messenger and to have compassion for other Muslims. Muslim emphasizes the obligation to refrain from disparaging other people: "He who believes in God and the Last Day shall either praise or keep silent."[53] As we shall see, this norm was of great significance to Muslim, because of its bearing on *ḥadīth* criticism. Wariness of disparaging absent Muslims, most notably long-deceased ancestors, permeates biographies of early transmitter critics and is a matter of notable concern in Muslim's Introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and in *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*.

2.4 *§§ 20–21.* Īmān *May Increase and Decrease*

Here Muslim returns to a subject that he addressed in §§ 11–14. *Īmān*, being actions, may increase and decrease and depends on one's works. In a push against the radical Kharijis but also the advocates of passive reliance (*tawakkul*) on God among the Sufis, Muslim cites the tradition, “Whoever of you sees something reprehensible must change it by hand. If unable, then by tongue. If unable, then in his heart. This is the weakest *īmān*.”[54]

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[50] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 3.

[51] Ibid. p. 28.

[52] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 218.

[53] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 47 (74) = Taʾṣīl, no. 39.

In a curious exercise of sacred geography, Muslim asserts that *īmān* varies in degree between different regions. The traditions gathered in § 21 highlight the belief of the Yemenis (*al-īmān yamān*^{in}) in contrast to the unbelief of the East (*raʾs al-kufr qibal*^{a} *l-Mashriq*). Whereas the Yemen may be understood as a metaphor for the birthplace of Islam in Mecca and Medina, or the Ḥijāz in general,[55] locating the unbelief in the East is puzzling. One may think of Northeastern Iran and Transoxiana. These regions were not yet fully islamicized in Muslim's lifetime, and he certainly had a first-hand acquaintance with the situation there. Apart from this, Khariji movements were spreading in Sīstān and Afghanistan, and, in the last decade of Muslim's life, Zaydi Shiʿis took control over the northeastern province of Ṭabaristān. In the perception of the Partisans of Tradition, these events were tantamount to the spread of reprehensible unbelief that undermined the coveted unity of the Muslim umma. Lastly, when Muslim describes the inhabitants of the East as “rough in their hearts and rude” (*ghilẓ al-qulūb wa-l-jafāʾ fī l-mashriq*), he may be letting out resentment at the plight of the caliphal institution after the killing of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861 at the hands of his Turkish guards from Transoxiana and the debilitating effect these events had on caliphal authority.[56]

Muslim is censorious of the Bedouins, citing several traditions that chide them as full of pride (*fakhr*) and haughtiness (*khuyalāʾ*). In this manner, he may be responding to the Bedouin insurrections that ravaged Arabia during the latter period of his life. Bedouin raids on pilgrim caravans brought insecurity to the pilgrimage routes in Arabia and, together with the central authority's inability to restore order, effected a sizeable decline in the number of those who performed the annual *ḥajj*, especially Iraqi pilgrims.[57] To Muslim and his fellow Partisans of Tradition, the Bedouins were preventing Muslims from performing one of their sacred duties, thereby contributing to the decrease of *īmān* and the spread of unbelief. Religious scholars could counter such baleful tendencies by circulating prophetic traditions that reprimand the arrogant Bedouins, however slim their practical utility might be.

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[54] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 49 (78) = Ta’ṣīl, no. 41.

[55] The latter possibility is borne out by the part of the tradition that excludes the Bedouins (*faddādūn*) from the category of believers. That is to say, save for the Bedouins roaming its quarters, Arabia is the birthplace of *īmān*. This understanding was entertained by a number of Muslim scholars, although others advocated the literal understanding of the *ḥadīth*'s topography; al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* ii, 32–33. Note also that tradition no. 53 (92) = Ta’ṣīl, no. 45, which closes § 21, opposes the rough and rude East to the believing Ḥijāz.

[56] This possibility was suggested by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ; al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* ii, 34.

[57] For more on this topic, see Webb, *Imagining* 274–277.

2.5 *§§ 24–49, 61–63. The Status of the Sinner. The Meaning and Varieties of* **kufr** *(Unbelief) and* **nifāq** *(Hypocrisy)*

After his extensive treatment of the conception of *īmān*, Muslim moves on to its antitheses signified by several key terms, the most important of which are *kufr* (unbelief, infidelity, ungratefulness) and *nifāq* (hypocrisy). Just as *īmān* is a blend of faith and works, so too its opposites are viewed by the Partisans of Tradition as an internal persuasion that manifests itself in the acts of *kufr* and *nifāq*.

This new part of *Kitāb al-Īmān* opens with § 24, which serves as a heading that separates the topic of unbelief and sin from the preceding material on *īmān*. Comprising several variants of the famous tradition, "The adulterer is not a believer as he commits adultery, the thief is not a believer as he steals, and the drinker of wine is not a believer as he drinks,"[58] § 24 is key to understanding the traditionalist teaching about the sin and the status of the sinner. At first glance, the above tradition makes the general statement that sins are incompatible with faith, and it may even be understood as excommunicating the sinner, in tune with the exclusivist Khariji dogma. All the same, Muslim understands the tradition differently, in a manner that allows him to engage in subtle polemics against his theological adversaries. To grasp his intention, one must look into the grammatical structure of the tradition, on the one hand, and its interplay with other traditions in *Kitāb al-Īmān*, on the other.

In terms of grammar, the Prophet's statement "the adulterer is not a believer as he commits adultery, etc." (*lā yaznī l-zānī* [...] *wa-huwa muʾmin*, etc.) is based on dependent clauses functioning as circumstantial objects (*jumla ḥāliyya*) that signal the concurrency of verbal action in the main and the dependent clauses. Such temporal restriction implies (1) that faith decreases or altogether vanishes in the very moment of sinning and (2) that subsequently it may regain some of its degree, albeit lesser than the same degree before the perpetration of the sin. Apart from its anti-Khariji thrust, we may accept Wensinck's suggestion that Muslim used this tradition as a weapon against the Murji'is, who would withhold their opinion about the status of the sinner until God divulges it on Judgment Day.[59]

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[58] *Lā yaznī l-zānī ḥīn^{a} yaznī wa-huwa muʾmin wa-lā yasriqu l-sāriq ḥīn^{a} yasriqu wa-huwa muʾmin wa-lā yashrabu l-khamr ḥīn^{a} yashrabu-hā wa-huwa muʾmin*; ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 57 (100) = Taʾṣīl, no. 49.

[59] Wensinck, *Muslim creed* 45; cf. Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 96–97.

Substantively, § 24 correlates with § 40, which states that *shirk* is the only unforgivable sin.[60] This tenet resonates with the early Ḥanafī/Murjiʾi teaching, based on Q 4:48, that any grave sin other than *shirk* is subject to absolution.[61] In § 40, no. 94 (154), Muslim counters the Kharijis and the Muʿtazilis, who condemned the sinner to eternal damnation, by citing a *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet assures his ascetic Companion Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī (d. 32/652) that, barring those who practice *shirk*, every Muslim, even the adulterer and the thief, will ultimately enter Paradise.[62]

A similar message may be inferred from § 41. In its opening tradition,[63] the Prophet states that a Muslim warrior who kills an unbeliever (*kāfir*) who has just pronounced the declaration of faith (*shahāda*) "comes in the [same] position in which the slain had been before he said the words that he said." The three closing traditions in § 41 describe an accident in which Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha (d. 54/673–674 or 58–59/677–679)[64] kills an unbeliever who has just converted to Islam.[65] Upon learning about the event, the Prophet rebukes Usāma but stops short of accusing him of unbelief or threatening him with punishment in Hell. In this manner, § 41, nos. 96–97 (158–160) mitigate the effect of § 41, no. 95 (155–157) and argue against the excommunication of the murderer of another Muslim. According to Wensinck, such traditions are directed against the Kharijis, who would put to the sword as an unbeliever any of their adversaries even if they had joined the Muslim community by pronouncing the *shahāda*.[66] On the example of the Prophet's lenient attitude toward Usāma b. Zayd, Muslim also urges those who oppose the Kharijis not to be tempted into embracing the parochial theology of outright *takfīr*. The structure of the paragraph in which the last three traditions modify the message of the first three traditions highlights Muslim's thoughtful selection and arrangement of *ḥadīth*-based arguments in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Led by their substantive content, he marshals traditions in a way that best articulates and refines the theological point he wants to make.

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[60] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 92–94 (150–154) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 84–86.1.

[61] Abū Ḥanīfa, *ʿĀlim wa-mutaʿallim* 16.

[62] Noted by Wensinck, *Muslim creed* 46. On Abū Dharr's asceticism, see Reinert, *Lehre* 86, 209.

[63] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 95 (155) = Taʾṣīl, no. 87; cf. ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 95 (156–157) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 87.1–87.2.

[64] Usāma b. Zayd is the son of Zayd b. Ḥāritha. The Prophet adopted Zayd as his son ca. 605 CE and repudiated him in 5/626–627 upon marrying Zayd's divorced wife Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh. Zayd was killed in the battle of Muʾta in 8/629. The standard biography of Zayd is Powers, *Zayd*; see also idem, "Sinless."

[65] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 96–97 (158–160) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 88–89.

[66] Wensinck, *Muslim creed* 40–41.

After defining the status of the sinner in § 24 as someone whose faith has decreased yet not altogether lapsed, Muslim moves on to describe in detail the varieties of sin and unbelief.

§ 25 begins with three traditions about hypocrisy (*nifāq*), which is to lie, betray confidence, break promise, and act dishonestly in litigation.[67] The two closing traditions of the chapter include a characteristic addition (*ziyāda*): *Nifāq* does not disappear even if one holds fast to his ritual obligations, such as fasting and prayer, and pretends (*zaʿama*) that he is a Muslim.[68] Works and faith are interdependent. Just like faith, hypocrisy is embodied in one's actions, which affect the degree of his faith.

Muslim takes up the issue of *nifāq* once again in § 33,[69] this time in its political dimensions embedded in the history of early Islam. To hate the Helpers (*Anṣār*), the Medinese Muslims who offered help and accommodation to the Prophet and his Meccan Companions, is a manifestation of *nifāq*.[70] Here *nifāq*, being the hatred of the *Anṣār*, is contrasted with *īmān*, being the love of the *Anṣār*. In conjunction with § 25, where *nifāq* is opposed to Islam, § 33 suggests that in Muslim's understanding *nifāq* is the blend of false belief in one's heart with one's correspondingly immoral actions. This understanding stands close to the first part of the early Ḥanafi/Murji'i description of *nifāq* as "(1) refusal and denial in one's heart (2) while feigning acceptance and confirmation by one's tongue."[71] Unsurprisingly for a scholar who upheld the significance of actions for faith, Muslim is confident that one's hypocrisy is necessarily betrayed by a specific deed, such as mendacity and unfaithfulness to promise. Thus, he oppugns the second part of the Ḥanafi/Murji'i formula, which accords with their teaching that faith consists of a cordial belief and its articulation by the tongue, to the exclusion of bodily actions.

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[67] *Idhā ḥaddatha* (!) *kadhaba wa-idhā ʿāhada ghadara wa-idhā waʿada akhlafa wa-idhā khāṣama fajara*; ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 58–59 (106–108) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 50–51.1.

[68] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 59 (109–110) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 51.2–51.3.

[69] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 74–77 (128–130) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 65–68. I do not include in this group the last tradition in § 33. Stating that anyone who hates ʿAlī (who belongs to the Meccan immigrants, not the Medinese Helpers) is hypocrite, it is in a league of its own. Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī reasonably singled out this tradition as a separate chapter entitled, *A chapter on that only a believer loves ʿAlī and only a hypocrite hates him* (Ta'ṣīl, no. 60). This pro-ʿAlid tradition may be linked with the Kufan *qāṣṣ* of Shiʿi leaning ʿAdī b. Thābit al-Anṣārī, who is present in its *isnād*. ʿAdī was known for his penchant for *rafʿ al-isnād*, that is, supplying with a continuous *isnād* to the Prophet traditions whose *isnād*s originally stopped at the level of the first or the second generation of Muslims; on ʿAdī, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* vii, 165–166. In Kufa, again, Muḥārib b. Dithār al-Sadūsī (d. 116/734) argued that those who repudiated the first two caliphs, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, were hypocrites; Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 193, 357.

[70] The reference to the *anṣār* may be due either to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jābir al-Anṣārī (d. 117/735–736) or to Suhayl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ (d. 138–141/755–759), both of whom were active in Medina.

[71] Abū Ḥanīfa, *ʿĀlim wa-mutaʿallim* 21.

Without going into details, Wensinck considers § 25 as conforming to the Khariji view on *nifāq*.[72] It is to be noted, however, that although contrasting *nifāq* with *īmān*, Muslim does not equate the former with unbelief (*kufr*). Instead of Khariji intransigence, one may overhear in Muslim's attitude to *nifāq* echoes of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's division between *nifāq* as a denial of Muḥammad's prophecy, which is a mortal sin, and *nifāq* as any other sin, for which there is hope for forgiveness.[73]

Muslim's chapter on *nifāq* is followed by a long and desultory series of traditions on *kufr*. Chapters 26–32, 34–35, 37–39, 41–49 define *kufr*, based on its theological and ethical connotations as unbelief and ingratitude, without following a clear logical arrangement. These chapters also enumerate a variety of sins and acts of misdemeanor that do not amount to *kufr* in either its theological or ethical aspect. Sometimes, different traditions subsume the same sin under the category of *kufr* and another rubric. For the sake of tidiness, I have arranged Muslim's exposition into three subcategories, namely, *kufr* as unbelief, *kufr* as ingratitude, and other sins. I have apportioned sins to individual entries, while proceeding, as I see it, from greater to lesser gravity of offense.

2.5.1 Subcategory 1: *Kufr* as Unbelief

- The most despicable form of infidelity is to associate with God other objects of devotion and to regard them as His "opposite equals" (*nidd*, pl. *andād*).[74] Known as *shirk*, such associationism is denounced as *dhanb* (sin), *kabīra* (grave sin), and *mūbiqa* (mortal sin). Whoever dies while associating with God other deities will enter Hell.[75] These traditions articulate the classical Sunni conception of sin, which Muslim opposes to the Kharijis and the Muʿtazilis, according to whom the perpetrator of any grave sin rather than only *shirk* will reside forever in Hell.
- To regard heavenly bodies as capable of bringing about rain is *kufr*.[76] This belief, which undermines God's omnipotence, is denounced by means of

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[72] Wensinck, *Muslim creed* 45.

[73] Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 264, note 49.

[74] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 86–90 (141–146) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 78–81.

[75] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 92–93 (150–152) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 84–85.2.

[76] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 71–73 (125–127) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 62–64.

two *qudsī* traditions, that is, divine utterances that the Prophet cites using the formula "God said." The elevated status of Muslim's arguments is not surprising insofar as the veneration of heavenly bodies is a variety of associationism (*shirk*). It also suggests that the respective beliefs, which hark back to the pre-Islamic era, persisted in the first half of the third/ninth century. One must note that in the last tradition of this group the Prophet states, "Some people are grateful (*shākir*) while others are ungrateful (*kāfir*)." This variant shows how the theological understanding of *kufr* (unbelief) could easily morph into its ethical connotation (ingratitude).

- To give up one's prayer is both *kufr* and *shirk*.[77]
- A slave who escapes from his masters (*mawālī*) remains in the state of *kufr* until he returns to them.[78] The use of *kufr* in this tradition, which opens § 31, is unclear: It may imply the slave's ingratitude for the protection he receives from his masters, although a theological connotation is also possible. A similar uncertainty—regarding the legal status of the runaway slave—is observed in the next tradition. Such a slave forfeits protection (*bari'at minhu al-dhimma*),[79] where protection may be associated with either the slave's master or God. The last tradition in § 31 states that the prayer of the runaway slave is no longer accepted.[80] As a daily act of observance and confirmation of one's faith, prayer is an outstanding emblem of belonging to the Muslim community. By denying its effectiveness, the last tradition tips the scales in favor of understanding *kufr* as forfeiture of divine protection, hence excommunication of the runaway slave. Sunni jurists and theologians tried to mitigate the radical implications of this tradition by pointing out that, although valid (*ṣaḥīḥ*), the prayer of the runaway slave does not bring about reward (*thawāb*).[81] Muslim, however, may have preferred the stringent reading of the *matn*. To him, the first version, which allows for a lenient interpretation of *kufr* as ingratitude, is based on a defective *isnād*: Manṣūr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ashall (Basra; d. ca. 140/757–758) is known to have admitted that he intentionally transmitted in Basra a version of the tradition whose *isnād* terminates at the level of the Companion Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Yamānī (d. 51/671–672), although he knew another version, whose *isnād* reaches the Prophet.[82] The second and the third traditions, which share

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[77] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 82 (134) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 74–74.1.

[78] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 68 (122) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 61.

[79] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 69 (123) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 61.1.

[80] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 70 (124) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 61.2.

[81] Al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* ii, 57–60.

[82] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (*Ṣiyāna* 246) and al-Nawawī (*Sharḥ* ii, 59) explain that Manṣūr feared that

with the first tradition the same key transmitter, ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī (Kufa; d. 103–110/721–729), are supported by chains that reach the Prophet and therefore suit better Muslim's criteria of dependable transmission. They signal Muslim's confidence that treating the runaway slave as an infidel was al-Shaʿbī's (or the Prophet's) original teaching.[83]

- Internecine strife is *kufr*.[84] The tradition implies that each party in an internal conflict lapses into *kufr*, which is not surprising given that their actions undermine the unity of the *umma*.
- "Whoever carries a weapon against us does not belong to us."[85] This statement may apply equally well to internal and external enemies, but it is more important to determine correctly the meaning of the expression "does not belong to us." If a pronouncement by the Prophet (which Muslim and the Partisans of Tradition could hardly doubt), this tradition certainly pitched "us," which signifies the Medinese community, against the group of Meccan polytheists (*mushrikūn*), who eagerly tried to eradicate Islam. Contrasted in this manner, the notions of Islam and *shirk* give the tradition a radical ring: Anyone who fights against the Muslims is the worst type of infidel, a polytheist. Muslim uses a two-step exegetical procedure to allay this undoubtedly Khariji reading of the tradition. First, he cites an extended variant of the *matn*, "Whoever carries a weapon against us does not belong to us, and whoever deceives (*ghashsha*) us does not belong to us."[86] Second, he adds yet another tradition, which explains that by *ghashsha*, the Prophet meant dis-

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the Kharijis and the Muʿtazilis, who were widespread in Basra, could take advantage of the *ḥadīth*'s prophetic version to bolster their view that the perpetrator of a grave sin languishes forever in Hell. This explanation is unfounded. The advocates of the eternal punishment in Hell could use the Companion statement with almost the same polemical success as if it were associated with the Prophet. More importantly and contrary to Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's and al-Nawawī's assertion, the *matn* of no. 68 (122) does not include anything that suggests eternal punishment for the infidel.

[83] One may think that in al-Shaʿbī's lifetime slaves were predominantly *saby* (wartime captives) and many of them converted—of their own accord or by way of coercion—to their owners' religion. Conceivably, if such a convert ran away and came back to his native territory, he would renounce Islam, thereby committing the mortal sin of apostasy. His "return" would be, of course, an euphemism for reembracing Islam. A century after the end of the conquests, Muslim legal experts would struggle to recall the tradition's original setting. Alternatively, the tradition may be referring to second/eighth-century disputes about the permissibility of the client seeking a new patron; on which see Crone, *Roman, provincial and Islamic law* 32–33.

[84] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 64–66 (116–120) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 57–59.2.

[85] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 98–100 (161–163) = Taʾṣīl, 90–92.

[86] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 101 (164) = Taʾṣīl, no. 93.

honesty in commercial transactions.[87] In this context, the expression "does not belong to us" transforms from a rigid statement of excommunication to a rhetorical exaggeration by which the Prophet meant stern rebuke rather than placing the perpetrator outside the pale of Islam.

- Branding another Muslim as *kāfir* (infidel), either falsely or by way of hyperbole, is tantamount to *kufr*.[88] This tenet is a warning against heedlessly insulting fellow Muslims, but it is directed as well against those Kharijis who accused of infidelity any Muslim who refused to adhere to their teachings. As noted by classical Muslim theologians and Wensinck, the tradition may be a double-edged sword, as, formally, it relegates the offender to the same status of unbelief as he accords to his victim.[89] Muslim may have included it in *Kitāb al-Īmān* for its rhetorical effect, in anticipation of § 28, where the vituperation of another Muslim is said to equal profligacy (*fusūq*), whereas fighting him amounts to *kufr*. In this way, the words of abuse, although highly deplorable, constitute a sin that is lesser than *kufr*.

2.5.2 Subcategory 2: *Kufr* as Ingratitude

- Repudiating one's father, while knowing that he is one's biological progenitor,[90] and impeaching one's genealogy (*al-ṭaʿn fī l-nasab*) is *kufr*.[91] In both instances, *kufr* may be understood as questioning one's lineage. A grave offense to a member of the tribal society, this variety of *kufr* goes under the rubric of *qaṭʿ al-raḥim* (severing the ties with one's kindred),[92] but it may hardly be assigned the theological meaning of unbelief with respect to God and His ordinances. To Muslim jurisprudents, these traditions might provide a Sunnaic underpinning for the abolition of adoption in Islam.[93]

Muslim jurists believe that ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 62–63 (113–115) bear on the case of Ziyād b. Abīhi (d. 53/673), who was an illegitimate child (*walad*

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[87] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 102 (164) = Taʾṣīl, no. 94.

[88] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 60–61 (111–112) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 52–53.

[89] Al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* ii, 49–50; Wensinck, *Muslim creed* 40–41.

[90] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 61–63 (112–115) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 53–55, 56.1.

[91] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 67 (121) = Taʾṣīl, no. 60.

[92] This offense is mentioned in Q 47:22.

[93] According to the standard account, adoption was abolished in 5/627, shortly after Muḥammad had repudiated his adoptive son, Zayd (Powers, *Muḥammad* 24–31). Note that ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 61 (112) and 63 (114–115) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 53, 55, 56–55, 56.1 use the verb *iddaʿa* (to pretend) to refer to the action of those who repudiate their fathers, which shares the same root as the word *adʿiyāʾ* (adopted sons) in Q 33:4, which abolishes the institution of adoption.

zinā) to a slave mother named Sumayya and Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, who was not Sumayya's master.[94] Ziyād entered politics during ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's caliphate; under ʿAlī, he became governor of Basra and Fars. In 44/665, Ziyād switched allegiance to the Umayyads in a scandalous way. The caliph Muʿāwiya acknowledged Abū Sufyān's fatherhood of Ziyād, who therefore became Muʿāwiya's germane brother.[95] Apart from disallowing the affiliation of *walad zinā* (*istilḥāq*) with a person who is not his biological father, ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 62–63 (113–115) has an anti-Umayyad undertone. Abū Sufyān is an adulterer, who perpetrated a defaming act of impiety. This group of traditions suggests that Muslim held the Umayyad dynasty in no esteem.
- Ingratitude to one's kin (*kufr al-ʿashīr*) is *kufr*.[96]
- Wailing for the dead (*niyāḥa ʿalā l-mayyit*) as part of the *jāhilī* ethos (*akhlāq al-jāhiliyya*) is a form of *kufr*.[97] Similarly deplorable are scratching the cheeks, shaving the hair, tearing the front of the dress, using the cry of the Jāhiliyya, and raising the voice, as signs of distress and mourning.[98] Despite their theological reverberations, these actions should be classed as the sin of ungratefulness. Peter Webb has argued that second/eighth-century jurists and theologians opposed wailing for the deceased men of valor because they saw in it an improper elevation of the status of some Muslim warriors, but also because, as a perceived *jāhilī* practice, wailing bespeaks the Muslim community's descent into a period of new Jāhiliyya that foreruns Apocalypse.[99] Hence, the wailing mourner is ungrateful to God and slights the deceased person.

2.5.3 Subcategory 3: Various Sins and Acts of Misdemeanor That Are Not Described as *kufr*

- Unlawful killing constitutes a grave sin (*kabīra*) and a mortal sin (*mūbiqa*).[100]
- Slandering chaste believing women is a mortal sin (*mūbiqa*).[101]

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[94] Al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* ii, 52–53.

[95] Landau-Tasseron, "Adoption" 172–173; cf. Hasson, Ziyād b. Abīhi 519–520.

[96] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 79–82 (132) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 70–72.

[97] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 67 (121) = Taʾṣīl, no. 60.

[98] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 103–104 (165–167) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 95–96.4.

[99] Webb, "Cry me a jāhiliyya" 266–274. While successful in showing the reproach of *niyāḥa* as a second/eighth-century conceptualization, Webb's evidence is less compelling in tracing the roots of the practice to the pre-Islamic era. Cf. Juynboll's earlier argument that traditions against *niyāḥa* have their origins in the second/eighth-century Iraq (*Muslim tradition* 99–108, esp. 106–108).

[100] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 88–89 (144–145) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 80.1–81.

[101] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 89 (145) = Taʾṣīl, no. 81.

- Usury is a mortal sin (*mūbiqa*).[102]
- Misappropriation of the property of orphans is a mortal sin (*mūbiqa*).[103]
- Sorcery (*siḥr*) is a mortal sin (*mūbiqa*).[104]
- Desertion from the battlefield is a mortal sin (*mūbiqa*).[105]
- The disobedience of the parents is a grave sin (*kabīra*).[106]
- Giving a false oath is a grave sin (*kabīra*).[107]
- Reviling (*shatm*) is a grave sin (*kabīra*);[108] vituperation (*sibāb*) is profligacy (*fusūq*).[109]
- Infanticide driven by poverty is a sin (*dhanb*).[110]
- Adultery is a sin (*dhanb*).[111]
- Even the slightest amount of haughtiness (*kibr*) is a bar to entering Paradise.[112]
- The spreader of defamatory rumors (*nammām*, *qattāt*) will not enter Paradise.[113] Note, however, the cautious wording of the Prophet's statement: The perpetrators of such actions are not explicitly sent to Hell.
- On Resurrection Day, God will not talk to those who dragged their garment along the ground in an expression of haughtiness, reminded of the gifts they had given, and used false oaths to sell their goods. They will not be absolved from sin and a painful torment will be meted out to them. A similar punishment will befall the aged adulterer (*al-shaykh al-zānī*), the mendacious king, the haughty destitute, as well as those who withheld water from the desert traveler and pledged allegiance to an imam just for earthly gain.[114]

  The issue of the false oath is taken up again in § 61. The chapter opens with a tradition according to which God will (1) cast in Hell and (2) bar from Paradise those who seize another Muslim's property by a deceitful oath.[115]

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[102] Loc. cit.

[103] Loc. cit.

[104] Loc. cit.

[105] Loc. cit.

[106] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 87–88 (143–144) = Taʾṣīl, 79–80.1.

[107] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 87–88 (143–144) = Taʾṣīl, 79–80.1.

[108] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 90 (146) = Taʾṣīl, no. 82.

[109] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 64 (116) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 57–57.1.

[110] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 86 (141–142) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 78–78.1.

[111] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 86 (141–142) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 78–78.1.

[112] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 91 (147–149) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 83–83.2.

[113] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 105 (168–170) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 97–97.2.

[114] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 106–108 (171–174) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 98–100.2.

[115] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 137 (218–219) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 126–126.1. For a similar tradition, see also ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 110 (176) = Taʾṣīl, no. 102.1.

Muslim counters this radical pronouncement, whose second clause suggests that punishment in Hell may last for eternity, with at least four traditions. Although stating that the giver of a treacherous oath incurs God's wrath and God turns away from him on the Day of Resurrection, these traditions stop short of placing him in Hell.[116]

§ 63 warns the ruler who deceives his subjects that he will be barred from Paradise.[117]

The above set of traditions admonishes those wielding political and economic authority against the abuse of their power, which ultimately belongs to God. The mention of the aged adulterer is striking. Apart from recalling the abrogated Quranic verse according to which the aged adulterers (*al-shaykh wa-l-shaykha idhā zanayā*) should be stoned,[118] it may well be referring to the tradition that every sinner, even the adulterer and the thief, may count on God's pardon. In other words, sinners will suffer divine punishment that is commensurate with their sin, but, against the teachings of the Kharijis and the Muʿtazilis, their otherworldly suffering will not last forever.

- The sin of suicide is treated at length in § 47. As in other instances of theological argumentation, Muslim begins with the most stringent tradition, according to which those who commit suicide will stay in Hell forever.[119] In the next three traditions, however, the Prophet specifies, "whoever kills himself with any tool will be tormented by it on the Day of Resurrection."[120] The closing four traditions locate his torment in Hell and state that he will be barred from Paradise, which may be an indication of eternal punishment.[121] After a digression to the issue of unlawful appropriation of booty, Muslim revisits the sin of suicide. Against the possibility of eternal punishment, he recounts the story of an unnamed Companion of the Prophet, who killed himself to put an end to his suffering from an incurable ailment, and who was nevertheless pardoned by God.[122] Clearly, even the perpetrator of a grave sin will not be cast into Hell forever.
- To take unlawfully even a small portion of the booty leads to Hell.[123]

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[116] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 138–139 (220–224) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 127–128.1.

[117] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 142 (227–229) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 131–131.3.

[118] On the stoning verse, see Burton, *Sources* 133–136.

[119] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 109 (175) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 101–101.1.

[120] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 110 (176–177) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 102–102.2.

[121] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 111–113 (178–181) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 103–105.1.

[122] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 116 (184) = Taʾṣīl, no. 108. Note the conception of the impeccability of the Prophet's Companions at work.

[123] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 114–115 (182–183) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 106–107.

- The robber who kills a person trying to defend his property goes to Hell. The victim acquires the status of *shahīd*.[124]

The complexity of Muslim's understanding of unbelief and sin stems from his theological agenda. His primary goal is not to work out a definition of the terms *kufr*, *kabīra*, *mūbiqa*, *fusūq*, and *dhanb*, or to study the nuances of their interrelationship, but to wield traditions that include them against his theological adversaries. For this reason, the same term may occur in different conceptual contexts, and, conversely, two or more terms may be deployed in an identical context.

2.6 *§§ 50–56, 72. The Slightest Actions That Count for Salvation*

As the Hour approaches, a gentle wind will seize the soul of anyone who has retained in his heart even the smallest amount of faith (§ 50).[125] Insofar as, to Muslim, faith is the belief endorsed by acts of devotion and obedience to God's Law, § 50 serves to introduce a new section in *Kitāb al-Īmān*. It comprises traditions that emphasize the salvific effect of faith, regardless of the believer's previous sins. The sinner is not regarded as a helpless victim of his errors but is assured that if he makes amends and proves the sincerity of his faith, his good works will reduce the effect of his sins.

§ § 52–56 convey the message that good works outweigh sins, including those committed during the Jāhiliyya.[126] Good works performed by a polytheist may also count, provided that he converts to Islam.[127] Muslims are enjoined to perform good works before the advent of the final tribulations (*fitan*) to forestall their baleful effect on the status of their faith during the last days.[128] Once the portents of the Hour appear, no acts of faith shall avail.[129] These traditions imply that the level of faith may increase and decrease following one's actions, against the early-Ḥanafi/Murji'i assertion that one's faith is constant and does not depend on one's actions.

On the example of the Companion ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (d. 42–43/662–664), Muslim briefly digresses to the status of the believers who took part in the first civil war. On his deathbed, ʿAmr is uncertain whether his deeds will be justified (*thumma walīna ashyāʾ^{an} mā adrī ḥālī fī-hā*).[130] In the second/eighth century, such uncertainty about the salvific effect of one's works was epitomized in Sufyān al-Thawrī's famous requirement, subsequently upheld by Ibn Ḥanbal (Baghdad; 164–241/780–855), that one's statement "I am a believer" (*anā muʾmin*) must be qualified with the phrase, "God willing" (*in shāʾa Allāh*).[131] Here, Muslim may be arguing against the Ḥanafi/Murjiʾi teaching that one cannot feel uncertain about one's belief.[132]

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[124] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 240–241 (225–226) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 129–130.1.

[125] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 117 (185) = Taʾṣīl, no. 109.

[126] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 120–122 (189–193) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 112–114.

[127] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 123 (194–195) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 115–115.3.

[128] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 118 (186) = Taʾṣīl, no. 110.

[129] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 157–159 (248–251) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 146–148.3, with reference to Q 6:158.

[130] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 121 (192) = Taʾṣīl, no. 113.

The section ends with a reference to Q 31:13, which Muslim uses to assert that the only unforgivable sin is *shirk*.[133] Those who committed sins lesser than *shirk* may hope for salvation because faith and good works can tip in their favor the scales of God's forgiveness. In this manner, Muslim articulates once again the teaching of the Partisans of Tradition against the Khariji and Muʿtazili theologians, who dwelt on the sinner's eternal damnation. His frequent rebuttals of their views suggest that the status of the sinner in the Hereafter was one of the most heatedly debated theological questions in Northeastern Iran and Iraq during Muslim's lifetime.

2.7 *§§57–60. The Status of Intentions*

In *Kitāb al-Īmān*, Muslim does not cite the famous tradition "Verily the actions follow the intentions" (*inna-mā l-aʿmāl bi-l-niyyāt*), which opens al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[134] Nonetheless, the interplay between intentions, actions, and human destiny comes to a prominent position in §§57–60 of *Kitāb al-Īmān*. The section on intentions opens with the exegesis of two Quranic verses. The first declares that God will make Muslims accountable for both their manifest and hidden intentions (Q 2:284), whereas the second, which abrogates (*nasakha*) the first, makes a concession: God "will not burden any soul beyond its power. It shall enjoy the good which it hath acquired, and it shall bear the evil for the acquirement of which it labored" (Q 2:286).[135] Q 2:286 is said to have been revealed after the Prophet's Companions feared that God would hold them responsible for hidden intentions that are beyond their ability to control.[136] This exegetical progression is significant for the theology of the Partisans of Tradition, as it militates against the Jahmis, the early Ḥanafis, the Murjiʾis, and the Karramis, all of whom excluded actions from the definition of faith. If their teaching were correct, God would have retained Q 2:284 as it is, without abrogating it by Q 2:286, and Muslims would have been accountable for their hidden and manifest intentions, regardless of whether they translate into actions. But God revealed Q 2:286 to make it clear that everyone would be punished or rewarded according to what they acquired, that is, their actions.[137] Wensinck and Van Ess drew attention to the anti-predestinarian ring of this verse,[138] but this implication could have hardly appealed to Muslim and the Partisans of Tradition as strongly as its bearing on the soteriological significance of deeds.

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[131] Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 259–260.

[132] On the Ḥanafi positions, see Rudolph, *Māturīdī* 73, 75.

[133] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 124 (197–198) = Taʾṣīl, no. 116–116.1.

[134] Muslim cites the tradition in ʿAbd al-Bāqī, *Kitāb al-Imāra* no. 1907 (155) = Taʾṣīl, *Kitāb al-Jihād* no. 1960.

[135] I used Wensinck's translation of Q 2:286, for which see *Muslim creed* 60.

[136] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 125–126 (199–200) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 117–118.

In § 58, Muslim cites two traditions that specify Q 2:284 and Q 2:286.[139] The Prophet makes it clear that God will forego without punishment only those intentions that do not transform into actions and remain inarticulate. Muslim needed this specification, because articulation (hinted at in Q 2:284) is, after all, an action by the tongue, which, strictly speaking, should entail reward or punishment just as an action by any other bodily limb does. Muslim's exegetical use of the Sunna in this case brings to mind al-Shāfiʿī's theory of *takhṣīṣ*, whereby the Prophet's pronouncements may be deployed to specify an existing Quranic norm.[140]

In § 59, Muslim introduces a new theological nuance.[141] Although the human beings are accountable for their articulate intentions, a distinction is made between such intentions that remain unfulfilled and others that materialize as actions. In a *qudsī* tradition, God states that He will not keep a record of the bad intentions that remained unfulfilled, and He will write down as a single bad deed the bad intention that became an action. The good intention that did not materialize will be written down by God as a single good deed, whereas the single good intention that materialized will be written down as ten or even seven hundred good deeds. Most traditions in § 59 designate intention by the verb *hamma*, but no. 129 (205) has *taḥaddatha bi-an yaʿmala* (he spoke that he would act). Human speech is an action, but it differs from an action performed by the limbs other than the tongue; hence, the insignificance of the unfulfilled bad intention in the divine nomenclature of sins. Although reproachful, it is not recorded on one's account and does not incur punishment. Graham has seen in these traditions the operation of "God's all-encompassing mercy and forgiveness,"[142] but, even so, the importance of actions as the trigger of divine forgiveness stands out.

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[137] This is al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) exclusive interpretation of the verbs *kasaba* and *iktasaba* (to acquire), for which see al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ* v, 154. The much earlier Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. ca. 150/767) was of the same opinion (*Tafsīr* i, 232).

[138] Wensinck, *Muslim creed* 60; Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 550–552.

[139] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 127 (201–202) = Taʾṣīl, 119–119.2.

[140] Al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla* 64–73, nos. 214–235. Lowry, *Early Islamic theory* 69–87.

[141] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 128–131 (203–208) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 120–121.1.

Of course, there are intentions or, better put, whispers (*waswasa*), which cannot translate into fully-fledged actions because of their abstract or transcendental referent, but which, nonetheless, are detrimental to one's faith. Such grave thoughts, which are rarely articulated, may be countered only by firm belief in God (§ 60).[143] As an example, Muslim points to those people, most likely dualist thinkers,[144] who would reply to the statement "God created the world" with the question, "And who created God?"[145] It is hard to imagine that any Muslim would entertain such thoughts,[146] and Muslim's example may be treated only as a hyperbole expressing in general terms the idea of satanic whispers and admonishing Muslims not to engage in arguments that may instill such whispers into their minds.

2.8 *§§ 64–67. The Tribulations and Trials of the Last Days*

In §§ 64–67, Muslim cites traditions that warn of the apocalyptic tribulations and trials. One of the portents of their advent will be the disjunction between faith and deeds: There will be people who act as apparent believers but their hearts are bereft of faith.[147] Only a few will hold on to their faith as the Hour draws near. At the same time, Islam will dwindle.[148]

2.9 *§§ 68–71, 73–76. Muḥammad, the Prophets, and Antichrist*

Belief in Muḥammad and the prophets who preceded him is an important article of the Muslim faith. This part of *Kitāb al-Īmān* takes up the emblems of Muḥammad's prophethood in comparison with those of other prophets and urges their followers to acknowledge his mission. The opening § 68[149] asserts that outward actions (Islam) differ from inward belief (*īmān*). As a prophet, Muḥammad knows both aspects; by contrast, ordinary people judge their fellow Muslims only by their apparent Islam. §§ 69–70 highlight the importance of steadfast belief, even if material signs in its support are absent. Unlike Abraham, Lot, and Joseph, Muḥammad's prophecy was not supported by the same type of miracles that could transform doubt into unfaltering certainty.[150] Despite this difference, there is no place for doubt, and every monotheist is encouraged to accept Muḥammad's prophecy, the greatest sign (*āya*) of which is the revelation (*waḥy*) of God's Word to him.[151] On the example of Jesus Christ, Muslim cites traditions asserting that previous prophecies were, in their essence, identical to what was revealed to Muḥammad (§ 71).[152] At End Times, Jesus Christ will appear to usher in Judgment Day. He will kill the swine, break the crosses, and abolish the poll tax (*jizya*),[153] thereby restoring Christianity to its erstwhile unadulterated condition, which is identical to Islam. As a redeemer of the original monotheism, Jesus Christ will become the leader (*imām*) of the Muslim community. It is noteworthy that Muslim does not cite the tradition according to which Jesus Christ will be the Mahdi of End Days. A likely relic of an early fusion of these two eschatological actors,[154] this tradition may have not been to the theological taste of Muslim and other Partisans of Tradition, or it may have fallen foul of their *isnād* reliability criteria.[155]

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[142] Graham, *Divine word* 98.

[143] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 132–136 (209–217) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 122–125.1.

[144] Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 530.

[145] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 134–136 (212–217) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 124–125.1.

[146] But see § 60, no. 136 (217) = Taʾṣīl, no. 125: "Your community will keep asking 'What is this?' and 'What is this?' until they say, 'This is God who created the world, but who created God?'" Muslim may have had in mind the proponents of the Miḥna, who insisted that divine speech is created.

[147] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 143 (230) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 132–132.1.

[148] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 145–149 (232–235) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 134–138.

[149] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 150 (236–237) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 139–139.2.

In §§ 73–76, Muslim revisits the emblems of Muḥammad's prophethood. Although the revelation (*waḥy*) is the most important proof that Muḥammad is a true prophet (§ 73),[156] his prophetic status is confirmed by material miracles, such as his nocturnal journey and ascension to the seventh heaven (*isrāʾ wa-miʿrāj*) carried by Burāq, the heavenly mount, his meeting with several prophets, including Adam, Moses, Abraham, and Jesus Christ, and his communication with God near the lote-tree of the farthest boundary (§§ 74; 75, no. 172

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[150] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 151 (238) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 140–140.2.

[151] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 152 (239) = Taʾṣīl, no. 141. This is the backbone of the Islamic understanding of miracle. In the ninth/fifteenth century, al-Suyūṭī argued that Islam is superior to other monotheist religions, because the operation of *waḥy* is always apparent to the reason and will remain so until Judgment Day, whereas the material miracles of other prophets ceased to be observed in the very moment they ended (al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān* 645).

[152] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 155–156 (242–247) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 144–145.

[153] On the theological intricacies of the abolition of the poll-tax, see Friedmann, *Messianic ideas* 13–15.

[154] Friedamann, *Messianic ideas* 7–10.

[155] Among the Six Books, the tradition is mentioned only by Ibn Māja (*Sunan* ii, 1340–1341, no. 4038), based on the *isnād* Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā → al-Shāfiʿī → Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Jandī → Abān b. Ṣāliḥ → al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī → Anas b. Mālik → the Prophet. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Jandī (d. ?), a little-known *muʾadhdhin* from Ṣanʿāʾ, is the only transmitter on whom this tradition turns; al-Mizzi, *Tahdhīb* xxv, 148–150.

[156] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 160–161 (252–258) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 149–150.3.

[278]; 76).[157] Just as Moses received the Tablets of the Covenant at Mt. Sinai, so too Muḥammad received in the seventh heaven God's ordinance regarding prayer (*ṣalāt*), which henceforth became a paramount article of the Muslim faith. The Islamic conception of faith also includes the belief in the coming of Antichrist (§ 75).[158]

2.10 *§§ 76–81; 84, no. 316. The Beatific Vision*

Seeing God in the Hereafter was among the earliest and most important tenets of the traditionalist theology,[159] which the Partisans of Tradition had to defend against unrelenting attacks by the rationalist Jahmis, Muʿtazilis, and the Kharijis.[160] Against the beatific vision spoke Bishr al-Marīsī (d. 218/833), a leading proponent of the Miḥna.[161] In §§ 76–81, Muslim marshals a series of interrelated traditions for and against the beatific vision in a way that culminates in proclaiming its reality. His deliberation opens with a batch of exegetical traditions in which the famous Companions Ibn Masʿūd, Abū Hurayra, and Ibn ʿAbbās, as well as the Prophet's wife ʿĀ'isha, assert that during his nocturnal journey to the seventh heaven Muḥammad saw angel Gabriel in his true image, and he saw God but only by his heart.[162] That is, no physical vision of God was granted to the Prophet during his heavenly sojourn.

The controversy about the beatific vision (*ru'ya*) centered on Q 53:8–13 and Q 81:23, which use a language that leaves little opportunity for doubt that

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[157] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 162–168, 172–174 (259–272; 278–282) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 151–159, 163–165.2.

[158] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 169–171 (273–277) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 160–162.

[159] Traditions about the possibility of seeing God in Paradise may have been recounted already at the court of ʿUmar b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 99–101/717–720); Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 460–461. Among the earliest believers in the beatific vision were the proto-Sunni Sufyān al-Thawrī (Kufa; 97–161/716–778) and his contemporary Abū Khālid ʿAmr b. Khālid al-Qurashī (Kufa → Wāsiṭ; d. ?), as well as the follower of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād (Basra; d. after 150/767–768), the traditionist Ḥammād b. Salama (Basra; d. 167/784), the exegete Muqātil b. Sulaymān (Balkh; d. 150/767), and ʿUmar b. Maymūn b. Baḥr (Kabul—Balkh; d. 171/788); ibid. i, 262, 307; ii, 112, 431, 596, 601; Gilliot, "La vision de Dieu" 244–245, 249–250. In the third/ninth century, the dogma was defended by Ibn Kullāb (Basra; d. 241/855); Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 217–218. On Ḥammād b. Salama's transmission of anthropomorphic traditions (*aḥādīth al-ṣifāt*), see Holtzman, *Anthropomorphism* 146–153.

[160] Wensinck, *Muslim creed* 64–66; Van Ess, "Ḍirār b. ʿAmr" 279; idem, *Theology and society* iv, 463–464. An early critic of the beatific vision was the 'Jahmi' Bishr b. al-Sarī (Basra → Mecca; d. 195–196/811–812); Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 214. This theologoumenon was also vigorously rejected by the Muʿtazilis Abū Mūsā al-Muradār (Baghdad; d. 226/841) and Jaʿfar b. al-Mubashshir (Baghdad; d. 234/849); ibid. iii, 148; iv, 65, 76.

[161] Van Ess, "Ḍirār b. ʿAmr" 38.

[162] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 174–177 (280–290) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 165.1–168.3.

Muḥammad saw (*raʾā*) God. The problem lies in the type of vision, as Q 53:11 states *mā kadhaba l-fuʾād mā raʾā*, in which the grammatical subject of the verb *raʾā* may be either Muḥammad (the [Prophet's] heart belied not what he [the Prophet] saw) or Muḥammad's heart (the [Prophet's] heart belied not what it [the heart] saw). According to the first reading, Muḥammad saw God with his own eyes, while the second reading suggests that he saw God with his heart. The latter reading gains strength from Q 6:103, Q 42:51, and Q 53:11, which suggest that Muḥammad could not see God by his physical eyes. Another problem that the Quran poses for the proponents of *ruʾya* is that neither Q 53:8–13 nor Q 81:23 (nor, for that matter, Q 75:22–23, which is not employed by Muslim in the present context) specify that the believers who enter Paradise will see God. The former two pericopes are restricted to Muḥammad's heavenly journey, whereas the latter speaks about the Day of Resurrection but does not specify if the same "gazing upon the Lord" will be possible in Paradise.[163]

Quranic evidence about the beatific vision is inconclusive. More importantly, the Companion exegesis that Muslim cites in §§ 76–77 is not based on prophetic statements but reflects the Companions' personal opinions about the possibility of seeing God in the Hereafter.[164] To the Partisans of Tradition, such opinions are of lesser argumentative strength than traditions going back to the Prophet.[165] That is why Muslim goes on (in a Shāfiʿi manner) to elucidate the Quran by witnesses from the prophetic Tradition. According to the first group of traditions, the Prophet saw the light that veils human beings from God lest the splendor of His face burn them (§§ 78, 79).[166] Significantly, these chapters treat Muḥammad's nocturnal journey. That is, just like Q 53:8–13 and Q 81:23, they speak about a miraculous event that happened to a living man in this world rather than to someone who is resurrected in Paradise.

Paradise is introduced in § 80.[167] The inhabitants of the Garden are veiled from God only by the "garment of grandeur on his face," but this veil will be removed at the believers' request. The beatific vision will be God's additional reward (*ziyāda*) for them, hinted at in Q 10:26. In this manner, Muslim establishes a connection between the vision of God and Paradise, which is critical for the understanding of § 81.[168] A pinnacle of Muslim's apology of *ruʾya*, this chapter includes the famous tradition in which the Prophet assures the believers that on the Day of Resurrection (!) they will not be harmed by the vision of God just as human beings are not harmed by the vision of full Moon or Sun on a cloudless day. Despite that § 81 speaks of the Day of Resurrection, its preceding § 80 has effected the subtle yet theologically significant relocation of *ruʾya* from the Day of Resurrection to Paradise. Over time, the "full-Moon tradition" became the *locus classicus* of traditionalist defense of the beatific vision.[169]

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[163] Noted by Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 461.

[164] Noted with regard to ʿĀʾisha by al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* iii, 5–6.

[165] Another argument in favor of the beatific vision could be that the expression *lā tudriku-hu l-abṣār* (no vision can reach Him) in Q 6:103 is restricted to the impossibility of perceiving God, which, however, does not preclude seeing Him; see, for instance, Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 217. Muslim, nevertheless, would have been alien to such discursive arguments, which, to him, probably smacked of the dubious methods of Ibn Kullāb and the speculative theologians.

[166] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 178–179 (291–294) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 169–170.1.

[167] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 180–181 (296–298) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 171–172.1.

§ 81, no. 183 (302) makes a brief reference to another traditionalist argument in favor of the beatific vision, derived from Q 68:42. A shin will be laid bare (*yukshafu ʿan sāq*) on Judgment Day, and the believers will see it as a sign of God's power and magnificence. Unlike the *ruʾya* traditions that we considered above, the description of God's shin is blatantly anthropomorphic. Muslim also knows and cites elsewhere in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* the anthropomorphic tradition according to which God will put His foot (*qadam, rijl*) in Hell to extinguish its fire.[170] As noted by Wensinck, it is not improbable that discussions concerning anthropomorphism had their origin in the controversy surrounding the beatific vision.[171]

In § 79, Muslim cites traditions that make the theological point that God does not rest (*lā yanāmu wa-lā yanbaghī la-hu an yanām*). Its polemical trust is directed against the Old Testament notion that God rested on the seventh day of creation (Gen. 2:2).

2.11 *§§ 81–87. God's Forgiveness of Sins, the Intercession* (shafāʿa) *by the Prophet and the Believers on behalf of the Sinners, Muḥammad's Superiority over Other Prophets, and the Bridge* (ṣirāṭ) *That Will Be Spread over Hell on Judgment Day*

§ 81 includes two *qudsī* traditions, which, apart from the beatific vision, refer to the bridge (*ṣirāṭ*) that God will spread over Hell.[172] Thorny hooks will snatch the sinners down into the abyss, but even these wretched souls may hope for salvation through intercession (*shafāʿa*) and, ultimately, through God's mercy.

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[168] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 182–183 (299–303) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 173, 174–173, 174.5.

[169] See, for instance, al-Dāraquṭnī, *Ruʾya* 92–153.

[170] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 2846–2848 (34–38) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 2951–2953.2, as part of the book describing resurrection, Paradise, and Hell.

[171] Wensinck, *Muslim creed* 66.

[172] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 182, 183 (299, 302) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 173, 174; 173, 174.3.

Eschatological intercession is mentioned frequently in the Quran, in two flavors. By way of negation, the Quran states that the polytheists believe in intercessors other than God (Q 10:18; 36:23; 39:43), but, on Judgment Day these intercessors will not avail of those who counted on their help (Q 6:94; 30:13; 43:86). In contrast to this notion, the Quran emphasizes that God is the only intercessor (Q 6:51, 70; 9:44; 32:4). Other parties may intercede with Him, but only if authorized by Him (Q 2:255; 10:3; 20:109; 21:28). The Quran often refers to the intercessors by the plural form of the verb *shafaʿa* and the cognate noun form *shufaʿāʾ* (sg. *shafīʿ*), thereby leaving the impression of a plurality of interceding agents. As a matter of course, no specific details are added. In one verse, the angels are mentioned in the capacity of intercessors (Q 53:26), and in another verse, the word "prophets" (*rusul*) is deployed in a context that suggests that they may act as intercessors (Q 7:53). Except by way of subsuming under the last verse (which is equivocal), Muḥammad does not figure as an intercessor in the Quran.

Given the plurality of intercessors that are mentioned or alluded to in the Quran, it is not surprising that *shafāʿa* traditions in *Kitāb al-Īmān* are accordingly manifold. The angels and the prophets could intercede for the sinners in the Hereafter.[173] Apart from them, righteous Muslims who enter Paradise are often mentioned as being able to intercede on behalf of their condemned brothers and extract from Hell a countless number of them.[174] The only condition for intercession is that those who attain salvation in this way have retained a "speck of goodness" (*mithqāl dharra*) in their hearts. But even those who did not retain it should not give up hope, for God will mercifully deliver from Hell whomever He wills, provided they professed God's bareness from associates. The only group that may not count on God's mercy are the polytheists. The possibility to attain salvation through intercession and God's mercy reinforces the traditionalist polemic against the Kharijis and the Muʿtazilis, who regarded the punishment in Hell as lasting forever. Because of their polemical significance, both motifs remain at the heart of the present section.

§ 82 pursues the topic of intercession by Muslims who entered Paradise for those inhabitants of Hell, who, in their lifetime, had the slightest amount of faith.[175] God's infinite mercy is central to §§ 83 and 84, nos. 188–190 (311–315): Even someone who least deserved to be delivered from Hell into Paradise will eventually enter the Garden, and, by God's merciful benevolence, a reward of such magnificence will be lavished on him that human imagination fails to grasp.[176]

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[173] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 183 (302) = Taʾṣīl, no. 173, 174.3.

[174] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 183 (392) = Taʾṣīl, no. 173, 174.3.

[175] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 184–185 (304–307) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 175–176.1.

Apart from intercession by the angels and righteous Muslims who entered Paradise, the Partisans of Tradition set great store by the intercession by Muḥammad. To them, he is the foremost intercessor, who, over time, came to share with Godhead the same throne. Muslim treats this topic at length in § 84, nos. 191–195 (316–329)–§ 86. He starts with four traditions in which the Prophet states that the inhabitants of Hell may be delivered from it and singles out intercession as their only way of salvation.[177]

§ 84, no. 191 (320) is a key argument against eternal punishment in Hell, which, moreover, ushers in the notion of Muḥammad as an intercessor. In contrast to the other parts of *Kitāb al-Īmān*, in which Muslim cites traditions in support of certain theological points without referring to their exponents, in § 84, no. 191 (320) he explicitly identifies the Kharijis as those who deny God's forgiveness of sins and records their main arguments. The Khariji opinion is expressed by Yazīd b. Ṣuhayb al-Faqīr (Kufa → Mecca; d. ca. 120/737–738),[178] who at a certain juncture in his life was attracted by the Khariji teaching. In the tradition, Yazīd argues before the Companion Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh (Medina; d. 73/692–693) that, according to Q 3:192 and Q 32:20, no one will exit Hell. Against Yazīd's arguments, Jābir refers to the "honorable station"[179] mentioned in Q 17:79 and relates a tradition about the *ṣirāṭ* and the people who will be delivered from Hell. Eventually, he manages to dissuade Yazīd b. Ṣuhayb from his Khariji views,[180] but this is the less important aspect of the tradition. Significantly for the Partisans of Tradition, it makes a connection between the assumption that the "honorable station" in Q 17:79 refers to Muḥammad's elevated stature in Paradise, on the one hand, and the notion of intercession, which the Quran never associates explicitly with Muḥammad, on the other hand.

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[176] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 186–187 (308–310) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 177–177.2.

[177] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 191 (316–319) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 181–181.3.

[178] Yazīd b. Ṣuhayb is sometimes recorded as a member of the Murjiʾi delegation who visited the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 99–101/717–720) to debate with him on the issue of free will and predestination; Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 186. The confusion about Yazīd's sectarian background may stem for the similar position that the Murjiʾis and the Kharijis may have held regarding God's forgiveness and the Prophet's intercession. Such similarity is suggested by Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, who, under the rubric "The Murjiʾis of Kufa and Basra," states, "the Murjiʾis are a variety (*ṣinf*) of Kharijis, to wit, Azāriqa and Najdāt"; Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, *Taḥrīsh* 57. Note also that Yazīd b. Ṣuhayb appears as a member of the delegation to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in only one of Van Ess's sources, to wit, al-Ājurrī's *Kitāb al-Sharīʿa*, but he is not recorded in this capacity by the earlier Ibn Saʿd; al-Ājurrī, *Sharīʿa* ii, 926–927; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* viii, 430, s.v. ʿAwn b. ʿAbdallāh.

[179] I use Holtzman's translation of *maqām maḥmūd* (Holtzman, *Anthropomorphism* 360).

[180] In a more extensive variant, found in al-Ājurrī's *Sharīʿa* (iii, 1201–1203), Jābir justifies intercession with reference to Q 74:42–48, followed by a prophetic tradition asserting the Prophet's intercession.

The expression "honorable station" ultimately led Ibn Ḥanbal's followers to an anthropomorphic conception of divinity. According to them, the "honorable station" signifies Muḥammad's sitting on the Throne together with God.[181] Muslim, however, does not appear to operate with this conception. He does not locate the "honorable station," which suggests that his theological stance differs from the anthropomorphic notion of God entertained by many Partisans of Tradition in the eastern provinces of the caliphate. Muslim may have shied away from an overtly anthropomorphic presentation of the divinity, as it could have appealed to the Karramis, who were widespread in Naysābūr during his lifetime.[182]

§ 84 nos. 193–195 (322–329)[183] form a theological unit foregrounding the existence of a prophetic hierarchy presided by Muḥammad. Each prophet before him had committed a sin (*khaṭīʾa*, *dhanb*) that precludes his intercession on behalf of the sinners in Hell. Only Muḥammad's sins—both older and more recent—are forgiven, and he is thereby granted intercession.[184] Strikingly, these traditions do not presume prophetic infallibility (*ʿiṣma*); they likely came into being before this conception was formulated towards the end of the second/eighth century.[185] One immediately notes that this group of traditions holds Jesus Christ in special reverence. Although he refuses to intercede with God and points to Muḥammad as the only intercessor, unlike all other prophets Jesus's own sin is not mentioned. In this way, Jesus Christ occupies an elevated position compared with the Old Testament prophets, who sinned and shy away from interceding with God, and even compared with Muḥammad, who sinned but received pardon.

The conception of Muḥammad's superiority to the other prophets is the theological backbone of § 85: Muḥammad will be the first to knock on Heaven's portal, the first to intercede, and he will save the largest number of his followers on Judgment Day.[186] As another sign of superiority, § § 86–87 introduce the supplication (*daʿwa*) that each prophet will be granted with regard to his community.[187] Whereas the prophets before Muḥammad had exhausted their right for supplication, which presumably covered only those representatives of their communities who lived before the prophet's lifetime or were his contemporaries, Muḥammad keeps his *daʿwa* in store (*ikhtabaʾa*) for Judgment Day, when he will use it to intercede for his entire *umma*.

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[181] Holtzman, *Anthropomorphism* 360–363.

[182] Ibn Karrām imagined God as a body of light that sat on the throne and pressed it down with its weight (Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 684).

[183] Taʾṣīl, nos. 183–185, 186.

[184] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 193 (322), 194 (327) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 183, 184.

[185] About the early development of the concept of *ʿiṣma*, see Hawting, "Development."

[186] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 196–197 (330–333) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 187–188.

§ 84, no. 193 (326) includes a remarkable motif, which apparently goes to the credit of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Muḥammad will be able to intercede on behalf of anyone who has the slightest *īmān* in his heart. However, God will turn down his intercession when it comes to those who only confessed, "There is no deity but God." Such people, who presumably did not confirm their faith by corresponding actions, could be saved by God's grace alone. Al-Ḥasan first related this tradition including its final part about those who will be saved only by God's grace but stopped relating this part afterward. One wonders what led al-Ḥasan to this omission. Forgetfulness should not be discounted, although wariness about the tradition's theological implications seems more reasonable. One may think that the Jews and the Christians are meant by those who professed only monotheism. It is dubious, however, that Muḥammad would plead for the salvation of those who denied his prophecy. One wonders if the tradition has preserved vestiges of an early ecumenical teaching that had been suppressed by a later exclusivist version of Islam.[188] The tradition's final part also brings to mind the Murji'i teaching that *īmān* consists of one's internal belief affirmed by the declaration of faith. God's graceful salvation of those who only confessed His oneness but presumably did not endorse their faith by deeds could bolster the Murji'i interpretation of faith.[189]

Similarly to § 10, nos. 31–32 (52–53), this tradition warns against an exclusive reliance (*ittikāl*) on the declaration of faith and divine predestination. In Muslim's lifetime, its polemical trust would have been directed against extreme ascetics, such as Ibn Karrām. The tradition's *isnād*s converge on the Basran authority Ḥammād b. Zayd (b. 98/716–717, d. 179/795), who cites Maʿbad b. Hilāl al-ʿAnazī (Basra; d. ?) on the authority of the famous Basran Companion Anas b. Mālik (d. 93/712). It may be thought that the tradition's anti-Murji'i message reflects the theological opinion of Ḥammād b. Zayd, a second/eighth-century precursor to the traditionalist movement.

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[187] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 198–201 (334–345) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 189–191.

[188] On the all-embracing character of the early believers' movement, see Donner, *Muhammad and the believers* 68–74 and *passim*.

[189] For a similar interpretation of another tradition, stating that everyone who pronounced the *shahāda*, even the adulterer and the thief, will enter Paradise, see Rahman, *Islamic methodology* 60.

In § 85, no. 199 (338), the Prophet hopes that his intercession will help anyone who died without having associated other deities with God. This specification, which, like no. 193 (326), implicitly asserts that the declaration of faith is sufficient for salvation, is consistent with the Murji'i tenets. A look at the *isnād* shows that it was most likely introduced by the Kufan Murji'i, Abū Muʿāwiya Muḥammad b. Khāzim al-Ḍarīr (d. 195/810).[190] Muslim counters the undesirable theological implication of Abū Muʿāwiya's variant by an array of seven variants (carried by thirteen *isnād*s) that do not include the stipulation that the Prophet's intercession is possible only for those who did not associate other deities with God. In line with Muslim's quantitative approach in *ḥadīth* criticism,[191] this absence indicates that Abū Muʿāwiya is responsible for the *matn* addition, which was not part of the original *ḥadīth*.

§ 84, no. 195 (329) follows the same line of thought as nos. 193–194 (322–328), but, apart from intercession, it highlights the importance of the *ṣirāṭ*. It draws attention to the significance of actions, which may cause an increase or decrease in the degree of faith. This degree will affect the speed with which people move across the *ṣirāṭ*: Some of them, presumably the righteous ones, will cross like lightning. Others will cross like wind, birds, and running men, until the final batch crosses by crawling. Clearly, on Judgment Day believers who attain salvation will be ranked according to the merits of their actions.

2.12 *§§ 88–93. Kinship Does Not Avail the Unbeliever on Judgment Day. Blood Relationship Is Superseded by Islam*

So far, we have seen that Muslim divides the believers into a group that will enter Paradise, albeit at different paces, a second group that will go to Hell but eventually attain salvation through intercession and God's mercy, and a third group, the polytheists, who will, as it were, reside in Hell forever. There is, however, a fourth group, whose fate in the Hereafter needs clarification. It includes Muḥammad's heathen relatives, such as his mother, his father, and his uncle Abū Ṭālib. These people died as polytheists either because they did not live to witness Islam or because they refused to convert after its advent. This issue is taken up in §§ 88–91.

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[190] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* ix, 139–140; Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 250; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia* 53.

[191] See pp. 147–152 below.

The section begins with Muḥammad's straightforward declaration that his parents had been consigned to Hell.[192] In the next section, which includes nine exegetical traditions about Q 26:214,[193] Muḥammad warns several clans from his native tribe Quraysh as well as a few individuals, that their consanguinity with him will not avail on Judgment Day unless they "deliver themselves from Hell" by adhering to Islam. A sort of exception will be made for Abū Ṭālib, Muḥammad's paternal uncle and long-standing protector. Abū Ṭālib had declined to abandon polytheism, but, by his nephew's intercession, he will be delivered from the deepest abyss in Hell to its shallowest place. The fire engulfs only his ankles but is sufficiently hot to boil his brain. This is the lightest torment that will afflict the denizens of Hell (§§ 90–91).[194]

§ 90 is a concession to the Shiʿis. Abū Ṭālib is not only Muḥammad's uncle but, significantly, he is ʿAlī's father. Although his kinship cannot deliver him from Hell, it softens his punishment therein. This alleviation notwithstanding, Abū Ṭālib will likely remain in Hell with no hope of entering Paradise.

Note the significance that kinship plays in the polemical structure of the above traditions. It is hardly gratuitous that the section ends with Muḥammad's statement that Islam had abolished the ties of kinship, which are now superseded by God's protection (§ 93).[195] Apart from charging against the family and tribal alliances that formed the backbone of the Jāhili society, §§ 88–91 may have in their polemical background the notion of the Arabs' descent from the prophet Ibrāhīm, who was a monotheist. In this way, the traditions would engage early Ḥanafis, Murji'is, or Shiʿis, who set great store by the conception of primordial monotheism that is innate (*fiṭra*) to every human being.[196] The Arabs inherited this monotheism through their Abrahamic lineage, and some Jāhili individuals, such as ʿAbdallāh b. Judʿān (d. towards the end of the 6th century CE), were famous for their good deeds. One might argue that, as bearers of the original monotheism, such benefactors could be saved from Hell. But this is not the case: The Prophet tells ʿĀ'isha, his wife and the daughter of the future first caliph, Abū Bakr (whose father's cousin was Ibn Judʿān), that Ibn Judʿān could enter Paradise only if he had besought God's forgiveness (§ 92).[197] That is to say, his Abrahamic monotheism and his good deeds could not deliver him from Hell unless accompanied by repentance. Strikingly, the Prophet does not mention conversion explicitly, as if he hesitated to denounce Ibn Judʿān as an infidel or a polytheist.

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[192] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 203 (347) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 193.

[193] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 204–208 (348–356) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 194–199.1.

[194] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 209–213 (357–364) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 200–204.1.

[195] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 215 (366) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 206.

[196] Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 403–406.

[197] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 214 (365) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 205.

2.13 *§ 94: Reliance on God* (tawakkul)

Muslim's extensive advocacy of actions as an essential constituent of faith militates not only against the Murjiʾi and Ḥanafi theologians, who endorsed internal belief alone, but also against followers of the ascetic paths, such as the Karramis. According to them, one's sustenance (*rizq*) is a gift by God. Since no human agency is capable of providing it, *rizq* is earned through passive reliance (*tawakkul*) on God. The notion of *tawakkul* is derived from the Quran, which on five occasions (Q 8:2; 16:42, 99; 29:59; 42:36) mentions "those who rely only on their Lord" (*ʿalā rabbi-him yatawakkalūn*), albeit without a reference to their sustenance and its giver.

In § 94, Muslim cites the Prophet's statement that seventy thousand members of his community will enter Paradise without being subjected to divine judgment.[198] Several variants of the tradition specify that these seventy thousand are believers who relied only on God (*ʿalā rabbi-him yatawakkalūn*). To this clause, which is of Quranic origin, the tradition adds that the seventy thousand Muslims kept away from healing by cauterization (*lā yaktawūn*), practicing charms (*lā yastarqūn*), and following omens (*lā yataṭayyarūn*).[199]

Reliance on God is opposed to practices that, although not prohibited, were suspect to Muslim theologians because they meddled with God's unfathomable predestination. Apart from undermining these practices, the above traditions may have aimed at subverting the Karrami teaching about *tawakkul*. They list the three circumstances in which human beings should avoid action and set their hope only on God. Significantly, these circumstances in no way refer to commercial gain (*kasb*) and providing for sustenance (*rizq*), the most important activities that Karramis entrusted to God. *Tawakkul* is recommended only in matters that rest with God alone, such as health (implicitly, life and death) and foreknowledge of events. The same restrictive tendency may be seen in the number of seventy thousand Muslims who will be saved exclusively by relying on God. Some believers will enter Paradise thanks to their *tawakkul*, but their count is limited; most of Muḥammad's followers—and they are legion[200]—will be brought to account for their actions.

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[198] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 216–220 (367–375) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 207–210, 211.1.

[199] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 218 (371–372), 220 (374–375) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 208–208.1; 210, 211–210, 211.1.

[200] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 220 (374–375) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 210, 211–210, 211.1.

2.14 *§§ 95–96. The Salvific Function of the Islamic Community*

§§ 95–96 specify that, although a few in comparison with the multitude of unbelievers, Muslims will enter Paradise. Indeed, half of the inhabitants of Paradise will be Muslims. Thus, at the end of *Kitāb al-Īmān* Muslim asserts that belonging to the Islamic *umma* is the *sine qua non* for attaining salvation. It is unclear, however, whether the infidels (*kuffār*) mentioned in these traditions are Muslim sinners, non-Muslim monotheists, or polytheists. As we have seen throughout the chapter, this distinction is soteriologically essential, and communal belonging seals one's destiny after death.[201]

3 Muslim and the Issue of *qadar*: Synergy between Divine Predestination and Human Agency

Kitāb al-Qadar (*Book of predestination*) is directed against the advocates of free will among the Muslim rationalists. In this part of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim marshals traditions that endorse God's universal planning and foreordination of human acts, while showing a keen awareness of the attendant theological caveats. The question of free will and predestination is intertwined with the issue of actions, hence, with the nature of evil and theodicy. Bearing this interrelation in mind, Muslim is careful to strike a balance between the belief in predestination embraced by the Partisans of Tradition, on the one hand, and the ensuing peril of devaluing human actions, which could benefit their theological adversaries, on the other hand.

3.1 *§§ 1, 5. Synergy of Human Actions and Divine Predestination*

The first chapter in *Kitāb al-Qadar*[202] opens with eight traditions asserting that 120 days after conception God determines the embryo's destiny, to wit, its sustenance (*rizq*), death date (*ajal*), actions (*ʿamal*), and whether it will be wretched or blessed (*shaqī aw saʿīd*).[203] God's predestination is then written down by an angel in a special book. The divine decree is irrevocable: It overtakes the final actions of the human beings, so that they enter Paradise or Hell by the angel's record, irrespectively of what they did throughout their life.

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[201] Even the Kharijis believed that the grave sinners from their own ranks were spared eternal damnation; Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 610.

[202] For a detailed study of the historical development of the traditions in Chapter 1, see Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 1–55. On the history of specific traditions, see Eich's in-depth analysis in Eich, "Topos" and idem, "The Term *nasama*." On the variegated terminology of embryogenesis used in these traditions, see Eich, "Induced miscarriage" 313–316, 329–332. Ringgren has argued that the embryo's sex, sustenance, and term of life "clearly belong to those things which we have here counted as man's destiny in general, while his works belong to predestination in its theological sense" ("Studies" 120).

[203] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 2643–2646 (1–5) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 2732–2736. The first tradition sets the pre-

The rigid fatalism of these traditions betrays an early stage in the development of Islamic predestinarian notions. Van Ess is probably right that they represent an old narrative that was known already to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (21–110/642–728),[204] although one might ask whether, in al-Ḥasan's lifetime, the narrative had the form of a prophetic *dictum*. In any case, the embryo tradition is only the introduction to Muslim's traditionist deliberation on *qadar*. It postulates the existence of divine predestination, without going into theological nuances. These follow as Muslim moves on to the next eight traditions.[205] Here the Prophet faces an anonymous interlocutor who asks, "Should not we resign ourselves to what is decreed for us and refrain from actions?" To this question, which, as may be expected, reflects the opinion of those who denied predestination, but also, likely, those who advocated total reliance on God, the Prophet replies that, although the destinies are fixed in advance, the actions remain important. The tradition condemns "fatalistic inactivity" (to use Watt's expression).[206] One may not invalidate actions on the pretext of predestination. With reference to Q 92:5–7, the Prophet explains that God facilitates (*yassara*) the actions in accordance with their foreordained course of happening, thereby granting man a leeway to choose his way of acting.

This does not mean, however, acting independently of God's will. Divine predestination is unfathomable, and God's decree by which He fixes the course and outcome of human actions should not be subjected to reasoning. Questions with its regard are perilous (§1, no. 2650 [10]).[207] At the chapter's end, Muslim cites two traditions (no. 2651 [11–12]), which partly overlap with nos. 2643–2646 (1–5). They emphasize the decisiveness of the final worldly actions (*khawātīm*) for one's entrance into Paradise or Hell.[208] The notion of *khawātīm* implies an

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destination event in the 120th day after conception, whereas the others mention forty, forty-two, forty-five, or forty-some days.

[204] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 31; idem, *Theology and society* iv, 552. Eich dates parts of the *matn* into the first half of the second/eighth century ("Topos" 42–43).

[205] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 2647–2649 (6–9) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 2737–2739.1.

[206] Watt, *Formative period* 106.

[207] Van Ess has argued that the conversation between Abū l-Aswad al-Duʾalī (Basra; d. ca. 69/688–689) and ʿImrān b. al-Ḥusayn (Basra; d. 52–53/672–673), which is the central point in the tradition, initially referred to the first civil war but was later transformed into a theological argument against the exponents of free will; Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 51–52.

[208] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2651 (11–12) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 2741–2742. In Van Ess's opinion, these traditions

interaction between divine predestination, which ultimately seals (*khatama*) one's faith, and human actions, which give the appearance of righteousness or wretchedness throughout one's life, before the *khawātīm* set in. Actions may be predetermined, but they are still paramount to one's afterlife.

Muslim adduces series of traditions with no explanatory remarks, which is hardly forthcoming with nuances about his theological stances. This abstruseness notwithstanding, we may think that while foregrounding God's omnipotence and predestination Muslim still thinks that man is invested with some sort of agency.[209] Regardless of their positive or negative worth, human actions receive God's facilitation (*taysīr*), and thus man's freedom of choice interacts with divine foreordination. The last two traditions in § 1 about *khawātīm* may be thought to reflect an ontological order, whereby man's choice to act in a specific manner precedes the final triumph of God's predestination. Leaving the choice of how to act with the human agent is important for the traditionalist theodicy. In this way, men are not pawns driven by predestination but actors who remain responsible for their works and their consequences in the Hereafter. In sum, Muslim's understanding of *qadar* in § 1 may be considered, as it were, in parallel with the teaching of al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Najjār (Baghdad; d. after 230/844–845), according to which God creates actions, but man acquires them.[210] This understanding of acquisition (*kasb*, *iktisāb*) became a hallmark of the later Ashʿari theology.[211]

The interaction between divine predestination and human free will comes to the fore, once again, in § 5,[212] which, on the surface, treats the issue of adultery and fornication (*zinā*):

> God has decreed for the son of Adam his share of *zinā*, which he cannot avoid. The *zinā* of the eyes is looking. The *zinā* of the tongue is articulating. The soul desires and craves. The genitalia validate or invalidate this.[213]

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originally treated cases of "opportunistic conversion" in which the convert returned to his original faith on his deathbed; *Theology and society* iv, 647–648. This is, however, not the only possible scenario. A tradition in *Kitāb al-Īmān* mentions suicide as an act that will destine to Hell anyone who had deserved Paradise with all his previous works; ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 112 (179) = Taʾṣīl, no. 104.

[209] This aspect of ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2647 (6) = Taʾṣīl, no. 2737–2737.1 was noted in passing by Ringgren ("Studies" 124), who did not elaborate on their theological implications.

[210] Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 170–172.

[211] On the doctrine of *kasb*, see Watt, "Free will and predestination" 143–147; Van Ess, *Theology and society* iii, 48–52 (Ḍirār b. ʿAmr); iv, 561–564 (in general).

[212] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2657 (20–21) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 2749–2749.1.

[213] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2657 (20) = Taʾṣīl, no. 2749.

Guillaume has regarded this tradition as an “obvious expansion of Matt. v, 28,”[214] although the degree of textual similarity is insufficient to warrant his apodictic tone. Van Ess persuasively argued that the predestinarian *ḥadīth* grew from an originally ascetic *dictum* that called for refraining from worldly pleasures. The transformation took place in the Yemen and Kufa in the late first/early eighth century.[215]

It is to be noted that § 5, no. 2657 (20) has an anomalous *isnād* in which the famous Companion Ibn ʿAbbās cites the equally renowned Companion Abū Hurayra. This surfeit of Companion transmitters reflects the polemical agenda of a later party that took advantage of Ibn ʿAbbās’s reputation as the foremost exegete in Islam to neutralize the original intent of Abū Hurayra’s statement. The tradition opens with an exegetical introduction by Ibn ʿAbbās, according to which the misdeeds to be enumerated in Abū Hurayra’s tradition on the authority of the Prophet, namely, the adultery of eyes and tongue, and lust remain venial sins (*lamam*)[216] so long as they do not lead up to sexual intercourse. By setting the conception of *lamam*, which is a morally reprehensible action, in opposition to *zinā*, which is a legally punishable deed, Ibn ʿAbbās’s comment transforms the original ascetic message of the tradition into a legal prohibition, which opens the way for its predestinarian recasting noted by Van Ess.[217] The final clause (the genitalia validate or invalidate the intent of the other organs) now reiterates the message conveyed by the facilitation motif in § 1. God has predetermined sin, but only the act of the human limbs makes it happen. That is to say, divine foreordination and human actions form overlapping yet separate domains. Their interaction ultimately seals man’s fate in the Hereafter.

The synergy of divine predestination and human agency is directed against the Qadari belief in free will. The notion of God’s facilitation of good and bad actions alike and His predetermination of sin undermines the teaching of the early Qadaris, such as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and his student Qatāda b. Diʿāma (Basra; b. 61/680–681, d. 117/735–736), according to whom God decrees the good deeds, whereas men perpetrate sin.[218] Muslim’s synergetic understanding of

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[214] Guillaume, “Free will” 57, note 3.

[215] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 85–94.

[216] Guillaume’s translation of *lamam* in this tradition as “insane” (“Free will” 57, note 2) is theologically inadequate. If we agree with Guillaume, Ibn ʿAbbās would seem to have censured Abū Hurayra from a blatantly anti-deterministic standpoint, which contravenes the position of both Muslim and al-Bukhārī.

[217] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 91–92.

[218] On al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī’s teaching of predestination, see Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 84, 116–121; idem, *Theology and society* ii, 54. Qatāda shared his teacher’s doctrine, with a special emphasis on the satanic enticement mentioned in Q 19:83; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ*

qadar also undercuts the extreme Karrami *tawakkul*, which discards human agency altogether on account of God's universal predestination.

3.2 *§§2–3. Prophethood, Sin, and Predestination*

As we have seen in *Kitāb al-Īmān*, §84, nos. 193–195 (322–329), every prophet, including Muḥammad, had sinned, but Muḥammad's sins are forgiven. Although constituting a prophetic hierarchy presided over by Muḥammad, these traditions are not free from theological intricacies. How could the prophets sin, given that God entrusted them with conveying His message to each respective community of believers? May their sins be forgiven? Do they affect the fate of their followers in the Hereafter? §2, no. 2652 (13–15)[219] and §3[220] provide answers to these questions.

No. 2652 (13–15) recounts how Moses accused Adam of being responsible for the banishment of humankind from Paradise. Adam thwarts Moses's argument by pointing out that, as his interlocutor knows from revelation, God had predetermined Adam's sin forty years before He created the first human being. In another variant, God had decreed the fate of every creature fifty thousand years before He created the heavens and the earth.[221] Already Ḍirār b. ʿAmr observed that this *ḥadīth* belonged to the polemical inventory of the deniers of free will: Moses followed the doctrine of *qadar*, but upon his argument with Adam, he renounced his beliefs (*rajaʿa ʿan al-qadariyya*).[222]

The original concern of this tradition was likely to explain away Adam's sin, which may have posed a thorny issue for Muslim theologians before they came up with the notion of prophetic infallibility (*ʿiṣma*).[223] But the dispute between Adam and Moses may have had as another polemical target the Christian teaching about Adam's original sin and its redemption by Jesus Christ. Strikingly, Moses deploys a variegated terminology of sin, fault, and culpability as if to paint Adam's deed in the darkest colors: Adam, he avers, "expelled" (*akhraja*) the humankind from Paradise and "caused its doom" (*khayyaba*) by his "error" (*khaṭīʾa*) and "seduction" (*ighwāʾ*). Adam, on the other hand, utilizes the concept of predestination to rebut Moses's charges, thereby asserting his innocence with regard to what befell him in the garden of Paradise. Moses may

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xv, 627 ad loc.; Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Ṭabaqāt* i, 197; Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 132; idem, *Theology and society* i, 137; ii, 158–159.

[219] Taʾṣīl, nos. 2743–2743.6.

[220] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2654 (17) = Taʾṣīl, no. 2745.

[221] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2653 (16) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 2744–2744.1.

[222] Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, *Taḥrīsh* 86.

[223] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 162. On a similar dispute in Eastern Mediterranean Christianity see Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma* 145–146.

be seen as asserting Adam's responsibility for the original sin, which, if conceded, would entail the need for redemption. By contrast, positing that Adam's sin had been predetermined long before his creation lessens the severity of his deed. Hence, no room is left for a theology of redemption. In the first half of the second/eighth century, the tradition was reused as a polemical argument against the proponents of free will.[224]

§ 3 includes a single tradition (no. 2654 [17]), which presents us with the case of Muḥammad, albeit in an indirect way. The beginning of this tradition bears on God's attributes, as His power over man's destinies is described by the phrase, "Verily, the hearts of the sons of Adam are between two fingers of the Most Merciful, like one heart. He directs them as He wills." Muslim, however, is hardly concerned with the reality of God's fingers. Just as in § 2, his interest is directed towards the issue of prophethood and sin, this time in the case of Muḥammad. At the end of the tradition, the Prophet exclaims, "O God, Director of hearts, direct our hearts to Your obedience" (*allāhumma muṣarrif al-qulūb ṣarrif qulūb*^{a}*-nā ʿalā ṭāʿat*^{i}*-ka*). The language of this clause unmistakably refers to the language of the historical report about the encounter between Muḥammad and his daughter-in-law, Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh. Having seen Zaynab scantily clad, the Prophet exclaims, "Praise be to God, the Director of hearts" to express his sudden infatuation with her.[225] As we know from the report, Muḥammad's adopted son, Zayd, promptly divorced Zaynab, to make it possible for his adoptive father to marry her.[226] In the larger context of Muḥammad's affair with Zaynab, Muslim no. 2654 (17) makes an emphatic statement that everything happened by divine predestination. The encounter with Zaynab was decreed in advance, and Muḥammad should not be embarrassed or feel guilty, as some people thought, for marrying his daughter-in-law.[227]

3.3 *§§ 2, 4. God Decreed the Destinies before the Creation of the World*

Whereas the chapters studied to this point explore predestination in anthropological terms, § 2 takes up its ontological validity. God had decreed the fate of every creature fifty thousand years before He created the heavens and the earth.[228] In § 4, no. 2656 (19),[229] Muslim understands Q 54:49 (We have created everything by *qadar*) in a similarly predestinarian context, even if *qadar* may be understood here as balance and measure, not predestination.[230] This verse receives an exegetical elucidation in no. 2655 (18).[231] Muḥammad explains to his Companions that the word "everything" refers specifically to man's ability or inability to act (*al-ʿajz wa-l-kays*).

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[224] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 166–167.

[225] Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* x, 99; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* ii, 562 (i, 1461).

[226] For the entire episode, see Görke, "Between history and exegesis" 40–43; Powers, "Sinless" 361–365.

[227] The exegetical character of the encounter narrative has been noted by Görke. He mentions in passing its bearing on the issue of prophetic impeccability but does not refer to its predestinarian connotation (Görke, "Between history and exegesis" 56, 62). The predestinarian ring of the tradition has been noted by Powers ("Sinless" 363, note 61).

The exegetical juxtaposition of God's universal creation by *qadar*, on the one hand, and His creation of man's ability and inability to act, on the other hand, suggests that, to Muslim, human agency, although created by God, operates in tandem with, yet separately from, divine predestination. The two spheres overlap insofar as God creates everything but are also separate because every human being is endowed with the ability to act or to refrain from acting, that is, to choose between several predetermined possibilities. Al-Nawawī is undecided whether the term *ʿajz* here stands for the anthropological concept of inability or the legal notion of omission to act (*tark*).[232] Al-Nawawī's vacillation reflects the unity of legal and theological thought during Muslim's lifetime.[233]

Interestingly, al-Bukhārī uses the traditions about God's creation of everything, including the human ability and inability to act, at both ends of his traditionalist argument for the createdness of the human pronunciation (*lafẓ*) of the Quran.[234] The heart of al-Bukhārī's argument is a tradition extolling the recitation of *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* at the beginning of each prayer cycle. As the prayer progresses through the verses of *al-Fātiḥa*, God says, "My servant has praised Me, etc.," in which the respective actions are predicated of the human agent. Since the praising here stands for the recitation of the Quranic "Praise be to God, the Master of the worlds", God's words "My servant has praised Me" indicate that the act of recitation is created by the reciter, not God.[235] Muslim knows this tradition, but he places it in *Kitāb al-Ṣalāt* (*The Book of prayer*) in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*,[236] with no explicit indication that, to him, it may have bearing on the issue of *lafẓ* and the ontological status of actions.

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[228] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2653 (16) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 2744–2744.1.

[229] Taʾṣīl, no. 2748.

[230] The predestinarian understanding of Q 54:49 apparently persisted from early on; Muqātil, *Tafsīr* iv, 184; Hūd b. al-Muḥakkam, *Tafsīr* iv, 257–259; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ* xxii, 160–163.

[231] Taʾṣīl, no. 2747.

[232] Al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* xvi, 205.

[233] Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 540–541.

[234] Al-Bukhārī, *Khalq* ii, 67–69, 74–75.

[235] Ibid. ii, 74.

[236] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, 395 (38–40) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 390–390.3.

3.4 *§ 6. Primordial Monotheism* (fiṭra). *The Fate of the Children of Unbelievers*

This chapter, which functions in close exegetical interaction with Q 30:30,[237] opens with a tradition according to which each child is born in a state of *fiṭra*, by which Muslim exegetes understand primordial unadulterated monotheism. The Qadaris equated *fiṭra* with Islam; hence, the accusation of *taḥrīf* (corruption) they leveled against the followers of other religions.[238] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2658 (22–25)[239] hints at this conception: The parents are responsible for converting the child to Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, or polytheism. Muslim's take on the issue is likely implied in ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2658 (25),[240] which caps the *fiṭra* bundle of traditions. To the words describing how the parents convert their child to a specific religion, this tradition adds, "If they [scil. the parents] are Muslims, then [the child becomes] Muslim." As the theological climax of the series, this tradition asserts, against the Qadari teaching, that even Islam is the result of a later conversion, and is not identical to the original monotheism. If so, however, we do not know how Muslim suppressed the anti-predestinarian message of the *ḥadīth*, and how he conceived of the transition from *fiṭra* to Islam, which must amount to something other than *taḥrīf*.

The next group of traditions addresses the fate of such children in the Hereafter.[241] Asked what happens to them if they die in the state of *fiṭra*, and, specifically, what happens to the children of the polytheists, Muḥammad answers, "God knows better their deeds."[242] In other words, following God's foreknowledge of what they would have done had they lived to become adults, some children are destined for salvation, while others will be inhabitants of Hell. This mild position, which goes back to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak (Marw; d. 181/797),[243] delegates to God the knowledge about the fate of the children who were born to unbelievers. It is directed against the radical Kharijis, such as the Azāriqa, who held that these children inherited their parents' sin, for which they should be killed.[244] The conception of *fiṭra*, as noted by Wensinck, also undermines the position of those Kharijis who thought that the children of the infidels are born in a state of neutrality, but, once they reach maturity, they should make a conscious decision whether to convert to Islam.[245] On the other hand, Muslim goes against the Qadaris and the Muʿtazilis, in whose opinion these children were innocent.[246]

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[237] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2685 (22) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 2750, 2750.2. For more on this relationship and Abū Hurayra's possible role in its establishment, see Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 103–104.

[238] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 103, 106, 112–114; idem, *Theology and society* ii, 428.

[239] Ta'ṣīl, nos. 2750–2750.6.

[240] Ibid. no. 2750.6.

[241] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 2658–2662 (23–31) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 2750.3–2754.2.

[242] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 2658–2660 (23–28) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 2750.3–2752.

[243] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 107–108.

[244] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 102, 111; idem, *Theology and society* i, 23–24.

Significantly, by referring to the Khaḍir legend (Q 18:74 and 80), no. 2661 (29)[247] takes up the case of the children who are born to believing parents (*muʾminūn*). The lad that Khaḍir killed, gratuitously as it seems, was predestined for unbelief, and he would have burdened his parents with his disobedience and ingratitude. This interpretation, couched as a prophetic statement, dovetails with the preceding group of traditions in which God predetermines the fate of unborn children, some of whom are born as believers by nature while others do not enjoy this privilege. Now, however, it becomes clear that even a child born to believers might follow the path of unbelief, but this child's future is known only to God and to a human being who, like Khaḍir, possesses supernatural knowledge.[248]

Moreover, no. 2662 (30–31),[249] and especially no. 31,[250] which mentions "a child from the Helpers" who died early, speak of Muslim children. These specifications are of an utmost polemical significance, as they shift the tradition's theological weight into the fold of Islam. Thus, Muslim takes particular issue with the Kharijis, who accused in *kufr* everyone—adult and child—who would fail to go along with their teachings. Muslim responds that only God and some prophets know who will be saved and who will perish, but certainly, not everyone is destined for Hell. Hence, killing children on the assumption that they partake in their parents' unbelief amounts to meddling with God's will, which is not as readily apparent as the Kharijis would have it.[251]

Van Ess was probably right to argue that the initial thrust of the *fiṭra* tradition had been anti-determinist, and only subsequently it was reused as an argument against the Kharijis.[252] That Muslim realized this is clear from his decision to place the tradition in *Kitāb al-Qadar*. But, in the third/ninth century, he certainly had before his eyes the broader context of the *fiṭra* tradition's interpretation and took into account his contemporary political developments and theological currents. As in other cases of theological argumentation, Muslim cogently arranges his evidence, starting with the general idea of *fiṭra* and moving on to its implications concerning different categories of children. In this way, he counters every aspect of his adversaries' teaching. Another important implication of the "God knows better their deeds" tradition, noted by Van Ess, is that it is not unconditionally determinist.[253] While maintaining God's foreknowledge, it grants men certain freedom of action, which is decisive for their fate in the Hereafter. This implication is in tune with the already observed synergetic interaction between divine predestination and human agency.

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[245] Wensinck, *Muslim creed* 44.

[246] Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 569.

[247] Ta'ṣīl, no. 2753.

[248] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 111.

[249] Ta'ṣīl, nos. 2754–2754.2.

[250] Ibid. no. 2754.1.

[251] Cf. Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 111.

[252] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 101–103; also noted in passing by Wansick, *Muslim creed* 43.

§ 6, no. 2658 (25),[254] which already came to our attention, includes a characteristic ending: Satan strikes every newborn child on their side, except for Mary and her son. Van Ess recognized this tradition as an echo of the Christian conception of the original sin. No one is free from this sin, even Muḥammad.[255] I have observed similar implications in *Kitāb al-Īmān*, § 84 nos. 193–195 (322–329).[256] Apart from the doctrine of Jesus Christ's sinlessness, one may overhear in this *ḥadīth* traces of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's theodicean dichotomy: God predetermines only the good, whereas the bad arises from either men or Satan.

3.5

§ 7. Everything Is Predetermined but One Must Pray to God for Salvation. Children Are Not Responsible for Their Parents' Deeds. The Punishment of the Grave

In no. 2663 (32–33),[257] the Prophet tells his wife Umm Ḥabība that, instead of the Prophet and her Umayyad relatives, she must entrust herself to God, who predetermines everything, including sustenance (*arzāq*) and death dates (*ājāl*), and whose predestination cannot be hastened or deferred. Then the Prophet advises Umm Ḥabība to beseech God for refuge from the torments of the grave and Hereafter. As a human action, the prayer interplays with God's predestination and may ultimately have a salvific effect. The possibility of changing God's decree through prayer is an old motif that the Qadaris employed to support their teaching.[258] On the other hand, in his advice to Umm Ḥabība, the Prophet uses the verb *aʿādha* (to grant refuge), which may be a reference to the *muʿawwidhatān*, the last two Suras in the Quran (Q 113 and Q 114). The first two verses of Q 113 were used in the second/eighth century by the exponents of predestination against the proponents of free will.[259]

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[253] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 107–108.

[254] Taʾṣīl, no. 2750.6.

[255] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 112.

[256] See p. 106 above.

[257] Taʾṣīl, nos. 2755–2755.3.

[258] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 85–87.

No. 2663 (32–33) ends with a specific addition, which does not seem to have been part of the original *matn*. A bystander asks the Prophet about the monkeys and the swine that were transfigured human beings (*maskh*), to which the Prophet replies that the transfigured creatures have no progeny, whereas the ordinary monkeys and swine have one. The Prophet's anonymous interlocutor of course refers to Q 2:65, Q 5:60, and Q 7:166, in which God turns into monkeys and swine a group of transgressors who incurred His wrath. But why would one raise the question of *maskh* after the Prophet's statement that everything is predetermined and one should pray for God's mercy?

Quranic exegesis reveals that the above three verses recount the story of a coastal city's inhabitants who sinned, presumably but not exclusively by violating the Sabbath. In retribution, God turned them into apes and swine.[260] In no. 2663 (32–33), Muslim alludes to this report, thereby asserting the interplay of human deeds and divine decree as well as the relative freedom of action that man enjoys in the universe of predestination. The inhabitants of the said city were prohibited from fishing on Saturday, but a group of them took the risk of catching fish on the prohibition day against the warnings of two other groups. Eventually, the former group was transfigured into apes and swine, whereas those who had admonished them were spared the divine punishment. Clearly, each group freely settled on a choice, and God treated them accordingly.

There is more to this story, however. Concerning the progeny of the transfigured sinners, Muslim scholars split into two groups, which Cook figuratively designated as "creationists" and "metamorphists."[261] The former held that swine and monkeys were created in the form they exist today, whereas the latter believed that their contemporary apes and swine were the progeny of the transfigured sinners. On the second scenario, one faces the thorny question of whether God may mete out punishment to children for the sins of their parents, which would contradict the legal principle that no one bears responsibility for another person's transgression (*lā taziru wāzira wizr ukhrā*).[262] What is more, children are left with no choice of action, and countless generations are foredoomed to perdition without any sin on their part. Against such a dreary perspective, no. 2663 (32–33) asserts that God has predetermined that the metamorphic monkeys should die without progeny. In this way, they alone suffer the consequences of their sins.

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[259] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 84. Van Ess erroneously refers to Q 114:1–2.

[260] Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ* ii, 58–68; vi, 540–541; x, 512–524. About the causes and objects of metamorphosis, who may be both Jews (apes) and Christians (swine), see Cook, "Ibn Qutayba" 51–53; Reynolds, *Qurʾān* 108–113.

[261] Cook, "Ibn Qutayba" 54–57.

Incidentally, the image of the punished monkeys reminds us of the (in)famous *ḥadīth* about the Jāhili monkey that other apes stoned because of her adultery.[263] Apart from the punishment of the perpetrator, the issue of adultery involves a secondary legal problem, namely, the fate of those children who were born out of wedlock. According to some traditions, such children will be resurrected as swine.[264] Recall that in *Kitāb al-Qadar* Muslim exhibits a constant interest in the status of the children with respect to their parents' sins; hence, he may have seen in no. 2663 (32–33) another reference to the same issue. By citing the Prophet's statement that the transfigured monkeys have no progeny, Muslim may be implying that illegal children do not bear the responsibility for their parents' sin. In any case, Muslim's rejection of hereditary sin is directed against the Kharijis, who would presume the children of their opponents as equally guilty as their parents. As Muslim's distant polemical aim, one may suspect the Christian belief that Adam's original sin was inherited by his progeny.

§ 7 of *Kitāb al-Qadar* asserts the torment of the grave (*ʿadhāb al-qabr*). This is an important article of traditionalist belief, emphatically rejected by the Jahmis[265] and early Muʿtazili rationalists. In the early days of Muslim's lifetime, this theologoumenon was spurned by Bishr al-Marīsī, whom the Partisans of Tradition despised for both his theological opinions and his role in the institution of the Miḥna.[266]

3.6 *§ 8. Men Must Act and Not Regret the Outcome of Their Actions, as God's Predestination Is Responsible for It*

In the final chapter of *Kitāb al-Qadar*, which comprises a single tradition,[267] Muslim reasserts the importance of actions. God likes the strong and active Muslim better than He likes the weak and passive Muslim. One should not regret the outcome of one's actions, for it is predetermined by God. That is to say, earnest human activity is the best complement and fulfillment of divine predestination.

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[262] Q 6:164; 17:15; 39:7; 53:38.

[263] Cook, "Ibn Qutayba" 47–48.

[264] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 96.

[265] Van Ess, "Ḍirār b. ʿAmr" 279.

[266] Ibid. 39.

[267] Abd al-Bāqī, no. 2664 (34) = Taʾṣīl, no. 2756.

At the tradition's end, the Prophet warns that if something (bad) befalls (*aṣāba*) someone, he should not say that it would have been otherwise if he did this and this, for "'if' makes way for Satan's work." This statement is another traditionalist argument against the Qadari theologians who would endow man with freedom of action. It strikes one, however, that the Prophet's concluding remark, which introduces an autonomous agent of evil, comes dangerously close to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's teaching that men are responsible for wicked deeds—even if perpetrated only in the form of words.

4 Conclusion

The impact of actions on the degree of one's faith and the status of the sinner were an outstanding challenge that the Muslim community faced in the second/eighth and the third/ninth centuries. How does the perpetrator of a grave sin stand with respect to other believers? Does he retain membership of the *umma* at all? Intertwined with these questions, which had political undertones embedded in the history of early Islam, was the issue of God's reward and punishment in the Hereafter. Whereas the eternity of the heavenly bliss was hardly a matter of doubt, the duration of punishment in Hell triggered controversies. What constitutes sin and which sins are the most baleful? Is the grave sinner consigned to Hell forever? May he repent? May he be granted pardon through the intercession of the Prophet, the righteous inhabitants of Paradise, or by God's unfathomable mercy? Muslim's selection of traditions in *Kitāb al-Īmān* addresses these questions and several concomitant issues, which, as it seems, were high on the scholarly agenda in Naysābūr and the northeastern centers of learning.

Unlike the early Ḥanafis, the Murji'is, and the Jahmis, who insisted that belief in God is sufficient for attaining the status of a believer, which may not be impeached by one's deeds, Muslim regarded faith as an indivisible unity of belief and actions. Sins detract from one's faith but may not destroy it altogether and exclude one from the community of believers, as the Kharijis insisted. Muslim treats at length the status of the grave sinner and the duration of his punishment in Hell. He opposes both the Khariji rigor, which excludes the grave sinner from the Muslim community, and the Murji'i leniency, which deters the judgment to the Day of Resurrection. To him, the sinner is an unbeliever (*kāfir*), yet not an associationist or an infidel who is condemned to Hell forever, as the Kharijis and the Muʿtazilis averred. Contrary to the Khariji/Muʿtazili black-and-white vision of the Hereafter, Muslim's outlook is nuanced. He constructs a hierarchy of salvation, in which five major grades (with discernable internal subdivisions) may be singled out:

- The believers will be rewarded with Paradise. According to their deeds, they will enter the Garden in batches of varying numbers at different speeds. An important subgroup consists of seventy thousand believers who will enter Paradise bypassing Last Judgment by virtue of their exclusive reliance on God.
- Some sinners preserve a tiny measure of faith in their hearts. They will be delivered from Hell by the intercession of the inhabitants of Paradise and the intercession of the Prophet, in batches according to the amount of faith they had retained.
- Those sinners who lack the smallest amount of good written on their accounts, but who, nevertheless, pronounced the declaration of faith and did not associate other deities with God may be saved by God's grace alone.
- The associationists (*mushrikūn*), who believed in other deities apart from God, are the only group that has no hope of salvation. The Prophet may intercede on behalf of some of them, as, for instance, Abū Ṭālib, but this will deliver them from a place of great torment in Hell to a place of lesser albeit painful suffering.
- On several occasions, Muslim refers to the sins of the prophets. Even Muḥammad had sinned, but his sins are forgiven. Apparently, the conception of the Prophet's infallibility (*ʿiṣma*) was not fully established in Muslim's lifetime. It strikes one that a few traditions cited by Muslim present Jesus Christ as the only prophet who is sinless.

In *Kitāb al-Qadar*, Muslim makes two outstanding theological points. On the one hand, he asserts that the universal order of things and human life in particular are predestined by God. Nothing can be done to avert *qadar*, which embodies God's authority as the creator and master of everything. On the other hand, Muslim does not slide into absolute determinism, which could render meaningless man's responsibility before God's revealed law and, moreover, make this law look dishonest. To avoid such implications and to thwart the arguments of Muʿtazili, Murji'i, and Karrami opponents, Muslim is keen to assert that human actions matter for what happens to every individual in the Hereafter. Divine predestination and human agency are not two parallel yet separate ontological vectors but a synergetic interaction between God's creative activity in the world and man's voluntary choice of action, which is judged and recompensed in accordance with the revealed legal and moral norms. The keyword to understanding Muslim's theology of *qadar* is the verb *yassara* and its derivatives in ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 2647–2649 (6–9). These traditions are an exegetical supplement to Q 92:4–10, which, in Muslim's eyes, lends their message a higher order of legitimacy. The Quranic *yassara* is used to emphasize that whichever course of action one takes, God will facilitate it either to a better or a worse end. Thus, human agency is not discounted, although it will be futile without God's *taysīr*, which to Muslim stands for an aspect of God's *qadar*.

Muslim's balanced understanding of *qadar* is far from being "unthoughtfully determinist," as asserted by Van Ess.[268] One may agree with Watt's statement, "the contrast between the Qadarites and the predestinarians must not be exaggerated."[269] The Qadaris did not reject God's predestination as a whole, nor did predestinarians like Muslim altogether deny men the freedom of choice and action. The rift came about with the Miḥna, which was chiefly responsible for the introduction of insuperable political and theological divides. Qadaris were part of the rationalistic movement that supported al-Maʾmūn's policies against the proto-Sunni scholars, who ultimately coalesced as the Partisans of Tradition. Their eventual victory under al-Mutawakkil reinforced the opposition against the once widespread teaching of *qadar*, now relegated to a reprehensible departure from the triumphant traditionalist orthodoxy.

Muslim endorses the beatific vision and the bridge (*ṣirāṭ*) that will be spread over Hell on the Day of Resurrection, which became one of the most important articles of traditionalist belief. At the same time, he does not impart to the beatific vision the same anthropomorphic features that will permeate its Ḥanbali interpretation during the few decades after Muslim's death. Nor does he cite the famous *ḥadīth al-nuzūl*, according to which each night God descends to the lowest heaven, which plays a key role in the anthropomorphist curriculum.

In the theological books of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim does not heap traditions in a desultory manner. He makes systematic arguments by marshaling *ḥadīth* in a way that progresses from presenting an issue of theological relevance to articulating the opinion of the Partisans of Tradition. To that end, he deploys the most relevant and compelling prophetic statements.

Muslim is conversant with a hierarchy of textual sources whose pinnacle is the Quran. Whenever a theological problem bears on the Quran, as is the case with the beatific vision, Muslim begins his deliberation with the Quranic evidence. Only then does he move on to witnesses from the Prophet's statements.

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[268] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 114.

[269] Watt, *Formative period* 114.

The flow of Muslim’s argumentation is reminiscent of al-Shāfiʿī’s exegetical theory, according to which the Sunna of the Prophet, represented by the traditions about his deeds and words, elucidates (*bayyana*) and specifies (*khaṣṣaṣa*) the Quran.

CHAPTER 5

Muslim's *ḥadīth* Criticism

Along with al-Shāfiʿī, Muslim is the earliest *ḥadīth* collector and critic who systematically explained his take on the reliability of transmitters and the selection of traditions. He laid out his method in two works: The famous Introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ* (henceforth, the Introduction) and *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*. Although compiled by Muslim's student Makkī b. ʿAbdān, *Kitāb al-Tamyīz* bears an unmistakable resemblance to the Introduction, on whose principles it expands.[1] For this reason, we may regard the *Tamyīz* as the articulation of Muslim's *ḥadīth*-critical principles as remembered by his students. It includes a rich selection of examples elucidating the inner workings of Muslim's method.

In this chapter, I contextualize Muslim's achievements against the background of three interrelated aspects of the third/ninth-century *ḥadīth* criticism. First, I look into the challenges that arose before the earliest *ḥadīth* critics, including Muslim, and the ways they followed to address them. Second, I examine Muslim's criteria of *ḥadīth* evaluation, which, of course, are entwined with the first aspect. Third, I consider Muslim's contribution to the terminology of *ḥadīth* criticism on the example of selected key terms that found their way into the works of ripe *ḥadīth* criticism.

1 The Delicate Art of Transmitter Evaluation

1.1 *Muslim's Three Categories of Transmitters*

The Introduction opens with a typology of *ḥadīth* transmitters, divided into three categories (*aqsām*, sg. *qism*, *ṭabaqāt*, sg. *ṭabaqa*, or *aṣnāf*, sg. *ṣinf*). The first category includes "the people of integrity in tradition and mastery in transmission, whose narrations are free from grave contradictions and abominable confusion."[2] This group of superior traditionists is exemplified by Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir (Kufa; d. 132/749–750), Sulaymān al-Aʿmash (Kufa; d. 148/765), Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid (Kufa; d. 145–146/762–763), ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAwn (Basra; d. 151/768), and Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (Basra; d. 131/749).[3] Notably, the group does not include Nāfiʿ (Medina; d. 117/735–736), the famous client (*mawlā*) of ʿAbdallāh

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[1] See pp. 195–196 below.

[2] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 5.

[3] Ibid. p. 6.

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b. ʿUmar, whose contribution to early *ḥadīth* transmission has been a matter of prolonged debate by modern *ḥadīth* analysts.[4] The abovementioned transmitters are exclusively Iraqis, whereas Nāfiʿ is Medinese, but Muslim's silence about him is nevertheless striking. As we have seen, young Muslim was particularly interested in the traditions of Mālik b. Anas, whose main informant is precisely Nāfiʿ.[5]

In the second group, Muslim includes transmitters who are inferior to the first group in terms of mastery (*itqān*) and retentiveness (*ḥifẓ*) but, nonetheless, partake in the qualities of reticence (*satr*),[6] sincerity (*ṣidq*), and scholarly diligence (*taʿāṭī al-ʿilm*).[7] This group is represented, among others, by ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib (Kufa; d. 136/753–754), Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād (Kufa; d. 136/753–754), Layth b. Abī Sulaym (Kufa; d. 141–148/758–766), ʿAwf b. Abī Jamīla (Kufa; d. 146–147/763–765), and al-Ashʿath al-Ḥumrānī (Basra—Wāsiṭ; d. 146/763–764).

The third group comprises traditionists whom the Partisans of Tradition accuse (*ittahama*) of "forgery of traditions and concoction of reports," such as ʿAbdallāh b. Miswar al-Hāshimī (Madāʾin; d. ?),[8] ʿAmr b. Khālid (Kufa → Wāsiṭ; d. ?),[9] ʿAbd al-Quddūs b. Ḥabīb al-Wuḥāẓī (Syria; d. Iraq, 136–158/754–775),[10] Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Maṣlūb (Syria; d. 153/770?),[11] Ghiyāth b. Ibrāhīm

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[4] Juynboll, "Nāfiʿ"; idem, *Encyclopedia* 435; Motzki, "Quo vadis."

[5] Nāfiʿ is also absent in Ibn al-Madīnī's list of pivotal transmitters from the beginning of the second/eighth century, which includes both Iraqi and Ḥijāzi traditionists (Ibn al-Madīnī, *ʿIlal* 36–37).

[6] Pace Juynboll, who translates *satr* as "intelligence" ("Muslim's introduction" 267), Muslim likely refers to the *ḥadīth* evaluator's ability to refrain from trumpeting the errors of other transmitters. Brown interprets *satr* as "pious behavior" (*Canonization* 83), which, although consonant with the general principles of Muslim ethics, needs specification when it comes to *ḥadīth* transmitters' ethics.

[7] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 5.

[8] ʿAbdallāh b. Miswar was a notorious *ḥadīth* forger from the progeny of Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib (al-Bukhārī, *Tārīkh* v, 195; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xi, 413–415).

[9] ʿAmr b. Khālid is described as a liar (*kadhdhāb*) who forged traditions. He would roam around the markets, buy throwaway scrolls (*ṣuḥuf*) from the sellers of drugs and perfumes (*ṣayādila*), and transmit their contents as authentic *ḥadīth* (al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān* v, 312; noted by Goldziher, "Neue Materialien" 477). ʿAmr was known for his transmission of statements by ʿAlī, based on a family *isnād* through Zayd b. ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn and his paternal relatives; Ibn Maʿīn, *Mawsūʿa* iii, 492–493; Ibn ʿAdī, *Kāmil* vi, 217–224.

[10] ʿAbd al-Quddūs was an utterly unreliable transmitter; Ibn Maʿīn, *Mawsūʿa* iii, 265–266. Muslim is reported to have described him as "spoiled in transmission" (*dhāhib al-ḥadīth*); al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xii, 437. ʿAbd al-Quddūs died during the reign of al-Manṣūr (136–158/754–775); loc. cit.

[11] Muḥammad b. Saʿīd is described as someone whose traditions must be abandoned (*matrūk al-ḥadīth*). He was crucified for *zandaqa* (Manicheism?) on al-Manṣūr's order; al-Bukhārī, *Tārīkh* i, 94; Ibn ʿAdī, *Kāmil* vii, 317; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* ix, 270; Van

(Kufa; d. after 158/775),[12] Sulaymān b. ʿAmr Abū Dāwūd al-Nakhaʿī (Kufa → Baghdad; d. 189/805).[13,14] From the biographies of these transmitters, it appears that the Partisans of Tradition disliked them for their perceived heterodoxy. Apart from these *muttaham*s, Muslim advises abandoning those transmitters whose traditions are rife with faults (*ghalaṭ*) or unrecognized, hence objectionable, elements (*munkar*) that contradict—partly or in full—the traditions of established authorities.[15] Exemplary of this second part of the third category are ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥarrar (Raqqa—Harran; d. after 136/754),[16] Yaḥyā b. Abī Unaysa (Edessa; d. 146/763–764),[17] al-Jarrāḥ b. al-Minhāl (Harran; d. 168/784–

Ess, *Theology and society* i, 157. Van Ess notes that since the term *zindīq* "in the later Iraqi sense was not yet known at the time in Syria," the accusation of *zandaqa* must have been attached to Muḥammad b. Saʿīd some time after his death. Muḥammad's execution was ordered, however, by Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr who resided in Iraq and was likely conversant with the meaning of the term in its Iraqi sense. According to late reports, Muḥammad transmitted a *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet says, "After me there will be no other prophet, God willing"; Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 157. Apart from its predestinarian implications, this conditional statement challenges the orthodox belief in the finality of Muḥammad's prophecy. In the eyes of al-Manṣūr, such a view would have constituted a blatant heresy, although not necessarily associated with Manicheism. On the meaning of *zandaqa*, see Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 488–499; Zaman, *Religion and politics* 63–69. On the concept of finality of prophecy, see Friedmann, "Finality of prophethood"; Evstatiev, "Perception"; Powers, *Zayd* 111–123.

[12] Ibn Maʿīn denounces Ghiyāth b. Ibrāhīm as "a liar who is neither trustworthy nor reliable"; Ibn Maʿīn, *Mawsūʿa* iv, 10. For more disparaging statements on Ghiyāth, see al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xiv, 279–281. Ghiyāth transmitted the *ḥadīth* according to which the Prophet told his cousin ʿAlī, "With regard to me, you stand as Aaron stood with regard to Moses, but there is no prophet after me," which is one of the pillars of Shiʿi legitimism; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xiv, 276. He also transmitted a *ḥadīth* extolling bread (loc. cit.), but to consider it as an endorsement of Manichean vegetarianism would be a far-fetched speculation. Ghiyāth was still alive in the reign of al-Mahdī (r. 158–169/775–785); al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xiv, 276–277.

[13] According to Ibn Maʿīn, Sulaymān b. ʿAmr was "a bad man, a rascal liar, and a Qadari"; Ibn Maʿīn, *Mawsūʿa* ii, 255. He may have been an advocate of the Quran's createdness; Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 267. He is said to have forged *isnād*s for a collection of Abū Ḥanīfa's responses to legal questions (Van Ess, "Ḍirār b. ʿAmr" 48), which, if true, would attest to an early stage in the traditionalization of the Ḥanafis. On Sulaymān, see also Ibn ʿAdī, *Kāmil* iv, 219–228; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* x, 20–28.

[14] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 7.

[15] Ibid. p. 7; cf. Muslim, *Tamyīz* 172.

[16] ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥarrar is described as a weak and unreliable transmitter because of his confused and unrecognized transmissions; Ibn Maʿīn, *Mawsūʿa* iii, 126–127; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* xvi, 29–33. He was alive during the reign of al-Manṣūr (136–158/754–775).

[17] Muslim *rijāl* critics took Yaḥyā b. Abī Unaysa to task for transmitting unparalleled traditions on the authority of al-Zuhrī (Syria—Medina, d. 124/742), Abū l-Zubayr al-Makkī (d. 126/743–744 or 128/745–746), and other informants; Ibn ʿAdī, *Kāmil* ix, 3–13.

785),[18] ʿAbbād b. Kathīr (Basra → Mecca; d. after 158/775),[19] Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḍumayra (Medina; d. ?),[20] and ʿUmar b. Ṣuhbān (Medina; d. 157/773–774).[21]

Muslim's nomenclature of transmitters may be going back to a statement by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī (Basra; d. 198/814), which found its way into *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*. Ibn Mahdī divides the *ḥadīth* transmitters into three groups: First, those who are skilled memorizers (*ḥāfiẓ*, *mutqin*); second, those who commit errors but transmit mostly correct traditions; third, those whose transmissions are overwhelmed by error. The first group stands beyond doubt, the second, which is the most numerous, is accepted, for "if the traditions of those are abandoned, *ḥadīth* would vanish," and the third group is abandoned.[22]

In addition to the three categories of transmitters, Muslim mentions the "leaders of the Partisans of Tradition" (*aʾimmat ahl al-ḥadīth*), Mālik b. Anas (Medina; d. 179/795), Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj (Wāsiṭ → Basra; d. 160/776), Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (Kufa → Mecca; d. 198/814), Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān (Basra; d. 198/813), and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mahdī.[23] Muslim regards these men as exemplary founders of *ḥadīth* criticism, who knew the difference between sound and weak traditions, on the one hand, and were superb evaluators of *ḥadīth* transmitters, on the other.[24] In a brother sense, they came to be perceived as paragons of correct belief with an unblemished social standing,[25] which turned them into a consolidating force behind the third/ninth-century traditionalist movement.

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[18] Al-Jarrāḥ b. al-Minhāl was disparaged for transmitting unrecognized and unparalleled traditions; Ibn ʿAdī, *Kāmil* ii, 406–408. A teacher of Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Jarrāḥ drank wine; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥūn* i, 259.

[19] ʿAbbād b. Kathīr transmitted weak traditions. When asked if he espoused some heresy (*hawā*), Ibn Ḥanbal answered in the negative. ʿAbbād was a pious person (*ṣāliḥ*) who transmitted lies that he had never heard; Ibn ʿAdī, *Kāmil* v, 538. In another report, Aḥmad denies that there was a "whiff of qadarism" in ʿAbbād b. Kathīr; Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* rec. al-Marrūdhī 107, no. 172, which may be a response to Muʿtazili claims that he followed the teaching of free will; on these claims, see Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 732. ʿAbbād was sympathetic to the ʿAlids; loc. cit.

[20] Ibn Maʿīn described Ibn Ḍumayra as a "liar" who is "nothing", probably because he transmitted unrecognized traditions from a forged manuscript on the authority of his father from his grandfather; Ibn Maʿīn, *Mawsūʿa* i, 467–468; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* ii, 388; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥūn* i, 296.

[21] According to Ibn Ḥibbān, ʿUmar b. Ṣuhbān associated with reliable transmitters traditions that every *ḥadīth* expert would instantly recognize as concoctions; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥūn* ii, 52; cf. Ibn ʿAdī, *Kāmil* vi, 24–27.

[22] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 178–179.

[23] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 8; Muslim, *Tamyīz* 172, designated as "the foremost people of knowledge" (*aʾimmat ahl al-ʿilm*).

[24] The Partisans of Tradition never settled on a unified list of the founders of *ḥadīth* criticism. Apart from those mentioned by Muslim, their records might include al-Awzāʿī (Damas-

In his typology of *ḥadīth* transmitters, Muslim deploys personal qualifications, such as "retentive," "masterful," "imam," and "accused," and assigns traditions to different grades of acceptability. But he is eager to assert that this critical approach to traditions and their transmitters is not his innovation. It was practiced by the well-known *ḥadīth* transmitters for at least a century before Muslim's birth, and he now follows their example.

1.2 *Transmitter-Critical Pronouncements by Second/Eighth-Century Traditionists*

Nearly forty percent of the Introduction consists of a list of transmitter-critical pronouncements by earlier authorities.[26] From Muslim's many examples, one gains the impression that transmission errors were endemic in his lifetime. Their facets were manifold, ranging from manifest flaws to subtle defects that might be uncovered only by the keen critic. Muslim cites eighty-four statements by forty-two traditionists, the earliest of whom is Murra b. Sharāḥīl al-Hamdānī (Kufa; d. 76/695–696), with one statement, while the latest is ʿAffān b. Muslim (Basra → Baghdad; b. 134/751–752, d. 220/835), with one statement.[27] Although a few evaluations go back to the first/seventh century, the largest number of evaluators cited by Muslim flourished in the second/eighth century. The most active of them were eight:

- ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak (Marw; d. 181/797), eleven statements, of which nine are negative.
- Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (Basra; d. 131/749), seven statements, all negative.
- Mālik b. Anas (Medina; d. 179/795), seven statements, of which six are negative.
- Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān (Basra; d. 198/813), seven statements, all negative.

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cus; d. 157/774), Sufyān al-Thawrī (Kufa; 97–161/716–778), ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak (Marw; d. 181/797), Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ (Kufa; b. 127–129/744–747, d. 197/812), and others; Dickinson, *Development* 49; Lucas, *Constructive critics* 127–156; Pavlovitch, Ḥadīth criticism. The reason for this fluidity was the porous boundary between *ḥadīth* transmission and *ḥadīth* criticism. Prolific second/eighth-century transmitters came to be regarded as skilled critics; Dickinson, *Development* 49–52.

[25] Consider, for instance, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's vehement rejection of hints that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī may have espoused Qadari opinions; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xi, 514–515.

[26] ʿAbd al-Bāqī pp. 15–27.

[27] For details, see Appendix 5.

- Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj (Wāsiṭ → Basra; d. 160/776), five statements, of which four are negative.
- Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (Kufa → Mecca; d. 198/814), four statements, of which three are negative.
- Sufyān al-Thawrī (Kufa; 97–161/716–778), three statements, of which two are negative.
- Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Kufa → Rayy; b. 107/725–726, d. 187/802), three statements, all negative.

In sum, eight second/eighth-century *ḥadīth* transmitters made forty-seven statements, that is, fifty-six percent of the transmitter evaluations in Muslim's list. Does this mean that they (and the other men listed by Muslim) were *ḥadīth* critics, as argued by Juynboll and Lucas?[28] What were Muslim's reasons to fill up with their overwhelmingly negative assessments the greater part of the Introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*? To answer these questions, let us look into the reasons—whenever mentioned by Muslim—that led these authorities to pass judgment on earlier *ḥadīth* transmitters. From this perspective, the transmitter-critical pronouncements in Muslim's list form three large groups. The first two groups center on the *isnād* features and the personal qualities of transmitters, whereas the third group comprises evaluations the reasons for which cannot be gleaned from the text of the Introduction. Each group may be subdivided into several categories, as follows:[29]

Isnād features (seventeen instances).[30]

- *Isnād* comparison. The quality of transmission is assessed by collating several transmissions of the same *ḥadīth* (eight instances).
- *Tadlīs*. Obfuscation of the *isnād* by excluding, replacing, or confusing the names of transmitters, filling the gaps in interrupted *isnād*s, or inventing *isnād*s altogether (seven instances).
- *Isnād* interruption. A transmitter cannot have met his alleged informant because of an unsurmountable age difference (two instances).

Personal qualities of the transmitters (twenty-seven instances)

- Sectarian background (eighteen instances).

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[28] Juynboll regards Shuʿba as "the first *isnād* critic as such"; Juynboll, *Muslim tradition* 20. Lucas includes in his list of primary *ḥadīth* critics six of the eight traditionists, namely, Ibn al-Mubārak, Mālik b. Anas, Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān, Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj, Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, and Sufyān al-Thawrī; *Constructive critics* 132–151.

[29] For a detailed breakdown of each group, see Appendix 6.

[30] I count for a single instance each number according to the enumeration in the Dār al-Taʾṣīl

- Indiscriminate transmission of everything one has heard (two instances).
- The period of the joint scholarship. The reliability of transmission between two successive traditionists is determined by how long they studied together (two instances).
- Pious forgery. Personal piety may lead to the invention of traditions (two instances).
- Historical incompetence. Ignorance of historical facts causes severe distortion of the text (one instance).
- Linguistic incompetence. Linguistic incompetence causes severe distortion of the text (one instance).
- Popular storytellers (*quṣṣāṣ*, sg. *qāṣṣ*). One must stay away from the *quṣṣāṣ* (one instance).

Unstated reasons (thirty-eight instances).

In forty-four instances, the traditions cited by Muslim reveal the reason for criticizing earlier transmitters. Seventeen times criticism is triggered by *isnād* flaws, chiefly detected by *isnād* comparison, and twenty-seven times judgment is passed on account of personal qualities, overwhelmingly the transmitters' sectarian background. Thirty-eight instances (that is, forty-six percent of the total) do not include clues as to the reasons for criticism. Muslim likely knew these reasons, but clearly he was not as eager to set them out as he strove to assert that already in the second/eighth century *ḥadīth* transmitters issued disparaging statements, such as *ghayr thiqa* (untrustworthy), *laysa bi-thabt* (not firm), *ḍaʿīf* (weak), *muttaham* (accused, suspect), *yaḍaʿu l-ḥadīth* (forges traditions), *kadhdhāb* (liar), and *baʿra aḥabb ilayya min-hu* (A piece of dung is more preferable to me than he). Muslim's lengthy historical argument is directed against opponents who rebuked the early *ḥadīth* critics for moral corruption.

1.3 *The Moral Dilemma of Personal Criticism*

Muslim traditionists and early *ḥadīth* critics dealt with numerous informants, many of whom were their contemporaries who lived in different scholarly centers throughout the caliphate while others were long since dead. In most cases, the critic would pass a judgment, frequently a negative one, on absent persons. This was not an easy decision, as pious believers often considered dubbing

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edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. If one number includes the evaluation of more than one transmitter, I count each name under that number as a separate instance.

someone a liar, forger, or unreliable transmitter as nothing short of brazenly aspersing fellow Muslims in their absence (*ghība*, *ightiyāb*).[31]

The use of this term may be attested already in the first half of the second/eighth century. Outside the field of *ḥadīth* transmission, Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (Basra; d. 110/729) is said to have regretted as *ightiyāb* his ranking of a man as a better physician than another man.[32] Maʿmar b. Rāshid (Basra → Ṣanʿāʾ; 96–153/714–770) stated that Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (Basra; d. 131/749) only once in his life aspersed (*ightāba*) someone. Namely, he described Abū Umayya ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Abī l-Mukhāriq (Basra → Mecca; d. 126–127/743–745) as *ghayr thiqa*, because Abū Umayya pretended to have heard ʿIkrima in a tradition that he actually heard from Ayyūb on the authority of ʿIkrima.[33] ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak (Marw; d. 181/797) was censored by "a certain Sufi" for "aspersing the righteous," to which he curtly rejoined, "Shut up! If we do not lay bare the truth, who would do it?"[34] Around the same time, Ismāʿīl b. ʿUlayya (Basra; b. 110/728–729, d. 193/809) defended his student ʿAffān b. Muslim (Basra → Baghdad; b. 134/751–752, d. 220/835) against a fellow traditionist who considered as *ightiyāb* ʿAffān's statement *laysa bi-thabt* (he is not firm) regarding another (probably dead) traditionist.[35] Several decades later, Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn, one of the founders of *ḥadīth* criticism, lamented, "We are disparaging people who may have dismounted in Paradise more than two hundred years ago."[36]

The pious detractors of *ḥadīth* criticism were strong and vocal in Muslim's lifetime. It is hardly a coincidence that *Kitāb al-Tamyīz* opens with a paragraph in which Muslim's interlocutor describes a sizeable group (*qawm*) who consider any pronouncement about the soundness of traditions and the reliability of their transmitters as "slandering the righteous among the forbears." They claimed furthermore that, "anyone who ventures to distinguish between the faulty and correct in their narrations forges a lie about something that he does not know and pretends to possess knowledge of the impenetrable unknown."[37] In the Introduction, Muslim turns the arguments of his opponents upside down. Uncovering the vices (*maʿāyīb*) of transmitters is a duty incumbent upon *ḥadīth* scholars, because their reports determine what is licit or illicit, divinely sanctioned or prohibited, morally desirable or wicked. *Ḥadīth* transmission is a matter of religion, and concealing the transmitter's faults amounts to the sin of deceiving the general Muslim public.[38] To keep silent about the weak transmitters has thus become a sin more harmful to one's piety than the purported slander of absent Muslims. To reveal the transmitters' weaknesses is an act of true devotion.

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[31] Melchert, "Early renunciants" 413–414.

[32] Al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifa wa-l-tārīkh* ii, 61–62.

[33] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 21 = Taʾṣīl, no. 62.

[34] Al-Ṭalḥī, *Siyar* 507–508; Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xi, 298; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* x, 242. The authenticity of this report invites questions. It contains an anachronistic reference to Ibn al-Mubārak's opponent as "a certain Sufi," whereas his self-confident reply implies *ḥadīth* criticism that was triumphant over its pious opponents. According to Mughlaṭāy and Ibn Ḥajar, the source of the report is Ibn al-Mubārak's now lost *Kitāb al-Tārīkh*, but, strikingly, it mentions Ibn al-Mubārak in the third person. Al-Ṭalḥī (Isfahan; d. 535–538/1140–1144), the earliest collector to mention this report, does not identify his source. Arguably, *Kitāb al-Tārīkh* or some of its parts were a secondary compilation including Ibn al-Mubārak's transmitter-critical pronouncements.

[35] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 26 = Taʾṣīl, no. 84.

[36] Al-Khaṭīb, *Akhlāq* ii, 201. Pointing to the anachronistic nature of this statement (Ibn Maʿīn died in 233/848), al-Dhahabī proposed to read "two hundred years" as "one hundred"; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xiii, 268. Ibn Maʿīn, however, died before Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (b. 195/810–811, d. 277/890) articulated the teaching of the collective probity of the Companions. Ibn Maʿīn may well have meant criticism of the Companions, which will become sacrilege a few decades after his death.

Muslim's apology of transmitter criticism comes at the end of the already mentioned long section in the Introduction in which he cites eighty-four statements by forty-two first/seventh and second/eighth-century traditionists. Clearly, Muslim called upon these authorities not in their capacity as *ḥadīth* critics but as witnesses to his thesis that passing judgments on *ḥadīth* transmitters is an honorable duty that has nothing to do with the alleged slander of other Muslims. One may hardly doubt that Muslim took such pains to justify *ḥadīth* criticism against accusations of slander because these accusations were a recent development that accompanied the efflorescence of *ḥadīth* criticism in the first half of the third/ninth century.

Another strategy by which Muslim quashed opposition to *ḥadīth* criticism was giving precedence to positive over negative assessments. This criterion may be inferred from Muslim's statement, "the Partisans of Tradition are those who know them and distinguish between them [that is, *ḥadīth* transmitters] and assign to them the status of accreditation or impeachment."[39] This statement, which orders accreditation before impeachment, suggests that Muslim was weary of negative assessments. In the same vein, Muslim issues in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* only two evaluation statements, both positive.[40] This is not to say that Muslim wanted to abandon negative qualifications altogether. Once he counseled

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[37] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 169.

[38] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 28.

[39] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 218. Note that this statement is not expressly associated with Muslim. It may belong to the compiler of *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*, Makkī b. ʿAbdān.

[40] Sā'ib b. Farrūkh is trustworthy and upright (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1159 [186] = Ta'ṣīl, no. 1181.6) and Zayd b. Yazīd al-Thaqafī is trustworthy; ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1399 (517) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 1416.3.

Aḥmad b. Salama to remain silent (*satara*) about a flawed transmission by Ibn Kurayb.[41] Muslim does not insist on concealing Abū Kurayb's flaw. In his opinion, it has to remain within the expert knowledge of the *ḥadīth* scholars, such as himself and Aḥmad b. Salama. Recall that Muslim records *satr* (reticence) among the foremost qualities of a *ḥadīth* transmitter.[42]

1.4 *The Methodological Dilemma of Personal Criticism*

Muslim mustered strong arguments in defense of personal criticism that certainly weakened the position of its opponents. Nevertheless, not all pronouncements by second/eighth-century authorities that Muslim gathered in the Introduction could be treated as universally valid and incontrovertible judgments about someone's reliability. The exceptions were many.

Some people were led to spread weak traditions for reasons of piety. These saintly forgers (*ṣāliḥūn*, sg. *ṣāliḥ*) are best described in Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān's statement, "We found the pious [people] to be most mendacious in [the transmission of] *ḥadīth*."[43] Aware that their traditions are indispensable in the field of exhortation, Muslim exonerates them by stating that although lies flow freely from their tongues, they do not lie on purpose.[44]

The issue of orthodoxy may serve as another illustration of the methodological problems besetting personal criticism. In the eyes of the Partisans of Tradition, aberrant political or theological stances undermined one's status as a pious Muslim and disqualified him as a *ḥadīth* transmitter. In Muslim's lifetime, such persons were disparaged as *ahl al-bidaʿ*, that is, heretical innovators and revisionists of the established norm as distinct from *ahl al-sunna*, the self-proclaimed upholders of orthodox tradition. *Ahl al-bidaʿ* were easy to dismiss as unreliable transmitters and liars without incurring accusations of *ightiyāb*.[45] All the same, blanket disqualification of transmitters whose orthodoxy was not as questionable at the beginning of the second/eighth century as it came to be perceived a century later could invalidate many links to the first/seventh century. Muslim's Introduction bears witness to this quandary.

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[41] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* ii, 801. For a discussion of this tradition, see p. 201 below.

[42] See p. 128 above.

[43] ʿAbd al-Bāqī pp. 17–18 = Ta'ṣīl, no. 39. On forgery by *ṣāliḥūn*, see Juynboll, *Muslim tradition* 184–187.

[44] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 18.

[45] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Madkhal fī l-uṣūl* 33–34. Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ cites in this respect two prophetic traditions that insist on calling out the heretics; ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 237.

At the beginning of his deliberation on the sanctity of the *isnād* and the veracity of transmitters, Muslim cites Ibn Sīrīn's famous tradition that (anachronistically) enjoins taking *ḥadīth* only from *ahl al-sunna* and avoiding *ahl al-bidaʿ*.[46] Specifically, Muslim warns against transmitting on the authority of a wide gamut of unorthodox transmitters. Among them, he lists ʿAmr b. Thābit (Kufa; d. 172/788–789), who "insulted the forbears." In the parlance of the Partisans of Tradition, this expression signals the Shiʿi habit of criticizing the Prophet's Companions who opposed ʿAlī.[47] Muslim also disparages the Successor al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbdallāh al-Aʿwar (Kufa; d. 65/684–685) for being a liar and *muttaham* (accused, suspect), a term by which he likely expresses a dislike of al-Ḥārith's ʿAlid sympathies.[48] Another *muttaham* is Jābir b. Yazīd al-Juʿfī (Kufa; d. 128/745–746), who, after a period of concealment, manifested his belief in the return (*rajʿa*) of the imam (most likely ʿAlī) after a period of occultation.[49] The notorious Qadari ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd (Basra; d. ca. 144/761), who together with Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ (Basra; d. 131/748–749) founded the Muʿtazili sect, is described in several traditions as a liar who would twist statements by the Prophet and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī in favor of his teaching.[50] Muslim is suspicious of the storytellers, whose traditions must be avoided, except for those transmitted by Abū l-Aḥwaṣ ʿAwf

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[46] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 15 = Taʾṣīl, no. 24. Juynboll has argued that the concepts of *sunna* and *bidʿa* existed in the Jāhiliyya and early Islam, signifying established practice and innovative departure therefrom. By Ibn Sīrīn's lifetime, the term *bidʿa* had acquired a political and religious connotation, which referred to the groups of early Qadaris, Kharijis, Murjiʾis, and Rāfiḍis; Juynboll, "Muslim's introduction" 308–311. Even though the gist of Juynboll's somewhat sketchy argument seems to be correct, I doubt that the tradition cited by Muslim goes back to Ibn Sīrīn's lifetime. In a study of Ibn Sīrīn's tradition, I argued that it was put into circulation in Baghdad in the later part of the second/eighth century (Pavlovitch, "Origin" 33–37).

[47] ʿAmr b. Thābit preferred ʿAlī to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and cursed ʿUthmān (Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* x, 137).

[48] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 19 = Taʾṣīl, no. 47. Muslim cites two cryptic reports, on the authority of Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, in which al-Ḥārith distinguishes between the Quran and Revelation (*waḥy*). This is perhaps a hint at the Shiʿi division between the manifest Quran and esoteric knowledge possessed by the imam (ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 254). That al-Ḥārith may have pretended to have inherited such knowledge from ʿAlī is suggested by Ibn Saʿd's report that ʿAlī wrote down for him in special scrolls "plentiful knowledge" and then exclaimed before the Kufans, "O People of Kufa, half a man is better than all of you"; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* viii, 288. By "half a man" ʿAlī was referring to al-Ḥārith's one-eye blindness, whence his sobriquet al-Aʿwar. It is worthy of note that Ibn Maʿīn (Iraq; d. 233/848) described al-Ḥārith as acceptable (Ibn Maʿīn, *Tārīkh* iii, 361, no. 1751), whereas two decades later, in Muslim's lifetime, the Partisans of Tradition came to consider him a liar. For later doubts in the disparaging reports about al-Ḥārith, see al-Sahmī, *Tārīkh* 524.

[49] ʿAbd al-Bāqī pp. 20–21 = Taʾṣīl, nos. 51–58.

[50] ʿAbd al-Bāqī pp. 22–23 = Taʾṣīl, nos. 65–70.

b. Mālik al-Jushamī (Kufa; d. 75–95/694–714).[51] The most pernicious storyteller was Shaqīq b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḍabbī (Kufa; d. ?), who followed the teaching of the Kharijis.[52]

Like many other *ḥadīth* experts, Muslim knew that the requirement to avoid transmission by sectaries could not apply equally to all second/eighth-century *ḥadīth* transmitters who espoused some sort of unorthodox teaching. An outright rejection of these transmitters could dismantle the edifice of the *isnād* system.[53] Muslim's balanced take on second/eighth-century sectaries becomes apparent when one considers his three categories of transmitters. None of them is confined to traditionists of unblemished doctrinal standing. In the first and most reliable category, Muslim lists the Kufans Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir, who was known for his mild pro-ʿAlid slant (*tashayyuʿ*),[54] and al-Aʿmash, an adamant champion of the ʿAlid cause who spread false traditions denigrating ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.[55] Likewise, Muslim's second category of transmitters, who are largely trustworthy, includes Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād, a leading member of the ʿAlid party in Kufa,[56] and ʿAwf b. Abī Jamīla, a Kufan traditionist who was known for his ʿAlid predilection and his belief in free will (*qadar*).[57]

To mitigate the effects of the prohibition articulated in Ibn Sīrīn's tradition, Muslim cites statements allowing one to transmit on the authority of sectaries so long as they do not manifest their heterodoxy. Many second/eighth-century traditionists held Jābir b. Yazīd al-Juʿfī's transmissions for reliable, before he openly professed the extreme Shiʿi belief in the return of the hidden imam, and, even after that, only some of them abandoned Jābir as an informant.[58]

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[51] ʿAwf was killed by the Kharijis during al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf's governorship in Iraq; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt* 274–275.

[52] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 20 = Taʾṣīl, no. 50.

[53] For a statement to that effect by Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān, see Dickinson, *Development* 104. Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ turned the vice into virtue: The master traditionists transmitted on the authority of liars and untrustworthy informants in order to alert the later generations to their faults and forestall malicious association of their material with reliable transmitters; ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 256–258.

[54] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xi, 373; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* x, 315.

[55] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* vi, 97; Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 272–273. Al-Aʿmash's father, Mihrān, was killed in Kufa in 65/685 as a participant in the movement of the "penitents" (*tawwābūn*), who rebelled against the Umayyads under the slogan of revenge for al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī's killing in 61/680 (Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* vi, 96).

[56] Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* xi, 329–330.

[57] Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* viii, 167; Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 63–64.

[58] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 20 = Taʾṣīl, nos. 51–53. The distinction between before and after Jābir's profession of *rajʿa* may well reflect a secondary process of his association with a belief that he never professed. On the problematic character of the reports imputing to Jābir various

Likewise, ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd, habitually disparaged by the Partisans of Tradition, was an acceptable source of traditions before he began to innovate (*qabla an yuḥdith*).[59] But even this distinction between accepting the passive follower and rejecting the propagandist (*dāʿiya*) of heresy was not always observed. Although warning that al-Ḥārith al-Aʿwar is a liar, al-Shaʿbī still transmitted on his authority.[60] In the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim transmits twenty-two traditions on the authority of ʿAlqama b. Marthad (Kufa; d. ca. 120/738) and forty-one traditions on the authority of Misʿar b. Kidām (Kufa; d. 152–155/769–772), both of whom were Murjiʾis, Misʿar being a *dāʿiya*. Muslim's red line may have been, as suggested by Abu-Alabbas, the transmission of *ḥadīth* that someone altered in support of his unorthodox teaching,[61] but an important nuance should not be overlooked. Muslim would not simply discard the entire corpus of a given transmitter only because it included one or more traditions that were tampered with in support of a sectarian teaching. He would rather sift out the altered traditions while admitting material that went along his criteria of authenticity.[62] In this, he followed Sufyān al-Thawrī, who once said that he transmitted on the authority of the untrustworthy Muḥammad al-Kalbī (Kufa; d. 146/763), because he could tell al-Kalbī's truth apart from his lies.[63]

As a *ḥadīth* expert par excellence, Muslim gave prominence to the quality of transmission. He certainly took into account the sectarian background of his informants, but it played a secondary role in deciding whether to transmit on the authority of someone from the second/eighth century. It is noteworthy that Muslim's third category includes unacceptable transmitters who were to

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extreme convictions, see Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 344–345. It is important to bear in mind, though, that to Muslim and the following generations of transmitters, Jābir was an extreme Shiʿi the transmission of whose traditions had to be abandoned, at least in theory.

[59] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 23 = Taʾṣīl, no. 70.

[60] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 19 = Taʾṣīl, no. 45.

[61] Abu-Alabbas, "Principles" 326–327.

[62] In *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*, Muslim notes a Murjiʾi variant of the tradition about angel Gabriel's colloquy with Muḥammad about the meaning of faith (*īmān*) and Islam, in which the angel asks Muḥammad about the "laws of Islam" (*sharāʾiʿ al-islām*) instead of simply "Islam," thereby suggesting in a Murjiʾi manner that Islam stands for laws not actions (Muslim, *Tamyīz* 199–200). The *isnād* passes through Abū Sinān Saʿīd b. Sinān (Kufa → Rayy → Qazvin; d. ?) transmitting on the authority of ʿAlqama b. Marthad. Muslim notes that this *matn* was doctored by Saʿīd b. Sinān in tune with his Murjiʾi persuasion but does not question Saʿīd's reliability in general. Strikingly, Muslim's critical opinion about this particular tradition does not lead him to reconsider ʿAlqama b. Marthad's corpus, which may have included other traditions that were skewed in a similar manner. See also ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 7, where Muslim states that a transmitter may be outright rejected only if error persists in most of his traditions.

[63] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 258.

be avoided for either sectarian bias or errors in transmission. Although the two aspects are difficult to distinguish, one immediately notes that when assessing the third group Muslim sets greater store by the accuracy of transmission than by sectarianism. That is to say, he tolerates the transmission by someone known for his sectarian bias, provided that a large number of authorities from the next generation transmit from him the same tradition. This tolerance was nevertheless chronologically limited. Whereas Muslim and his contemporary Partisans of Tradition transmitted from many sectaries from the earlier generations, the number of acceptable sectaries dwindled after the beginning of the third/ninth century, due to the hardening division lines between political and theological parties in the wake of the Miḥna.[64]

1.5 *The Collective Probity of the Companions*

In the first half of the third/ninth century the status of the first generation of Muslims, the Prophet's Companions (*aṣḥāb*, *ṣaḥāba*, sg. *ṣāḥib rasūl Allāh*, *ṣaḥābī*), became a political issue with lasting epistemological implications. The argument over who bore responsibility for the first civil war and the ensuing rent in the communal unity had caused a lot of intellectual anxiety and political strife during the second/eighth century and required a conciliatory solution. By promoting the Companions' blamelessness as an article of traditionalist belief, the nascent Sunni party wanted to incorporate all Muslims into the fold of a catholic community bound by the belief in the Prophet's exemplary Companions, who carefully preserved his legacy and never clashed over the basic principles of law, theology, and government. This teaching was of utmost significance for the emerging science of *ḥadīth* criticism.[65]

Apart from their centrality for the second/eighth-century political parties and theological currents, the Companions are the exclusive conduit of knowledge from the Prophet to the later *ḥadīth* collectors and jurists. With al-Shāfiʿī's forceful endorsement of prophetic authority in the derivation of legal norms, the significance of the first generation of Muslims, who saw the Prophet's deeds and heard his words, became critical for the Islamic jurisprudence. Only the Companions' unblemished authority could guarantee the universal validity of the Sharīʿa laws, which mostly derive from traditions that go back to the formative period of early Islam.[66]

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[64] For details, see Melchert, "Sectaries" 294–295.

[65] For a general study on the early and classical concept of the Companions' collective probity, see Osman, "*ʿAdālat al-ṣaḥāba*."

[66] Osman's statement, "it is inadequate to suggest that the doctrine [of the Companions' collective probity] developed to solve a specific problem in Sunnī *Ḥadīṯ* criticism" ("*ʿAdālat al-*

Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī (Medina → Baghdad; b. 130/747–748, d. 207/822) was among the first Muslim scholars who highlighted the Companions' crucial role as transmitters of prophetic *ḥadīth*.[67] Transmission on the authority of the Prophet was decisive for the selection of Companions to be included in *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* by al-Wāqidī's best student, Muḥammad b. Saʿd (Basra → Baghdad; d. ca. 230/845).[68] Towards the end of the second/eighth century, al-Shāfiʿī built his defense of the isolated report (*khabar al-wāḥid*) on the assumption that "the Companions of the Prophet are better than those [who came] after them" and that they are nothing short of "the best people" (*khayr al-nās*).[69] Al-Shāfiʿī argued that an isolated *isnād* of trustworthy transmitters, such as al-Zuhrī on the authority of Ibn al-Musayyab transmitting from a Companion transmitting from the Prophet, may not be rejected, because this would be tantamount to discrediting a Companion. Implicitly, this statement divides the *isnād* into two segments. The more recent segment, based on the transmission of Successors and those who came after them, must be verified. If this part of the chain is proven authentic, as is the case in al-Shāfiʿī's example, its Companion segment may not be questioned, because the Companions are faultless. In this way, al-Shāfiʿī exempted the Companions from the requirement of verification that applies to each transmitter from the following generations.

Towards the end of al-Shāfiʿī's lifetime or slightly thereafter, the Muʿtazili Jaʿfar b. Mubashshir al-Thaqafī (Baghdad; d. 234/849) taught that the Prophet promised entrance to Paradise to his ten best Companions.[70] The works of ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī (Basra, Baghdad; b. 161/777–778, d. 234/849) and Ḥumayd b. Zanjawayh (Nasā; d. 251/865) stand as witnesses to the admission of this teaching into the curriculum of the early *ḥadīth* critics.[71] Ibn al-Madīnī authored the collection *Tasmiyat man ruwiya ʿan-hu min awlād al-ʿasahra* (*The names of the children of the ten* [*best Companions*] *on whose authority* [*ḥadīth*] *was*

ṣaḥāba" 302), goes too far in downplaying the epistemological significance of the *ʿadālat al-ṣaḥāba* teaching. In line with Osman's arguments, this teaching bears on the political conflicts and theological debates in early Islam, but, since all relevant data derive from *ḥadīth*, the reliability of the respective chains of transmission, guaranteed by the Companions' probity, is crucial for the adequate knowledge of the period. One wonders if the introduction of *taʿdīl al-ṣaḥāba* in *ḥadīth* criticism might reflect an anti-Murjiʾi tendency, insofar as it largely removes the epistemological uncertainty that led the Murjiʾis to withhold their judgment about the participants in the first civil war.

[67] Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* ii, 323–324, noted by Lucas, *Constructive critics* 267–268.

[68] Loth, *Classenbuch* 36.

[69] Al-Shāfiʿī, *Jimāʿ al-ʿilm* 80, § 319.

[70] Van Ess, *Theology and society* iv, 68.

[71] *Pace* Yazigi, who argues that the concept of the chosen ten, "generally enjoyed moderate attention" in the third/ninth-century *sunan* and *ṭabaqāt* works; "*Ḥadīth al-ʿashara*" 161.

reported), recording the names of the children of the ten best Companions who engaged in *ḥadīth* transmission. Ibn Zanjawayh's *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahāʾ wa-l-muḥaddithīn* includes a similar section (preserved only in part), which largely agrees in its arrangement and contents with the corresponding part of Ibn al-Madīnī's work.[72]

The Companions' growing significance found expression in the emergence of the *musnad* collections, which map the chain of *ḥadīth* transmission through specific Companions, on the authority of the Prophet. The Companions themselves are ordered according to the date of their conversion.[73] This new class of *ḥadīth* collections may have evolved from an older genre of personal records going under the name of a concrete authority, such as the collection of traditions on divorce by ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī (Kufa; d. 103–110/721–729).[74] The earliest extant compendium of the *musnad* type is the *Musnad* of Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī (Basra; b. ca. 113/731–732 or ca. 133/750–751, d. 203–204/819–820).[75] An earlier *Musnad* may have been compiled by Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād,[76] although his priority seems poorly founded—al-Ṭayālisī is one generation Nuʿaym's senior. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī's (Mecca; d. 219/834) *Musnad* is extant and published. A *musnad* collection was compiled by ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī in Basra but lost only a few years later due to the bad keeping of the papyri (*qarāṭīs*, sg. *qirṭās*).[77] Other collectors of presently lost early *Musnad*s include Asad b. Mūsā al-Umawī (Egypt; b. 132/749–750, d. 212/827), ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā al-ʿAbsī (Kufa; d. 213–214/828–830), Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥimmānī (Kufa; d. 228/843), and Musaddad b. Musarhad (Basra; d. 228/842–843).[78]

During the first half of the third/ninth century, *ḥadīth* experts began to compile collections with the names of Companions. The earliest collection specifically devoted to the Companions may have been Ibn al-Madīnī's presently lost *Maʿrifat man nazala min al-ṣaḥāba sāʾir al-buldān* (*Knowledge of the Com-*

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[72] Pavlovitch, Ibn Zanjawayh.

[73] Schoeler, "Recording" 95.

[74] Juynboll, *Musnad* vii, 705.

[75] Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī's *Musnad* may have represented a transitional stage from the early personal collections to the classical *musnad* genre. As noted by the anonymous reader of the manuscript, al-Ṭayālisī's collection likely included many traditions whose chains terminate at a Companion or a Successor level; on which see Juynboll, al-Ṭayālisī 399. These imperfect *isnād*s were left out of the collection by its later editors, which, if correct, suggests as another possibility a transformation from a *muṣannaf* collection similar to those of ʿAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn Abī Shayba to a classical *musnad* collection; loc. cit.

[76] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 420.

[77] Al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifa wa-l-tārīkh* ii, 137.

[78] Ibn Ḥajar, *Hady* 5; idem, *Tahdhīb* xi, 248.

panions who settled in different countries).[79] A concise collection including short biographical notes on Companions may have been composed by Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Bukayr al-Makhzūmī (154–231/771–845) in Egypt.[80] The earliest extant specimens of this genre are the two collections entitled *Muʿjam al-ṣaḥāba* by Abū l-Qāsim al-Baghawī (d. 317/929) and ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. Qāniʿ (265–351/879–962), both active in Baghdad. Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim's (Basra → Isfahan; 206–287/822–900) authored *al-Āḥād wa-l-mathānī* (*The singular and double traditions*), a compendium with the names of Companions that records one or more rare traditions associated with each of them. Replete with traditions on the authority of Companions, these compendia are almost void of biographical data. Their focus on the *isnād*s indicates that the chains of *ḥadīth* transmission, authentic or otherwise, were the only means of asserting someone's status as a prophetic Companion.[81]

Traditionalist interest in the Companions gave rise to the literary genre of the Companions' excellences (*faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*). The earliest proto-Sunni collection to include a chapter on the merits of the Companions was Ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaf*.[82] *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba* works were composed by ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (Baghdad; b. 213/828–829, d. 290/903) in the name of his father, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (164–241/780–855), and al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915). Similarly titled chapters are part of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Asserting the superiority of the first generation of Muslims, this genre served the needs of the Sunni political project of constructing a community of all Muslims that unanimously recognizes the authority of the Prophet and his Companions.

Notwithstanding the methodological importance that the proto-Sunnis attached to the Companions of the Prophet, even towards the middle of the third/ninth century the conception of their sanctity had not yet taken root in the wider circles of the Muslim society. Thus the founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty in Sīstān, Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth (d. 247/861), who was known for his Sunni zeal, was not bothered by reports that the Shiʿi traditionist Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī (d. 277/890) disparaged the third caliph, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.[83] Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth was hardly familiar with the Sunni teaching about the rightly guided caliphate and the presumed impeccability of the Prophet's Companions.[84]

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[79] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Maʿrifa* 262; Rosenthal, *History* 404.

[80] Zychowicz-Coghill, *First annals* 25–26.

[81] For more on this issue, see Pavlovitch, "Life and works" 7–16.

[82] Lucas, *Constructive critics* 255.

[83] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xiii, 182–183. Tor identifies the issue as a "shocking indifference [...] toward the actual *Ṣaḥāba*"; *Violent order* 143. Her statement that al-Fasawī was "assertively Sunni," supported by the anomalous translation of *tashayyuʿ*—which by all means signifies mild Shiʿism—as "very partisan," is baseless. Al-Fasawī likely averred that, among the Prophet's closest Companions, ʿAlī was better than ʿUthmān. On *tashayyuʿ*, see Watt, *Formative period* 57–59; Melchert, *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal* 97.

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj took an active part in the project of elevating the status of the Companions. He composed a presently lost work *Awlād al-ṣaḥāba wa-man baʿda-hum min al-muḥaddithīn* (*The children of the Companions and the* ḥadīth *transmitters who came after them*), which brings to mind the collections of Ibn al-Madīnī and Ibn Zanjawayh recording the ten best Companions and the transmitters on their authority. In his extant collection *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*, Muslim frequently records the transmitters' belonging to the Companion generation, either by stating *la-hu ṣuḥba* (he has Companionship) or by mentioning an involvement in some notable event during the Prophet's lifetime, such as the battle of Badr.[85]

Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* includes an extensive *Kitāb Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*. Among the forty-eight men and women who are recorded in the book, Muslim lists the names of ʿAlī (in the fourth place, following Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān), ʿAlī's sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, his cousin Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, and ʿAlī's partisans Salman al-Fārisī and Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī. These entries attest to Muslim's conciliatory attitude towards the Shiʿis, whose most prominent authorities he ranks as the Prophet's closest Companions. The subchapter on ʿAlī's excellences is extensive, and, compared with al-Bukhārī's subchapter on ʿAlī, sounds markedly pro-Shiʿi.[86] On the other hand, Muslim has a subchapter forbidding the abuse of the Companions,[87] which provides a counterweight to the Shiʿi accusatory attitude to most of these early Muslims.[88] The Prophet's blanket statement "Do not abuse my Companions," which lies at the heart of this subchapter, attests to Muslim's reverence for the Companions in general,[89] an attitude that Muslim's contemporary Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī articulated in the form of the teaching of the collective probity of the Companions.[90]

Muslim's *Book of the excellences of Companions* is not only about politics. Like Ibn al-Madīnī and Ibn Zanjawayh, Muslim is particularly interested in the Companions and their successors as carriers of prophetic *ḥadīth*. This aspect is prominent in twelve variant traditions towards the end of *Kitāb Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*, which praise the Companions and the two generations to come after them.[91] The excellence of which these three generations partake validates the chain of transmission from the hallowed epoch of the Prophet up to the first half of the second/eighth century. From this point on, the generation of informants takes over whose credentials may be verified by the tools of the early *ḥadīth* critics who flourished at the end of the second/eighth and in the first half of the third/ninth century. To any scholar familiar with the peculiarities of the *isnād* system, it is clear that the first three generations of Muslims cover the period in which single strands of transmission based on the expression "so-and-so from (*ʿan*) so-and-so" are the most widespread form of *isnād*.[92] By presuming the excellence of these generations, the Partisans of Tradition precluded questions about the reliability of their transmission.[93]

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[84] When alerted to the fact that ʿUthmān was a Prophet's Companion, Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth exclaimed, "What have I to do with the Prophet's Companions?"; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xiii, 182–183; translated in Tor, *Violent order* 143.

[85] See p. 189 below.

[86] Lucas, *Constructive critics* 264–265.

[87] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 2540–2541 (221–222) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 2621–2622.1.

[88] For more on this issue, see Lucas, *Constructive critics* 238–245, 283.

[89] By contrast, al-Bukhārī includes the same *ḥadīth* in his subchapter about Abū Bakr's merits; *Ṣaḥīḥ* no. 3663.

[90] Juynboll, *Muslim tradition* 194–195; Dickinson, *Development* 121–122.

2 Muslim's Criteria of *ḥadīth* Criticism

Muslim's criteria of *ḥadīth* selection received a great deal of attention in later works of *ḥadīth* criticism, under the heading *shurūṭ Muslim*. The earliest surviving exposition of Muslim's criteria (together with that of al-Bukhārī) is found in the works of al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (321–405/933–1014). Works on the criteria of master *ḥadīth* collectors, including Muslim, were compiled by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Manda (Isfahan; 310–395/902–1005), Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī (d. 507/1113–1114), and Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ḥāzimī (Hamadhān; d. 584/1188).[94] Because of their secondary and tertiary references to Muslim's original texts, these works may serve only as indirect witnesses to his method. In the following exposition, I will pay primary attention to Muslim's surviving works, which provide first-hand information about his criteria of *ḥadīth* evaluation.

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[91] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 2532–2536 (208–216) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 2612–2616.

[92] A simple look at the *isnād*s cited by Muslim and al-Bukhārī will reveal this feature. A similarly rudimentary citation is found in the early Ibāḍī sources; Francesca, "Formation" 265.

[93] On the doubtful reliability of the Companion and Successor parts in the *isnād*s of exegetical traditions, see Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 186–187.

[94] Pavlovitch, "Manda family" 651; al-Maqdisī, *Shurūṭ* 17–18, 22–23; al-Ḥāzimī, *Shurūṭ* 35, 43–49.

2.1 *Memory Retentiveness*

In Muslim's methodology, memory retentiveness (*ḥifẓ*) is a pillar of transmitter evaluation, which, if present, easily outweighs negative considerations, such as, for instance, dubious orthodoxy. By contrast, stating that a transmitter is a bad memorizer or revealing that he became muddleheaded (*ikhṭalata*, *taghayyara*) towards the end of his life are objective bars to transmission on the authority of that person. Faulty memory is a disqualifying argument that precludes accusations of slandering the forebears.

Muslim deploys the notion of *ḥifẓ* as an operative methodological assumption in the Introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. He describes the second category in his three-tier typology of transmitters as those who rely on informants not all of whom possess the qualities of retentiveness and mastery in transmission.[95] He explains further that Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir, al-Aʿmash, and Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid are widely known as correct memorizers, unlike ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib, Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād, and al-Layth b. Abī Sulaym, who do not partake of this quality to the same extent.[96] The epithet "memorizers" (*ḥuffāẓ*, sg. *ḥāfiẓ*) is applied to many of al-Zuhrī's students (*aṣḥāb*, sg. *ṣāḥib*).[97] In each case, Muslim uses the derivatives of the root *h-f-ẓ* to signify a quality that he and his audience accept as a key criterion in the evaluation of transmitters; its validity is a matter of fact in no need of justification.

Unlike the Introduction, where the criterion of *ḥifẓ* is presumed rather than argued for, *Kitāb al-Tamyīz* begins with advocacy of retentiveness. Muslim cites authority statements to the effect that one must memorize *ḥadīth* in a manner that equals or surmounts one's memorization of the Quran.[98] According to other statements, retentiveness is the best way of assessing transmitters either individually or in comparison with their peers.[99] Compared with retentiveness, the understanding of traditions ranks second: Muslim cites only one tradition that praises perspicacity in *ḥadīth* on the example of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī.[100]

Muslim's emphasis on memorization translates into a preference for literal transmission. He warns that the Prophet had stipulated that whoever heard his words should convey them exactly as he heard them.[101] Throughout the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim strictly adheres to this principle. Whenever citing two or more informants, he is careful to note whose wording is used, e.g., "Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba and Abū Kurayb told us, the expression belonging to Abū Kurayb."[102] Usually, he records the difference in his informants' formulations. In a tradition on the authority of Ibn Abī Shayba, Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, and Muḥammad b. Bashshār, Muslim states, "their expressions are similar," and goes on to specify that they mentioned their informant, Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar Ghundar, in two different manners. Whereas Ibn Abī Shayba said, "Ghundar told us," using his informant's soubriquet, the other two referred to him by name, "Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar told us."[103] In a tradition about *īmān* that he received from Khalaf b. Hishām and Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī, Muslim specifies that he cites Yaḥyā's wording while indicating, at the *matn*'s end, that he (that is, Muslim) inserted in it an expression that was present only in Khalaf's narration.[104] Whenever the *matn*s differ in a significant way, Muslim cites them in full.[105]

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[95] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 5.
[96] Ibid. p. 6.
[97] Ibid. p. 7.
[98] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 176, nos. 15, 19.
[99] Ibid. 176–178, nos. 18, 24–29.
[100] Ibid. 177, no. 21.
[101] Ibid. 179.

Unlike Muslim, al-Bukhārī draws attention to dissimilar wording less frequently. According to my sketchy electronic count, al-Bukhārī uses the expression *wa-l-lafẓ li-* (the wording belongs to) eighteen times against 626 times in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The reason for this is al-Bukhārī's method: He does not group all *matn* variants of a given tradition in one place with the aim of comparing their textual substance but attaches them to different topical sections across the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Muslim's punctilious citation of traditions has led some later traditionists and *ḥadīth* experts to prefer him to al-Bukhārī.[106]

2.2 Isnād *and* matn *Comparison*

The *isnād* is the chain of successive generations (*ṭabaqāt*, sg. *ṭabaqa*) of *ḥadīth* transmitters who pass on a tradition from its original source to a later *ḥadīth* collector. When the tradition conveys a statement by the Prophet, the first generation of transmitters is designated "the Companions of God's apostle." Each person who saw or heard the Prophet, even for a short while, is normally accorded Companion status.[107] Those who saw and heard the *ṣaḥāba* and transmitted on their authority are known as the Successors (*tābiʿūn*, sg. *tābiʿī*). The next generation may be designated as "the Successors' Successors" (*tābiʿū al-tābiʿīn*), but numerical designations preponderate when it comes to the third and the following generations of transmitters.[108]

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[102] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 15 (16) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 7.

[103] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 17 (24) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 9.1.

[104] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 17 (23) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 9.

[105] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 9, 10 (5, 7) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 2, 2.2.

[106] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* x, 127; al-Sakhāwī, *Ghunya* 48.

[107] For an early definition of the Companion status, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba* §1. For different definitions, including Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab's (Medina; d. 94/713) opinion that in order to acquire the Companion status someone must have accompanied the Prophet for a year or two, or an expedition or two, see ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 321–322. See also Osman, "*ʿAdālat al-ṣaḥāba*" 278.

The *isnād* came into being in the lifetime of the Successors. The first unsystematic requirements to name their informants were put to Muslim traditionists in Kufa during the second civil war (60–73/680–692), in the wake of the Kufan revolt led by al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī (66–67/685–687). After a period of protracted development during the second/eighth century, the *isnād* was universally recognized as indispensable for *ḥadīth* transmission.[109] An important contributor to this recognition was al-Shāfiʿī, who forcefully argued that legal norms must originate in Prophetic statements.[110]

Muslim shares with al-Shāfiʿī the same conception of normative derivation, his *Ṣaḥīḥ* comprising exclusively prophetic *ḥadīth*.[111] To him, the *isnād* is part of religion (*dīn*) and a direct link to the sacrosanct figure of the Prophet, about whose words and deeds no one could lie, under pain of divine retribution.[112] To preclude errors in transmission from the Prophet, al-Shāfiʿī and Muslim call for studying the *isnād*s based on two interrelated criteria of verification. On the one hand, they pay close attention to the personal qualities of transmitters, before all their orthodoxy and retentiveness. On the other hand, they collate *isnād* and *matn* variants of the same tradition looking for flaws in its chains or texts.

Contrary to the presumption, shared by many Western *ḥadīth* scholars, that early and classical *ḥadīth* criticism was confined to studying the *isnād*,[113] Muslim and other early critics considered the *matn* and the *isnād* as two complementary parts of an integral narrative unit.[114] *Matn* differences originate in the peculiarities of the transmission process as reflected in the *isnād*s. Based on this complex understanding of *ḥadīth*, Muslim calls for assessing the reliability of transmitters by collating their narrations (*jamʿ al-ṭuruq, muʿāraḍa*), especially in the cases of formulaic difference or conceptual/normative contradiction. He accredits the narration supported by the largest number of *isnād*s (populated by retentive transmitters) while considering the minority report as unrecognized (*munkar*, pl. *manākīr*), hence objectionable. Muslim's comparative method has been noted by al-Maqdisī[115] and a number of modern scholars.[116]

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[108] In his famous *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* (*Great book of generations*), Muḥammad b. Saʿd speaks of the Companions and then frequently shifts to numerical designations of the following generations. A similar approach is observed in Ibn Zanjawayh's *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahāʾ wa-l-muḥaddithīn*. Muslim's own *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt* is confined to the first two generations of Muslims, which he designates *ṣaḥāba* and *tābiʿūn* accordingly.

[109] On the origin and early development of the *isnād* see Juynboll, *Muslim tradition* 17–19; idem, "Islam's first *fuqahāʾ*" 290–291; Pavlovitch, "Origin," esp. 41–44.

[110] Schacht, *Origins* 53–57; idem, *Introduction* 46–48.

[111] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 4.

[112] Ibid. pp. 9–10, 14–15.

[113] For an array of examples, see Brown, "How we know" 146–147.

[114] Abbot, *Studies* ii, 74–76; Juynboll, *Muslim tradition* 162; Brown, *Criticism* 13; idem, "How we know" 171–173.

As a criterion of *ḥadīth* accreditation, *isnād* comparison was inaugurated by al-Shāfiʿī.[117] He assessed the chain in two respects. Internally, the narrations of the same *ḥadīth* are compared with one another. The narration whose transmitters satisfy most comprehensively al-Shāfiʿī's criteria of personal reliability prevails over the narration of their less-reliable counterparts.[118] Externally, an isolated report is evaluated by comparing its transmitter with other transmitters, who are known as trustworthy. If his/her traditions overwhelmingly agree with their traditions, such a transmitter is considered, by extension, reliable in his isolated reports.[119] In the case of conflicting reports, al-Shāfiʿī prefers the variant that is supported by the greater number of chains.[120] In al-Shāfiʿī's lifetime or slightly thereafter, the meticulous collection and comparison of the *isnād*s was advocated by Ibn al-Madīnī and Ibn Maʿīn,[121] although we possess no specific descriptions of their way of *isnād* collation. Ibn Ḥanbal also stressed the importance of *isnād* comparison for the correct understanding of *ḥadīth*.[122]

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[115] Al-Maqdisī, *Shurūṭ* 17–19.

[116] Al-Aʿẓamī, "Introduction" 62–66; Juynboll, Muslim; Āl Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim* i, 241; ii, 461–462; Burton, *Introduction* 124; Dickinson, *Development* 83–86; Brown, *Hadith* 94; Abu-Alabbas, "Principles" 325–326.

[117] Al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla* 376–377, no. 1024; 382–383, nos. 1046–1048; 458–459, no. 1251; 462–463, nos. 1265–1269. On the role of *isnād* comparison in al-Shāfiʿī's teaching, see Melchert, "Traditionist-jurisprudents" 393. On both al-Shāfiʿī and Muslim, see Abu-Alabbas, "Principles" 333–335 and *passim*. On the importance of *isnād* comparison in general, see al-Aʿẓamī, "Introduction" 50–53, 58–66; Dickinson, *Development* 82–83; Melchert, "Traditionist-jurisprudents" 399, 402. Al-Aʿẓamī's thesis that narration comparison (*muʿāraḍat al-riwāyāt*) was practiced by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar derives from a limited set of evidence in which these two Companions ask someone who alleges to have heard the Prophet to bring along a witness to the correctness of his words. Such traditions, if historically accurate, have more to do with court testimony than with accreditation of *ḥadīth*; Abū Bakr and ʿUmar hardly operated with the third/ninth-century understanding of veritable transmission. The earliest application of *muʿāraḍat al-riwāyāt* may go back to Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj (al-Aʿẓamī, "Introduction" 61–62, citing *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*). This report is consistent with Abu-Alabbas's assumption that *ḥadīth* criticism had been established already in the generation before al-Shāfiʿī, although the documentary evidence in its support is scant; Abu-Alabbas, "Principles" 335; for an earlier statement in the same vein, see Goldziher, *Studien* 141. One notes that as al-Shāfiʿī explains the rules of transmitter evaluation to an interlocutor who thinks they are similar to the rules of forensic testimony, his interlocutor seems honestly unacquainted with what al-Shāfiʿī sets out before him; al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla* 370–372, nos. 1000–1006. Furthermore, al-Shāfiʿī does not apply these principles in *Kitāb al-Umm* (Melchert, "Traditionist-jurisprudents" 393), which suggests that *isnād* comparison was a new system that al-Shāfiʿī did not yet fully control; Melchert, in personal correspondence on 28 August 2020.

[118] *Wa-idhā ikhtalafat al-riwāya istadlalnā ʿalā l-maḥfūẓ min-hā wa-l-ghalaṭ bi-hādhā wa-wujūh siwā-hu tadullu ʿalā l-ṣidq wa-l-ḥifẓ wa-l-ghalaṭ* (If the narrations differ, we find our way to the one that should be memorized and the one that is erroneous by this way [that is, the way mentioned in no. 1047] and other ways that indicate truthfulness, retentiveness, or error); al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla* 383, no. 1048; cf. ibid. 458–459, no. 1251.

Without citing al-Shāfiʿī, Muslim sets out the above criteria in the Introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. If someone's report disagrees with the narration of retentive transmitters, his report is *munkar*.[123] If most of his reports are of this type, they must be abandoned. Muslim then specifies that if a transmitter's narrations, as a rule, agree with the narrations of other knowledgeable and retentive transmitters, his occasional additions (*ziyādāt*, sg. *ziyāda*) to what is present in some of their transmissions are acceptable.[124] Muslim dwells on this criterion in *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*, providing numerous examples of its application in the critic's job. As in the Introduction, Muslim derives his evidence from reports about the practice of second/eighth-century *ḥadīth* transmitters.

In *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*, Muslim gives prominence to the quantitative aspect of *ḥadīth* collation. He rejects *matn* additions when introduced by a single transmitter (mostly of an inferior retentive power) against two or more transmissions of the same *ḥadīth* that do not include the addition. Such is the case with Ayman b. Nābil al-Ḥabashī (Mecca → ʿAsqalān; d. 158–169/775–785) whose addition of the expression *bi-smi l-Lāh wa-bi-l-Lah* (In the name of God and by

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[119] *Wa-yuʿtabaru ʿalā ahl al-ḥadīth bi-an idhā ishtarakū fī l-ḥadīth ʿan al-rajul bi-an yustadalla ʿalā ḥifẓ aḥad*^{i}*-him bi-muwāfaqat ahl al-ḥifẓ wa-ʿalā khilāf ḥifẓ*^{i}*-hi bi-khilāf ḥifẓ ahl al-ḥifẓ la-hu* (When sharing the same tradition from a single informant, *ḥadīth* transmitters are evaluated in that one's retentiveness is proven by one's agreement with those who are retentive, and the lack of retentiveness [is proven] by one's disagreement with those who are retentive); al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla* 383, no. 1047; noted by Abu-Alabbas, "Principles" 317. See also Dickinson, *Development* 85–90; 105–106.

[120] *Aw yakūnu ruwiya al-ḥadīth alladhī dhahabnā ilay-hi min wajhayni aw akthar wa-lladhī taraknā min wajh*^{in} *fa-yakūnu al-akthar awlā bi-l-ḥifẓ min al-aqall* (The tradition to which we proceed should be narrated from two or more directions and [the tradition] that we abandon—from a single direction; the greater number is worthier to memorize than the smaller one); al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla* 284–285, no. 782.

[121] Al-Khaṭīb, *Akhlāq* ii, 212, 295; Aghaei, "Common link" 103, 120, note 50.

[122] Al-Khaṭīb, *Akhlāq* ii, 212.

[123] On the meaning of *munkar*, see pp. 177–178 below.

[124] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 7; cf. Muslim, *Tamyīz* 189. The additions might affect both the *matn* and the *isnād*. For details, see Brown, "Criticism" 7–11.

God) to the Prophet's introductory utterance (*tashahhud*) in prayer is rejected with reference to the transmissions by al-Layth b. Saʿd (Egypt; b. 94/712–713, d. 175/791) and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd al-Ruʾāsī (Kufa; d. ?).[125] After comparing the chains of transmission, Muslim concludes that Ayman b. Nābil's narration combines an *isnād* error (Ayman cites Abū l-Zubayr al-Makkī on the authority of Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh, who is not present in the parallel transmissions) with a *matn* addition, which consequently lacks corroboration.[126] The *isnād* and the *matn* are equally weighty for his conclusion.

Similarly unacceptable is ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Rawwād's (Mecca; d. 159/775–776) addition of fine barley (*sult*) and raisins (*zabīb*) to the products that the Prophet accepted as alms tax at the end of Ramaḍān (*zakāt al-fiṭr*); the *ziyāda* is absent in ten narrations of the same *ḥadīth* by transmitters other than Ibn Abī Rawwād.[127] In the same vein, Muslim rejects Maʿdī b. Sulaymān's (Basra; d. ?) version about the heavenly rewards for those who attend the entire funeral ceremony of a fellow Muslim. According to Maʿdī, the reward is fourfold, but according to many alternative narrations, the reward is twofold.[128] The quantitative criterion comes into play in cases of dogmatic difference, as in the Murjiʾi version of the tradition about the meaning of Islam and faith (*īmān*), which Muslim trumps by a superior number of *matn*s that do not include the addition.[129]

Apart from *matn* additions, the quantitative criterion applies to *isnād* additions. At the end of *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*, Muslim dismisses as incorrect an *isnād* that Mālik b. Anas cites on the authority of Hishām b. ʿUrwa (Medina—Iraq; b. 61/680–681, d. 146/763) → ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (Medina; b. 23/643–644, d. 93/711–712) → ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa (Medina; d. ca. 85/704). Three other transmissions of the same *ḥadīth* by Mālik's contemporaries do not include ʿUrwa as Hishām's informant.[130] Mālik's error reminds us of the *ʿilla* (defect) known as *luzūm al-jādda* ([erroneously] following the established path): Since Hishām b. ʿUrwa habitually reports on the authority of his father, Mālik brought into existence an erroneous family *isnād* in a tradition whose *isnād* originally did not include ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr.

In line with his theoretical exposition in the Introduction, Muslim sometimes extends his comparison to traditions outside the cluster at issue. He rejects Abū Qays ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Thawrān's (Kufa; d. 120/738) version of the *ḥadīth* about *masḥ ʿalā l-khuffayn* (wiping over one's shoes as a substitute for washing one's feet as part of the lesser ritual ablution) because it includes an expression (the Prophet wiped over his foot wrappers [*jawrabayn*] and his sandals [*naʿlayn*]) contradicts other narrations of the same *ḥadīth* (the Prophet wiped over his shoes [*khuffayn*]), but also because Abū Qays transmits other unrecognized reports.[131] In like manner, Muslim dismisses the tradition of ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Khathʿam (Yamāma; d. ?) according to which Abū Hurayra asked the Prophet about the period in which one may substitute wiping over one's shoes for the ritual ablution. Muslim argues that it clashes with many reports in which Abū Hurayra rejects this ritual; he then specifies that Ibn Abī Khathʿam transmits unrecognized traditions in general.[132] In another example, Muslim brushes off a *matn* variant in which Abū Muʿāwiya al-Ḍarīr (Kufa, d. 195/810) asserts that the Prophet ordered his wife Umm Salama to attend with him (*maʿa-hu*) the morning prayer in Mecca on the Day of Sacrifice (10 Dhū al-Ḥijja) 10/632. Muslim bases his opinion on the numerical preponderance of both internal and external evidence. First, a group of reports states that the Prophet ordered Umm Salama to pray in Mecca but do not include the expression *maʿ-hu* (with him), whereas the second group of reports mentions that the Prophet prayed at al-Muzdalifa, not in Mecca. Combining the evidence, Muslim concludes that the Prophet ordered Umm Salama to pray in Mecca, but not in his company, because he could not have been present there. With similar arguments, he opposes a report by Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ (Kufa, b. 127–129/744–747, d. 197/812) that the Prophet ordered Umm Salama to pray with him at Minā.[133]

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[125] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 188–189.

[126] Ibid. 189.

[127] Ibid. 211–212, nos. 92–93.

[128] Ibid. 206–207, nos. 83–84.

[129] Ibid. 199–200.

[130] Ibid. 220, nos. 105–106.

In one instance, Muslim notes a logical contradiction in the *matn* transmitted by Salama b. Wardān (Medina; d. 156–157/772–774), according to which the Prophet advised a certain man to use as a dowry five Quranic Suras. Since the Prophet said that each of the five Suras equaled one-fourth of the Quran, Muslim defines Salama's tradition as "incomprehensible."[134] He nevertheless rejects it not on account of its flawed logic but due to the prevailing *isnād* evidence in support of the alternative *matn* in which the Prophet only states that Sura *al-Ikhlāṣ* (Q 112) equals one-third of the Quran.[135]

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[131] Ibid. 203, no. 80.
[132] Ibid. 208–209, nos. 88–89.
[133] Ibid. 186–187, nos. 52–54.
[134] Ibid. 195.
[135] See also Brown, "How we know" 159; idem, *Hadith* 97.

2.3 *Transmitter Renown and Doubling of the* isnād

Muslim's quantitative approach to *isnād* analysis is reflected in his work *al-Munfaridāt wa-l-wuḥdān*. This collection includes the names of 1334 little-known transmitters, both men and women from the Companion and the Successor generations. Muslim defines these transmitters in a generational manner: "a man or a woman who memorized some of the Prophet's (ṣ) words or deeds, on the authority of each of whom narrates only one well-known (*mashhūr*) Successor without a second one to share his narration."[136] The large number of barely-known informants who transmitted to a single person from the next generation posed a methodological challenge to the early *ḥadīth* critics. They had to find a way to accredit their transmissions, which covered the entire first century of Islam and were critical for the preservation of the Prophet's Sunna.

In the above-cited passage, Muslim introduces the concept of *shuhra*, that is, the transmitter's quality of being well known as reliable.[137] Muslim views *shuhra* as an important criterion, which allows the critic to accredit the unparalleled reports in a way that somewhat reminds of al-Shāfiʿī's external comparison, extended in retrospect. To give an example, Ibn Sīrīn is *mashhūr* because many traditionists from the next generation transmit on his authority; hence, his transmission from nine unknown Successors listed in *al-Munfaridāt wa-l-wuḥdān* is regarded as credible.[138]

Muslim implies that a statement made by a Companion or a Successor is acceptable either when transmitted by a well-known person from these two generations or, alternatively, when transmitted by a well-known person on the authority of a barely-known informant from the previous generation. This requirement of transmitter renown underlies al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's definition of the sound tradition as "[a tradition] that is transmitted on the authority of the Messenger of God (ṣ) by a Companion who is not described as unknown, that is, [such a Companion] on whose authority transmit two upright Successors, and which [tradition] is widely accepted by the transmitters until our time as is the [court] testimony about a [court] testimony."[139] With regard to al-Bukhārī and Muslim's criterion, al-Ḥākim states,

> [The sound tradition] is that which is transmitted by a Companion who is well known (*mashhūr*) as a transmitter on the authority of the Messenger

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[136] Muslim, *al-Munfaridāt wa-l-wuḥdān* 17.

[137] On Muslim's use of the term *mashhūr*, see pp. 176–177 below.

[138] Muslim, *al-Munfaridāt wa-l-wuḥdān* 107–109.

[139] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Maʿrifa* 242.

> of God (ṣ) and who has two reliable narrators [from the next generation]. Then it is transmitted by a Successor who is well known as a transmitter on the authority of the Companions and who has two reliable narrators.[140]

Quite a few later *ḥadīth* theorists interpreted al-Ḥākim's statement as implying a continuous bifurcation of each *isnād* from the Companion level onward. Al-Ḥākim's student al-Bayhaqī explains, "if a Companion or a Successor had but a single transmitter [on his authority], they (scil. al-Bukhārī and Muslim) would not include his tradition in the *Ṣaḥīḥān*."[141] That is to say, an unparalleled report by a single informant on the authority of a single informant cannot be accredited as trustworthy. Al-Mayyānashī (d. Mecca, 583/1187) explicitly stated that al-Bukhārī and Muslim required a continuous quadrupling of transmission (although apparently dissociating this opinion from al-Ḥākim).[142] Since no such exponential *isnād* multiplications are observed in al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*s, many scholars criticized al-Ḥākim for formulating an untenable criterion that neither al-Bukhārī nor Muslim has ever conceived of.[143] These commentators, however, failed to notice what Abū ʿAlī al-Jayyānī (Cordoba; 427–498/1035–1105) keenly observed already in the first generation after al-Ḥākim. In his statements about al-Bukhārī and Muslim's criterion, al-Ḥākim puts an emphasis not on the multiplication of the *isnād* but on the transmitter's *shuhra*.[144] The same quality is highlighted at the beginning of Muslim's *al-Munfaridāt wa-l-wuḥdān*. No one who has a single narrator from the next generation may be considered *mashhūr*. Such a transmitter is unknown (*majhūl*), and his reports may be accepted only when transmitted by a person from the next generation who qualifies as *mashhūr*.

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[140] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Madkhal ilā l-Iklīl* 73; cf. idem, *Madkhal fī l-uṣūl* 7.

[141] Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan* viii, 82.

[142] Al-Mayyānashī, *Īḍāḥ* 27. Al-Mayyānashī first cites verbatim al-Ḥākim's statement in *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, in which he treats the category of *ṣaḥīḥ* in general, with no reference to al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Then, al-Mayyānashī goes on to state, "as for the condition of the two *shaykh*s in their *Ṣaḥīḥ*s […], it is what two or more Companions narrated from the Prophet (ṣ), and what four or more Successors narrated from each Companion, and four must transmit from each Successor." While apparently building on the statement in al-Ḥākim's *Madkhal ilā l-Iklīl*, al-Mayyānashī puts forth a requirement of fourfold multiplication at the levels after the Companion. Brown (*Canonization* 168, note 61) has suggested that such an unusual requirement may have followed from the corruption of al-Mayyānashī's text. His expression is, however, as grammatically clear as to exclude unintentional corruption. Someone may have meddled with al-Mayyānashī's original expression. Alternatively, al-Mayyānashī may have wanted to assert that al-Bukhārī and Muslim stipulated something different from what al-Ḥākim suggests in the *Madkhal ilā l-Iklīl*.

[143] Al-Maqdisī, *Shurūṭ* 22–23; al-Ḥāzimī, *Shurūṭ* 43–50; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 577–578. For an overview, see Āl Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim* ii, 467–484; Brown, *Canonization* 166–168.

[144] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 115–116.

Notwithstanding the prominence that he accords to the criterion of *shuhra*, Muslim sometimes considers *ḥadīth* transmission in a manner similar to the two-witness requirement in court testimony. In the Introduction, he declares that even if not identical, the *ḥadīth* report (*khabar*) and the court testimony (*shahāda*) are largely similar.[145] Here Muslim speaks only about the testimony of an ungodly person (*fāsiq*), who is unacceptable as a court witness and a *ḥadīth* transmitter alike. He nevertheless draws a parallel between legal testimony and *ḥadīth* transmission, both of which have similar quantitative requirements for accepting one's statements.[146] The two-transmitter requirement is apparently at work in Muslim's collection *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*. For many of the 3804 authorities that he records in this work, Muslim mentions two transmitters in both the previous and the next generation, e.g.:

> Abū Khuffāf Nājiya al-ʿAnazī [transmitted] from ʿAmmār [b. Yāsir] and Ibn Masʿūd, [while] Abū Isḥāq [al-Sabīʿī] and Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq [transmitted] from him.[147]

The entry makes it clear that Abū Khuffāf transmitted on the authority of two old Companions, that is, he belonged to the generation of early Successors. He furthermore passed on traditions to the late Successor, Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī (Kufa; d. 127–129/744–747) and his son Yūnus (Kufa; d. 159/775–776), which suggests that he lived to an advanced age, dying perhaps in his eighties or nineties. This structure of Muslim's entries in *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ* gives the impression that even in the case of little-known transmitters he sought to prove that they heard from more than one *shaykh* and transmitted to more than one student. Muslim was unable to demonstrate such branching in each individual case, but the entries in which the *isnād* doubles before or after the transmitter, or both ways, abound in *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*. Their ubiquity must have led thoughtful observers, such as al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, to infer that Muslim required an

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[145] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 9.

[146] The quantitative similarities, however, should not be driven to the extreme. Thus, *ḥadīth* transmission treats man and woman as equals. It does not require two female witnesses in lieu of one male or forbid females to transmit in certain circumstances; ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 187.

[147] Muslim, *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*[1] i, 292, no. 1032.

isnād bifurcation at each level of transmission. This is however an inferential formulation of "Muslim's criterion," since Muslim never explicitly articulated the two-transmitter principle.

2.4 *Obfuscation of Transmission by the Generic Preposition* ʿan. *Muslim's Cryptic Opponent in the Introduction*

In the first half of the third/ninth century, the requirement of specifying how exactly one received the *ḥadīth* from one's teacher became standard. As a result, the early *ḥadīth* critics began to wonder why the blurry preposition *ʿan* (from) is met so frequently in the chains between the first three generations of transmitters after the Prophet. Why would most of them avoid stating if they heard (*samiʿa*) the tradition directly from the *shaykh*'s lips, read it (*qaraʾa*) to the *shaykh* for his approval, or perhaps copied it from a scroll with the *shaykh*'s records without meeting him in person? Does the preposition *ʿan* imply that many traditionists from these generations did not meet their stated informants? May they have dropped the names of intermediate transmitters from the received *isnād*s? Should one seek certainty that a transmitter met his/her informant in person in order to accept his/her transmission by *ʿan*?

These questions come to prominence towards the end of the Introduction, where Muslim raises the issue of a *ḥadīth* transmitter reporting on the authority of an earlier informant by the preposition *ʿan*. Muslim accepts such a transmission provided that the two transmitters are contemporaries and their coming together is not contradicted by explicit evidence. At the same time, he rejects an anonymous scholar's stipulation that the two transmitters must be known to have exchanged *ḥadīth* in a personal meeting at least once. Beginning with Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, who was born more than two centuries after Muslim's death, the commentators of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* identified Muslim's opponents as ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī and al-Bukhārī.[148] Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's claim is hardly fortuitous: In his works, Muslim never cites either al-Bukhārī or Ibn al-Madīnī, in stark contrast to al-Bukhārī, who has included in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* 310 traditions passing through Ibn al-Madīnī.[149]

Led by their reverential attitude to Muslim and al-Bukhārī, modern Muslim scholars focused on absolving the former from the charge of assailing his teacher, while remaining silent about Ibn al-Madīnī and other possible referents of Muslim's criticism. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda and other arabophone scholars argued that Muslim could not have taken issue with al-Bukhārī, for a chronological and an apologetic reason. First, al-Bukhārī arrived in Naysābūr for the last time in the year 250/864–865, when Muslim had finished the composition of his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, including the Introduction. Hence, Muslim's criticism could not be directed against al-Bukhārī. Second, Muslim was al-Bukhārī's closest student and follower, and it is unthinkable that the student would criticize his teacher in such a brusque manner.[150] Abū Ghudda's historical argument is based on a set of unproven assumptions: (1) It is far from certain that Muslim finished the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in 250/864–865; (2) even if so, he may well have known about al-Bukhārī's requirement from intermediate sources long before this date; (3) al-Bukhārī's last visit to Naysābūr was not his only visit: During his previous sojourns in the city, he may have expounded on his requirement before an audience that included Muslim. To this we must add that the historical argument fails to take account of the specificity of the third/ninth-century literature. Unlike the present-day printed publications, which are textually fixed, the texts in Muslim's lifetime were fluid and authorial interventions in their content and composition were always possible. Even if Muslim came to know about al-Bukhārī's requirement after he had finished the work on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, he could have added the respective part to his records and begun to teach it to his students. In support of this hypothesis, we may point to the placement of Muslim's criticism at the Introduction's end. The apologetic argument is equally questionable. Al-Dhahabī vividly describes the rift between Muslim and al-Bukhārī, which he attributes to Muslim's "acrid temper."[151] Although he does not set out the reasons for this verdict, one suspects that it reflects the later apologists' discomfiture at the changing relationship between the two scholars. Towards the beginning of the 250s, Muslim's attitude to al-Bukhārī may have risen above the puerile fascination described in the apologetic sources.

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[148] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 305–312; idem, *Ikmāl* i, 164; al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* i, 128; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 573. For more references, see Dickinson, *Development* 119, note 122. Ibn Kathīr and al-Bulqīnī argued that Muslim's criticism was directed against Ibn al-Madīnī alone; Āl-Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim* ii, 519–520.

[149] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* x, 552. Based on alternative sources, Su mentions 239 traditions; Su, "ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī" 22.

More recently, Ḥātim al-ʿAwnī penned a lengthy and emotionally charged treatise, *Ijmāʿ al-muḥaddithīn ʿalā ʿadam ishtirāṭ al-ʿilm bi-l-samāʿ fī l-ḥadīth al-muʿanʿan bayna l-mutaʿāṣirīn* (*The consensus of the transmitters on not requiring knowledge that two contemporaries who transmit between themselves by* [*the pre-*

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[150] Abū Ghudda, "Tatimmāt" 134–140; cf. Ṭawāliba, *al-Imām Muslim*, 249; Āl Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim* ii, 516–517; al-ʿAwnī, *Ijmāʿ al-muḥaddithīn* 83–88; Abu-Alabbas, "Principles" 331, note 113.

[151] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 573.

position] ʿan *have had an audition* [*from each other*]), which is entirely devoted to proving that al-Bukhārī (and implicitly Ibn al-Madīnī) could not have been Muslim's opponents in the Introduction. In this apologetic work, al-ʿAwnī raises two important issues. On the one hand, he points out that the arguments in the final part of the Introduction had remained unnoticed for two centuries until Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ eventually identified al-Bukhārī and Ibn al-Madīnī as the objects of Muslim's scolding. On the other hand, al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* includes a considerable number of traditions that Muslim's opponent would reject, based on his requirement of proof that each transmitter in the *isnād* has met his stated informant.[152]

Regarding al-ʿAwnī's first objection, it may be thought that, although unstated, the name of Muslim's anonymous opponent was clear to his contemporaries and those who lived during the next 200 years, until Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ decided to mention the names to avoid obfuscation. One must also keep in mind that the reverential attitude to al-Bukhārī and Muslim set in only gradually, and their altercation would have been less disturbing to the fourth/tenth-century traditionists than it became after the fifth/eleventh century. As for al-ʿAwnī's second point, it seems convincing, although one should account for the possibility that Muslim deployed polemical arguments without having studied his opponent's work in such minutiae as presumed by al-ʿAwnī. Be that as it may, just like Abū Ghudda, al-ʿAwnī does not endeavor to identify Muslim's methodological rival, who certainly was not an imaginary person.

Western academics have disagreed about the identity of Muslim's opponent. Without going into detail, Goldziher points out that in the cases of citation by *ʿan* al-Bukhārī required that the informant and the receiver of his/her report had come together at least once, whereas Muslim required only their contemporaneity.[153] Thus, Goldziher implicitly identifies al-Bukhārī as Muslim's opponent. The same presumption seems to underlie Abdul Rauf's statements to that effect.[154] Guillaume is, to my knowledge, the earliest Western scholar who openly suggested that al-Bukhārī might have been the anonymous contemporary attacked by Muslim.[155] Burton asserted that Muslim denounced al-Bukhārī's strictness as an innovation.[156]

The above scholars only repeated the opinion of al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ and those who followed him, often without citing their sources. Juynboll became the first to address the issue in some detail, in an extensive footnote in his translation of Muslim's Introduction. Without mentioning al-Bukhārī or Ibn al-Madīnī, he cautiously suggested that Muslim's arguments were directed against al-Karābīsī (Baghdad; d. 248/862). This hypothesis is based on circumstantial evidence: al-Karābīsī was more stringent in his take on *ḥadīth* than were other *ḥadīth* experts of his time, and he was familiar with Muʿtazili ideas.[157] Juynboll furthermore hypothesized that al-Karābīsī may have had followers who likewise refused to accept the *muʿanʿan isnād*, but noted the elusiveness of this group of thinkers.[158]

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[152] Al-ʿAwnī, *Ijmāʿ al-muḥaddithīn* 88–93.

[153] Goldziher, *Studien* 248.

[154] Abdul Rauf, "*Ḥadīth* literature" 275.

[155] Guillaume, *Traditions of Islam* 85–86.

[156] Burton, *Introduction* 125.

Abu-Alabbas has supported Juynboll's conclusions with two indirect arguments. First, Muslim's opponent regards the unparalleled reports as yielding necessary knowledge and binding for action, a tenet that was upheld by al-Karābīsī. Second, al-Karābīsī composed a *Kitāb al-Mudallisīn* (*Book of obfuscators*) in which he "discredits some prominent Hadith transmitters on the grounds that their *samāʿ* from certain informants was not established, notably Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-Aʿmash."[159] Abu-Alabbas's second argument could be clinching, but one must bear in mind two caveats. On the one hand, Abu-Alabbas assumes that the presence of al-Aʿmash and other prominent traditionists in the list of obfuscators has led al-Karābīsī to concrete methodological conclusions. Detecting *tadlīs*, however, does not necessarily imply stipulating that a *ḥadīth* transmitter must have met his stated informant at least once for their transmission to be acceptable. On the other hand, Abu-Alabbas reads liberally al-Dhahabī's report regarding Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's indignant reaction to al-Karābīsī's book. In this report, Ibn Ḥanbal takes issue with al-Karābīsī not because he classed al-Aʿmash among the obfuscators, but because he transmitted on the authority of al-Aʿmash a statement in support of the ʿAlid rising against the ʿAbbāsids in 145/762–763 led by Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (d. 145/762).[160]

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[157] Juynboll, "Muslim's introduction" 293–294, note 76.

[158] Juynboll, *Muslim tradition* 168.

[159] Abu-Alabbas, "Principles" 331–332.

[160] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xviii, 84–85. The tradition's text is ambiguous. First it mentions that al-Karābīsī forged (*waḍaʿa*) in the name of al-Aʿmash the statement, "If you pretend that al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ called for taking up the sword, then [consider ʿAbdallāh] Ibn al-Zubayr, who also rebelled." At this, Ibn Ḥanbal replies, "He wanted to support al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ and discredited the Prophet's Companions." It is unclear whether by "he" Ibn Ḥanbal means al-Karābīsī or al-Aʿmash. Van Ess has suggested that the statement belonged to al-Aʿmash (*Theology and society* i, 273), which is reasonable given his ʿAlid sympathies. On al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ (Kufa; d. 167/784), see ibid. i, 283–289.

Al-Karābīsī's *Kitāb al-Mudallisīn* is not extant, and we do not have direct evidence about the type of *tadlīs* al-Karābīsī associated with al-Aʿmash and other obfuscators. Nonetheless, the Muʿtazili Abū l-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī (Balkh; d. 319/931) has preserved in his work *Qabūl al-akhbār* excerpts that arguably belong to al-Karābīsī's lost collection.[161] Al-Kaʿbī's entry on al-Aʿmash opens with four statements by al-Karābīsī, one of which describes al-Aʿmash's transmission of *ḥadīth* with an interrupted *isnād*, whereas the two others are instances of obfuscation.[162] Insofar as these *isnād*s are based on the preposition *ʿan*, they may well signal the type of *irsāl* that irked Muslim's opponent. Juynboll's and Abu-Alabbas's identification of that opponent as al-Karābīsī seems reasonable.

"Hanbalite circles" are prominent in Tarif Khalidi's explanation of the controversy between Muslim and his cryptic opponent. According to Khalidi, these circles "argued that audition (*samāʿ*) was a prerequisite of sound *Hadith*" because their "basic method in *Hadith* arrangement was one by transmitters rather than by topics, thus overemphasizing personal authority."[163] "Arrangement by transmitters" is an opaque formulation, but apparently Khalidi has in mind that Muslim was assailing the compilers of *ḥadīth* collections that were similar to Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*. Such an argument is both anachronistic and epistemologically flawed. Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* was compiled by his son ʿAbdallāh, likely around or after Muslim's death, while the proto-Sunni compilers of the earliest *musnad*s, such as Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī and Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, may hardly be described as Ḥanbalis. Apart from this, the *musnad* collections were not paragons of methodological rigor, as suggested by Khalidi.[164]

Muslim's opponent may be elusive because he was part of a larger group of traditionists and jurisprudents. The Baghdādi ascetic jurisprudent and theologian al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857–858) cataloged in his now lost work

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[161] Juynboll, *Muslim tradition* 167; Abu-Alabbas, "Principles" 332.

[162] First, al-Aʿmash transmitted a tradition about the punishment for theft, in which the Successor Dhakwān Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān (Medina; d. 101/719–720) reports on the authority of the Prophet omitting Abū Hurayra; al-Kaʿbī, *Qabūl* i, 270. In another tradition, al-Aʿmash cites Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit (Kufa; d. 119/737) on the authority of ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr citing ʿĀʾisha; ibid. i, 271. Although Ḥabīb could have heard from ʿUrwa, who died twenty-six lunar years before him, he is known to have never met ʿUrwa; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* ii, 179. He must have heard the tradition from an intermediate informant, but concealed his name. In another instance, al-Aʿmash mistakes ʿAlī b. Thābit for Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit; al-Kaʿbī, *Qabūl* i, 270–271.

[163] Khalidi, *Arabic historical thought* 42.

[164] Al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb* i, 87; Abdul Rauf, "*Ḥadīth* literature" 273–274; Brown, *Hadith* 30–31.

Fahm al-sunan (*Understanding the precedents*) three groups (*qawm*) that held different opinions about the way precedent (*sunna*) is established. According to the first group,

> It may be established by an isolated report, if uninterrupted and transmitted by traditionists who are known for their sincerity, retentiveness, and meeting one another, provided that each of them up to the level of the Prophet (ṣ) says, "I heard" or "he related to me." If they are trustworthy transmitters who had met one another but not each of them says, "I heard" or "he related to me," or all of them but a single one says it, no *sunna* whatsoever is thereby established, for we have found that the memorizers may relate on the authority of others something they did not hear [directly] from them if it was reported to them by still others. It is not permissible [to transmit on their authority], except if each of them said, "I heard," "he related to me," or "he reported to me."[165]

The opinion of this group of scholars overlaps with that of Muslim's opponent, although some differences stand out. Al-Muḥāsibī's first group is focused exclusively on the contiguous isolated report, whereas Muslim's opponent talks now about "every *isnād* of a tradition that states, 'someone from (*ʿan*) someone'" and now about "the report of an isolated trustworthy transmitter from (*ʿan*) an isolated trustworthy transmitter."[166] Since Muslim's rejoinder includes examples of both multiplied and unparalleled *isnād*s, his opponent likely spoke about reports in general, in contrast to al-Muḥāsibī's first group, which speaks only about isolated reports.

Al-Muḥāsibī's first group puts forth the requirement that each transmitter along the *isnād* must have met his informant, and all must use the expressions "I heard," "he related to me," or "he reported to me." At first sight, this stipulation is more stringent than the requirement of Muslim's opponent that the transmitter and his informant be known with certainty to have met and exchanged *ḥadīth* at least once in their lifetime.[167] On the other hand, such knowledge is derived as a rule from the terminology of transmission in the *isnād* (*ʿan* is uncertain, whereas *ḥaddatha-nī* yields certainty); hence, Muslim and al-Muḥāsibī seem to be using slightly different words to describe the same party. That said,

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[165] Al-Zarkashī, *Nukat* ii, 24–25. Noted by Manṣūr, *Manhaj* 78. I am grateful to Christopher Melchert for drawing my attention to this citation; personal correspondence on 25 January 2020.

[166] ʿAbd al-Bāqī pp. 29–30.

[167] Ibid. p. 29.

Muslim's opponent may well fall under al-Muḥāsibī's second group, which he pithily describes in the same report as holding the opinion that the solitary report is validated when transmitted by memorizers, who are known to have come together and avoided *tadlīs*.[168]

Be that as it may, in Muslim's lifetime a party of Baghdadi traditionists validated reports only if audition was attested at each tier of the *isnād* from its latest reporter down to the original speaker.[169] This party, which may well have included al-Karābīsī, al-Bukhārī, and Ibn al-Madīnī, demanded undeniable proofs of personal meeting and exchange of traditions between each next transmitter and his/her informant. The absence of such proofs they considered an indication of *tadlīs*. However appealing to the systematic *ḥadīth* critic, this stringent take on transmission could vitiate its authenticity between the first three generations of Muslims. Except in transmission between family members, the coming together could be inferred only from the terminology of transmission in the *isnād*, while independent witnesses were rare.[170] The earliest segments of the *isnād*s, which consist of representatives of these generations, are mostly based on the generic preposition *ʿan*, which, in the eyes of the stringent party might signal obfuscation of transmission. Alert to the epistemological peril of this assumption, Muslim vehemently denounced its proponents and argued that the chronological overlap between the lifetimes of two successive transmitters was sufficient to presume that they have met each other. Despite Muslim's apology of the *isnād*, doubts about the reliability of its oldest part must have persisted. To enhance the dependability of transmission in the first/seventh century, the Partisans of Tradition developed an auxiliary conception of authenticity, which postulated that the Prophet's Companions and, largely, the next generation of Muslims were immune to error.[171]

2.5 *The High* isnād

In the Introduction, Muslim explains that master *ḥadīth* transmitters may sometimes cite an interrupted *isnād*, whereas, at other times, they may cite the full *isnād* while noting if it includes lowness (*nuzūl*) or highness (*ṣuʿūd*) between successive transmitters.[172] In the same vein, he also uses the words

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[168] Al-Zarkashī, *Nukat* ii, 25.

[169] Noted by Melchert in a personal correspondence on 25 January 2020. Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ mentions "Ibn al-Madīnī, al-Bukhārī, and others"; ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 305–312.

[170] For an example, see Melchert, "Bukhārī" 11.

[171] See pp. 140–145 above.

[172] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 32.

nuzūl and *irtifāʿ* (elevation).[173] Before Muslim, the term "nuzūl" may have been used by ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī.[174] Muslim speaks of *nuzūl* when a transmitter intervenes between two other transmitters who are known to have come together and exchanged traditions, as are, for instance, Hishām b. ʿUrwa and his father, ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, and ʿUrwa and his aunt, ʿĀʾisha.[175] *Nuzūl* is also an instance of transmission on the authority of a younger contemporary.[176] By contrast, "highness" and "elevation" signal the absence of unnecessary intermediaries. Remarkably, Muslim deploys the pairs *nuzūl/ṣuʿūd* and *nuzūl/irtifāʿ* instead of the pair *nuzūl/ʿuluww*, on which the later *ḥadīth* critics will agree as the conventional designations of the low and the high *isnād*. Together with other alternative terms, which were used shortly before or during Muslim's lifetime, his peculiar designation of the high *isnād* suggests that it was a recent innovation.[177]

Just like his second/eighth-century predecessors, Muslim realized that the high *isnād* was not immune to flaws. Sometimes, however, he could not resist the allure of standing close to a revered authority from the past and ultimately to the sacrosanct figure of God's Messenger. When criticized by Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī (b. 200/815–816, d. 264/878) for transmitting on the authority of Asbāṭ b. Naṣr (Kufa; d. ?), Qaṭan b. Nusayr (Basra; d. ?), and Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā (Egypt; d. Baghdad, 243/857–858), who were weak, Muslim replied that they were present in elevated *isnād*s whereas the *isnād*s through more reliable transmitters were low.[178] True to his comparative approach to *ḥadīth* evaluation, Muslim added that the base versions (*uṣūl*) of the respective traditions were sound; hence, there was no harm in transmitting the parallel narrations through the high *isnād*s reported by Asbāṭ, Qaṭan, and Nuṣayr.[179] Abū Zurʿa seems unacquainted with Muslim's methodological presumption that so long as a given narration agrees with a parallel narration by a trustworthy traditionist, it is acceptable, even if coming through a person of lesser reliability.

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[173] *Abū Zurʿa wa-juhūdu-hu* ii, 676.

[174] Al-Khaṭīb, *Jāmiʿ* i, 123.

[175] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 31.

[176] Ibid. p. 34. E.g., the transmission of Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī (Kufa → Basra; d. 81/700–701 or 95/713–714, or 100/718–719) and Abū Rāfiʿ al-Ṣāʾigh (Medina → Basra; d. ca. 95/713–714), both of whom witnessed the Jāhiliyya, met the earliest Companions of the Prophet, and lived to allegedly centenarian ages, on the authority of Abū Hurayra (Medina; d. 57–59/678–680), who was their junior.

[177] The Basran ʿAbd al-Malik b. Qarīb al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 210/825–826) said in a panegyric about Sufyān al-Thawrī that he sought *qurb al-isnād* (proximity in attribution); al-Rāmahurmuzī, *Muḥaddith* 226. Ibn al-Mubārak preferred the reliability of transmitters to *qurb al-isnād*; Dickinson, "Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ" 491. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī associates a similar statement with the Raqqi traditionist ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Abī l-Walīd al-Asadī (b. 101/719–720, d. 180/796–797). In ʿUbayd Allāh's opinion, "a sound tradition with a distant *isnād*" (*ḥadīth baʿīd al-isnād ṣaḥīḥ*) is preferable to "a sickly tradition with a close *isnād*" (*ḥadīth qarīb al-isnād saqīm*); al-Khaṭīb, *Akhlāq* i, 124. In these instances, *qurb al-isnād* signals a later transmitter's proximity from a much earlier authority by means of an *isnād* that does not include intermediaries between the two; *buʿd al-isnād*, by contrast, implies the existence of such intermediaries who introduce a distance (*buʿd*) between the transmitter and his authority. Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (b. 240/854–855; d. 327/938) operates with the expressions *ḥadīth qarīb al-isnād* and *ḥadīth baʿīd al-isnād*, which correspond to the classical *ʿāl^{in}* and *nāzil*; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ* ii, 24–26.

The high *isnād* being a dubious innovation, Muslim does not seem to have assigned it the same importance as will do his successors in the fields of *ḥadīth* transmission and *rijāl* criticism.[180] According to al-Dhahabī's estimation, the number of high *isnād*s in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is insignificant, whereas al-Dāraquṭnī (Baghdad; 306–385/918–995) took Muslim to task for citing auxiliaries that were lower than his main transmission lines.[181] Perplexed by Muslim's neglect of highness, later *ḥadīth* collectors began to compile *mustakhraj*s, for which they selected *isnād*s that were higher than his *isnād*s by one or two degrees.[182]

2.6 *Determining the Scholarly Network of* ḥadīth *Transmitters*

Many of the earliest *rijāl* collections were lists with the names of *ḥadīth* transmitters, ordered in generations from the Prophet's Companions until the lifetime of the respective *rijāl* critic. Apart from names and locations of scholarly activity, these lists included no biographical details about the individual transmitters. This generational approach is followed by Ibn al-Madīnī in *Tasmiyat man ruwiya ʿan-hu min awlād al-ʿasahra*, Ibn Zanjawayh in *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahāʾ wa-l-muḥaddithīn*, and by ʿAmr b. ʿAlī al-Fallās (d. 249/864) in the last part of his *Kitāb al-Tārīkh*.[183] Ibn al-Madīnī was active in Basra and Baghdad, whereas

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[178] For a similar statement by Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, see Davidson *Carrying on the tradition* 26.

[179] *Abū Zurʿa wa-juhūdu-hu* 675–676.

[180] For an in-depth statistics of the rise of the high *isnād*, see Yanagihashi, *Studies* 18–23.

[181] Al-Dāraquṭnī, *Tatabbuʿ* 284–285, no. 137.

[182] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 568–569.

[183] Edited by Muḥammad al-Ṭabarānī, al-Fallās's *Kitāb al-Tārīkh* consists of four distinct parts. The first part (pp. 174–215) is a short history of the Caliphate setting the chronological framework of the next three parts. It extends from the Prophet's lifetime up to the reign of ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn (r. 198–218/813–833). The second part (pp. 216–315) focuses on the death dates of *ḥadīth* transmitters and deserves the title *Kitāb al-Wafayāt*. The third part (pp. 316–447) is a proper *Kitāb al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*, which specifies the names of transmitters who were known predominantly by their teknonyms and the other way around. The

Ibn Zanjawayh's scholarly career unfolded in Northeastern Iran and Iraq. A native of Basra, al-Fallās frequented Isfahan to a degree that led Abū l-Shaykh to describe the city as his *dār al-hijra* (abode of immigration).[184] Although not unequivocal as one might have wanted, these biographical data suggest that *rijāl* critics in Northeastern Iran paid primary attention to the names of transmitters in relationship with their teachers and pupils, which they identified from the chains of transmission.[185] Based on earlier publications by Mottahedeh and Lewinstein, Melchert has detected a "northeastern tendency" to record only the names of transmitters. This trait differs from the Iraqi *rijāl*-critical approach, which frequently adds evaluation statements and biographical anecdotes about the recorded *ḥadīth* transmitters.[186]

The northeastern tendency does not always occur as an unadulterated type. Sometimes, works that exhibit it include rudimentary biographical information. Thus, in al-Bukhārī's *Tārīkh* we sometimes find references to death dates, while his *al-Tārīkh al-awsaṭ* and *Kitāb al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* include both dates and personal evaluations but not biographical anecdotes.[187] In like manner, al-Fallās gives prominence to the death dates of transmitters in the second part of his *Tārīkh* and switches over to personal evaluations and biographical anecdotes in the third part.

As noted by Melchert, Muslim's *Ṭabaqāt* and *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ* are lists with the names of traditionists that fit well into the proposed northeastern tendency of *rijāl* scholarship.[188] That said, one may hardly expect that Muslim's *Ṭabaqāt*, being a collection of the names of Companions and Successors, would include evaluations of their qualities as transmitters. Already in Muslim's lifetime, the former group's veracity stood beyond doubt while the latter group was considered by and large trustworthy. *Al-Kuna wa-l-asmāʾ*, for its part, focuses on identifying the full names of transmitters who were known by parts of their names or only by teknonyms. The reliability of such transmitters is marginal to Muslim's name-identification project. Note also that Muslim's above two collections are not entirely free from assessments of reliability and biographical details. In *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*, Muslim deploys disparaging formulae on ninety-

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fourth part (pp. 450–589) lists the generations of *ḥadīth* transmitters (with a focus on the Prophet's Companions), and it may be called *Ṭabaqāt al-muḥaddithīn*.

[184] Abū l-Shaykh, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 193, cited by Muḥammad al-Ṭabarānī, "ʿAmr b. ʿAlī al-Fallās" 22.

[185] Al-Fallās's habit of extracting the names of transmitters from the *isnād*s was noted by Muḥammad al-Ṭabarānī; "ʿAmr b. ʿAlī al-Fallās" 102.

[186] Melchert, "Bukhārī" 17.

[187] Ibid. 11, 17.

[188] Ibid. 17.

one occasions, that is, in 2.39 percent of the entries.[189] In *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt,* he meticulously records the *mawālī* among the Successors, which likely reflects his client descent but also his interest in the role that non-Arabs played in the transmission of knowledge in Islam.

Muslim's belonging to the northeastern type of *rijāl* scholarship finds support in his other extant works. No evaluations or biographical anecdotes are found in *al-Munfaridāt wa-l-wuḥdān*, *Rijāl ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr*, *Mashāyikh Mālik*, *Mashāyikh Shuʿba*, *Mashāyikh al-Thawrī*, and *Mukhaḍramūn*, all of which are tedious enumerations of *ḥadīth* transmitters according to specific classification principles.

The northeastern tendency in the *rijāl* works leads us to two important observations. First, Muslim and his colleagues in Northeastern Iran used the *isnād*s as the source from which they extracted names of otherwise unknown traditionists. For this reason, their collections took the form of dull catalogs of names, devoid of circumstantial biographical data. Second, because of the specificity of their source, the northeastern *rijāl* critics focused on mapping the scholarly networks of traditionists. In this way, they were able to establish the chronology of these traditionists' life and identify the centers of their activity, thus gaining a glimpse of their legal, theological, and political background. Apart from this, such lists were important for the knowledge of the names of traditionists, who were often referred to in the *isnād*s only by their first name or teknonym.

2.7 Matn *Criticism*

Matn analysis was an essential part of Muslim's *ḥadīth* criticism. He paid close attention to scribal errors, which might alter the tradition's meaning. Such an error was committed by ʿAbd al-Quddūs b. Ḥabīb (Damascus; d. Iraq, 136–158/754–775), who not only misspelled the name of his informant Suwayd b. Ghafala (Kufa; d. 80–82/699–702) as Suwayd b. ʿAqala but also gravely altered the *matn*. In a tradition prohibiting shooting with arrows an animal that is bound for slaughter (*nahā rasūl Allāh an yuttakhadha l-rūḥ gharaḍ^{an}*),[190] ʿAbd al-Quddūs said, *al-rawḥ ʿarḍ^{an}*, that is, "the wind through." When asked to explain the meaning of the Prophet's statement, ʿAbd al-Quddūs promptly contrived an answer. The Prophet would have prohibited the cutting out of special openings in the walls of the houses to let the wind through.[191]

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[189] See p. 190 below.

[190] If an animal is killed in this way, its meat can no longer be legally consumed; ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 280–281.

[191] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 25 = Taʾṣīl, no. 76. Mentioned in passing in Muslim, *Tamyīz* 171.

Another example is ʿAbdallāh b. Lahīʿa's (Egypt; b. 96/714–715, d. 174/790) version of the *ḥadīth* according to which the Prophet marked for himself a special place (*iḥtajara*) for prayer in the mosque. In the book of Mūsā b. ʿUqba (Medina; d. 141/758), from which Ibn Lahīʿa took the tradition, he misread the verb *iḥtajara* for *iḥtajama*, "to have oneself cupped," thereby altering the meaning of the text.[192]

An erroneous reading of the *matn* might have legal consequences. Qabīṣa b. ʿUqba (Kufa; d. 213/828–829) misread the *matn* of the tradition "We were paying it [that is, the alms tax at the end of the Ramaḍān fast] in the lifetime of the Prophet" (*kunnā nuʾaddī-hi ʿalā ʿahd rasūl Allāh*) as "We were assigning to him inheritance" (*kunnā nuwarrithu-hu*). To make sense of the new reading, Qabīṣa explained that the tradition concerns the inheritance of the grandfather (*jadd*).[193] In two more examples, Muslim describes an anonymous transmitter who transcribed a *matn* in which the Prophet prohibits the bogus bid for merchandise that inflates its price, known as *najash*. Instead of *najash*, the scribe recorded *taḥayyur*, that is, abiding in one place.[194] Another one misread "profession" (*ḥirfa*) for "sanctuary" (*ḥaram*).[195]

Evidently, Muslim worked with written sources, for otherwise he would not have noted these errors. All the same, he warns that because of the possibility of scribal errors, such sources may not substitute for audition and reading one's records to the *shaykh* (*samāʿ* and *ʿarḍ*).[196] The correct *matn* can be determined only by collating several transmissions, the most reliable of which come by way of direct audition. Thus, even when he engages in *matn* criticism, Muslim does not base his conclusions on textual criticism or observing logical inconsistencies. He debunks the wrong narration by comparing it with the numerically superior transmissions. Such an approach excludes the possibility of opting for the difficult reading, although it may reflect the earliest formulation, which many later transmitters emended so as to make it easier to understand or accord with a different legal teaching.

2.8 *Other Criteria*

When faced with alternatives that are supported by an equal number of chains, Muslim's *isnād* comparison falters. Such is the case with the Prophet's definition of Islam and *īmān*. Its *isnād* passes through ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar → the

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[192] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 187–178, nos. 55–57.
[193] Ibid. 189–190, no. 60.
[194] Ibid. 171.
[195] Loc. cit.
[196] Ibid. 188.

Prophet according to four Kufans and through ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar → his father, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb → the Prophet according to a similar number of Basrans.[197] Muslim endorses the Basran insertion of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in the *isnād*. By analogy to the fuller court testimony, which is presumed to reflect the witness' better retentiveness, the Basran version takes precedence over the Kufan version, being the less-detailed testimony.[198] Because of the equal number of transmitters behind each variant of the above *ḥadīth*, some of whom do not command undisputable authority,[199] Muslim must have felt uncomfortable with the retentiveness criterion alone. In a second argument for the Basran variant, he states that had ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar heard the Prophet's words directly, he would not have cited ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.[200] That is to say, since ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar cites ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in the Basran *isnād*, his citation of ʿUmar in that *isnād* is correct. This circular logic, not the quantitative criterion, leads Muslim to conclude that the Kufan *isnād* is interrupted.

Another instance of numerical parity between two *isnād* variants is the report about the Prophet's supererogatory morning prayer. The Medinese narration, passing through Sālim and Nāfiʿ → Ibn ʿUmar, has Ḥafṣa bt. ʿUmar as Ibn ʿUmar's informant regarding the matter. The Kufan *isnād*, passing through the equally authoritative Abū Isḥāq and Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī → Mujāhid b. Jabr → Ibn ʿUmar, has Ibn ʿUmar citing directly the Prophet. Unlike the previous tradition, Muslim does not resort to the forensic analogy to defend the Medinese *isnād*. He questions the rationale behind the Kufan narration, which he describes as a misconception (*wahm*), because at the time of the morning prayer no one would enter upon the Prophet.[201]

Sometimes Muslim would override the quantitative criterion, based on his knowledge of transmitters and circumstantial evidence. Thus, he rejects a transmission about the compensatory fasting on the authority of al-Zuhrī → ʿUrwa → ʿĀʾisha, because, when asked by Ibn Jurayj about his informant, al-Zuhrī replied that he heard the tradition in the reign of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 96–99/715–717) not from ʿUrwa but from "people who heard someone who had asked ʿĀʾisha." What is more, some of the transmitters who mentioned ʿUrwa as al-Zuhrī's informant were weak while others, although generally reliable, were not trustworthy in this particular *isnād*.[202] This remarkable report shows how renowned traditionists could fit out popular statements with fictitious *isnād*s in a manner that brings to mind the error of erroneously adhering to the established path of transmission (*luzūm al-jādda*), whereby the chain of a singular transmission is artificially associated with the most well-known informant of a given transmitter (e.g. ʿUrwa with respect to al-Zuhrī or ʿĀʾisha with respect to ʿUrwa).

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[197] Ibid. 199–200.

[198] Ibid. 199.

[199] Among the Basran transmitters in the full *isnād* are Kahmas b. al-Minhāl al-Sadūsī (d. ?), a Qadari, and ʿUthmān b. Ghiyāth al-Rāsibī (d. ?), a Murjiʾi. Maṭar b. Ṭahmān al-Warrāq (d. 125/742–743 or 129/746–747) was a middling traditionist, and only Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymī (b. 46/666–667, d. 143/761) enjoys an impeccable reputation.

[200] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 199.

[201] Ibid. 207–208, nos. 86–87.

Muslim allowed for abrogation (*naskh*) between reports that carry contradictory legal norms. Citing the opinion of Abū l-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Shikhkhīr (Basra; d. 108/726–727 or 111/729–730), he maintains that, "*ḥadīth* [reports] may abrogate each other just as [verses in] the Quran may abrogate each other."[203] By analogy to the Quran, Muslim considered later rulings by the Prophet as repealing his earlier rulings on the same issue. Thus he states that the tradition on the authority of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī by which no post-coital ritual washing (*ghusl*) is required absent ejaculation, "is an earlier and established ordinance by the Messenger of God (ṣ)," which is abrogated by a later tradition on the authority of ʿĀʾisha and Abū Hurayra mandating ghusl even after *coitus interruptus*.[204] In line with this understanding of *naskh*, Muslim adduces first the traditions that are abrogated followed by the abrogating traditions, whose legal implications he considers binding.[205] According to al-Nawawī, this was the habit of Muslim and other master *ḥadīth* experts.[206]

3 Muslim's Vocabulary of *ḥadīth* Transmission and Evaluation

In his works, Muslim deploys several words and expressions that became important technical terms in the science of *ḥadīth* transmission and evaluation of transmitters. Compared with the multifarious critical vocabulary of the second-century traditionists cited in the Introduction and *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*,

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[202] Ibid. 216–219, nos. 97–102.

[203] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 344 (82) = Taʾṣīl, no. 333. For more examples, see Abu-Alabbas, "Principles" 330, note 109. Abu-Alabbas's examples 3 (*Kitāb* 5, *Bāb* 54) and 5 (*Kitāb* 13, *Bāb* 25) are instances of abrogation between Quranic verses not *ḥadīth*. In the remaining three examples, *naskh* is mentioned in the chapter headings, which were not formulated by Muslim but by later transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

[204] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Maʿrifa* i, 275–276.

[205] E.g., ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 343–350 (80–89) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 332–341. For other examples, see Āl Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim* ii, 537–538.

[206] Al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* iv, 42–43. The same is implied in al-Sakhāwī's statement that Muslim mentions "the abrogated then its abrogator"; al-Sakhāwī, *Ghunya* 43.

Muslim's own critical pronouncements are limited in number. As we have seen, Muslim adduces his predecessors' chiefly negative evaluations of past and present traditionists to persuade sceptics that *ḥadīth* criticism was practiced in the second/eighth century. With the notable exception of *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*,[207] Muslim does not use disparaging expressions, for fear that they might bring upon him accusations of *ightiyāb*. In tune with Muslim's choice not to deploy negative qualifications, the following list excludes critical terms and expressions, such as *kadhdhāb* (liar), *ḍaʿīf* (weak), *ghayr thiqa* (untrustworthy), and so on. Incidentally, Muslim uses positive qualifications sparingly, likely because his *magnum opus*, the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, is based on the transmission of informants whom he considered highly reliable.

3.1 *Transmission-Specific Terminology*

Muslim's vocabulary of transmission, with reference to his direct informants, is almost exclusively limited to the verb *ḥaddatha* (to tell). In a sample of 100 traditions from *Kitāb al-Ṭahāra*[208] and *Kitāb al-Jihād wa-l-siyar*[209] in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I counted eighty-seven instances in which Muslim cites his direct informant with the expression *ḥaddatha-nā* (told us) and thirty-four citations with the expression *ḥaddatha-nī* (told me).[210] In the same sample, Muslim does not state *akhbara-nī* (reported to me), *akhbara-nā* (reported to us), and *samiʿtu* (I heard) to designate his communication with the *shaykh*.

The observed distribution of terms indicates that the verb *ḥaddatha* was Muslim's way of signaling direct audition from his *shaykh*s. The prevalence of the plural accusative pronoun *-nā*, that is, "told us" (almost seventy-two percent of the cases), suggests that Muslim mostly heard his informants in the study circle, which included other fellow traditionists. In twenty-eight percent of the citations, he uses the singular accusative pronoun *-nī*, which formally signals a one-to-one communication with the *shaykh*. The standard procedure in such cases would be *qirāʾa ʿalā l-shaykh* (reading over to the *shaykh*), in which the student reads over his records with the teacher's lectures and the teacher corrects him if need be. All the same, we do not possess evidence that this procedure stands behind Muslim's use of the singular form *ḥaddatha-nī*.

Contrary to our observations, al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ asserted that, like Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Shāfiʿī, and the "eastern scholars," Muslim uses *akhbara-nā* to signal *qirāʾa*

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[207] See p. 190 below.

[208] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 223 (1)–249 (39) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 214–240.

[209] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 1782 (88)–1805 (130) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 1830–1854.3.

[210] The overall count of Muslim's terms of reference to his direct informants exceeds 100, because he often cites one tradition through more than one chain.

ʿalā l-shaykh.[211] This statement is not borne out by the evidence in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. In the entire collection, Muslim uses *akhbara-nā* in two auxiliary transmissions, one of which is a likely interpolation while the other may be a revision of an original *ḥaddatha-nā*.[212] He deploys *akhbara-nī* in a single base transmission, which, likewise, may be a substitute for an earlier *ḥaddatha-nā*.[213] On the other hand, Muslim uses twice in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* the expression *qaraʾtu ʿalā* (I read over to), which indicates that he distinguished between listening to the *shaykh*'s transmission and reading over to him one's records. In sum, Muslim uses the verb *ḥaddatha* as the exclusive means of denoting audition, and he uses the expression *qaraʾtu ʿalā* in the instances of reading over to the informant. The low incidence of *qaraʾtu ʿalā* may suggest that, when citing his direct informants, Muslim would replace it by *ḥaddatha-nī*, although other modes of transmission, such as handing over (*munāwala*), may not be entirely excluded as standing behind this expression.[214] As a distant possibility, one may think that al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ had at hand a manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* that included many instances of *akhbara-nā*, which the later manuscripts replaced with *ḥaddatha-nā*.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ observed that *akhbara-nā/-nī* is frequently used to describe the communication between Muslim's *shaykh*s at the different levels of the *isnād*. Muslim also meticulously records the instances in which a shared source is cited by two of his students, one of whom states *ḥaddatha-nā/-nī*, while the other states *akhbara-nā/-nī*.[215] This, however, does not necessarily mean that, in Muslim's opinion, *ḥaddatha* and *akhbara* stand for dissimilar techniques of transmission. According to Aḥmad b. al-Salama, Muslim once said, "Whenever Ibn Jurayj says *ḥaddatha-nā* (told us), *akhbara-nā* (reported to us), and *samiʿtu*

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[211] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 366; cf. idem, *Ilmāʿ* 125; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 101; al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* i, 21; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb* ii, 11. The earliest terminological distinction between *ḥaddatha-nā* and *akhbara-nā* is associated with al-Awzāʿī (Syria; 88–157/707–774) (al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* ii, 251; noted in *GAS* 77–78) and Ibn Wahb (Egypt; 125–197/743–813); ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 366; idem, *Ilmāʿ* 125; noted by Juynboll, *Muslim tradition* 33, note 116.

[212] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 610 (167) and 1310 (318) = Taʾṣīl, no. 603.1. Taʾṣīl does not include an equivalent of ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1310 (318), which, according to the editors' note, is absent in most of the manuscripts they used for the edition. In Taʾṣīl, no. 603.1, the ʿUmariyya Library manuscript has *ḥaddatha-nā* instead of *akhbara-nā*.

[213] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 557 (64) = Taʾṣīl, no. 548. Again, the ʿUmariyya Library manuscript has *ḥaddatha-nā* instead of *akhbara-nā*.

[214] Muslim was evidently aware of the importance of identifying each instance of *qirāʾa ʿalā l-shaykh*. In the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, he cites 221 traditions in which Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā cites Mālik b. Anas with the statement, *qaraʾtu ʿalā Mālik* (I read over to Mālik).

[215] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 101.

(I heard), nothing in the world is more reliable than this."[216] At least in Ibn Jurayj's parlance, the three expressions had the same epistemological weight.

In an unparalleled report found in Ibn Ḥajar's *Ṭabaqāt al-mudallisīn*, Ibn Manda asserts that Muslim would use the expression *qāla la-nā* (said to us) whenever he did not hear a tradition directly from his *shaykh*s, which amounts to an *isnād* obfuscation (*tadlīs*).[217] Muslim, however, never uses *qāla la-nā* to refer to his direct informants, both in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and in his other works. It is therefore possible that Ibn Manda's report refers to manuscripts of Muslim's works that had vanished over time, or that it somehow describes not Muslim's *tadlīs* but his rejection of the ambiguous expression *qāla la-nā*.

3.2 *Terminology of* **ḥadīth** *and* **rijāl** *Evaluation*

This sub-section examines several key terms that Muslim deploys in his evaluation of *ḥadīth*. It will be observed that Muslim uses these terms in a yet unsystematic manner, which indicates that in his lifetime proto-Sunni *ḥadīth* criticism was still in the initial stage of its development.

3.2.1 *ʿAdl*

Muslim deploys the term *ʿadl* (upright) once, alluding to Q 65:2, which stipulates that only upright Muslims may serve as witnesses in cases of divorce. By analogy, only an upright Muslim may transmit *ḥadīth*, whereas the report of an "ungodly" informant who is "not upright" must be rejected.[218] Thus, Muslim establishes a link between the court testimony and *ḥadīth* transmission, which, in his opinion are similar. Those who testify in court or transmit *ḥadīth* must meet stringent moral requirements, which enable them to convey the information in the most accurate and unbiased manner.

Muslim uses *ʿadl* as a *rijāl* evaluation term only once, to commend al-Sāʾib b. Farrūkh (Mecca; d. 86–96/705–715).[219] Such reticence may be due to Muslim's alertness to the epistemological limitations of the conception of *ʿadāla* (uprightness). From ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī's (Mecca; d. 219/234) deliberation on the relationship between court testimony and *ḥadīth* transmission, it is clear that *ʿadl* is a synchronic criterion with a diachronically diminishing effectiveness. A transmitter's uprightness is immediately known only to his/her contemporaries, while the uprightness of the older generations is attested to by the testimony of their successors and may be rejected if a negative statement should become known over time.[220] In this way, the criterion of uprightness depends on a retrospective testimonial sequence with a decreasing degree of certainty.

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[216] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 579.

[217] Ibn Ḥajar, *Ṭabaqāt al-mudallisīn* 7.

[218] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 9.

[219] Ibid. no. 1159 (186) = Taʾṣīl, no. 1181.6.

3.2.2 *ʿIlla*

Muslim is acquainted with the word *ʿilla*, by which classical *ḥadīth* critics designate a subtle defect in the *isnād* or the *matn* of a tradition. In the Introduction, he tells an opponent who demands certainty that each transmitter in an *isnād* had met his informant at least once:

> *Fa-in kānat al-ʿilla fī taḍʿīf*^{i}*-ka l-khabar wa-tark*^{i}*-ka l-iḥtijāj bi-hi imkān al-irsāl fī-hi* etc.
>
> If the reason for you to consider a report weak and to abandon its use as a legal argument were the possibility of interruption, etc.[221]

The context of Muslim's rejoinder does not bear out Juynboll's translation of *ʿilla* in this place as "defect."[222] Muslim uses *ʿilla* in its lexical meaning of cause and reason.

Frequently, Muslim deploys *ʿilla* in a semi-transparent manner. At the Introduction's beginning, he argues that the gathering of many reports may benefit only a small group of people who are knowledgeable of their *asbāb wa-ʿilal*.[223] As the word *sabab* stands for "a thing of any kind by means of which one attains, reaches, or gains access to another thing" as well as "relationship,"[224] Muslim's expression may be understood as "circumstances and defects." At the same time, the meaning of *sabab* as "cause," "reason," and "occasion"[225] suggests "occasions and causes" as another possibility, which Juynboll apparently had in mind while translating the passage as "factors that modify the state of a tradition."[226] In the same vein, Muslim is said to have told Makkī b. ʿAbdān that, upon consulting Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī, he excluded from the *Ṣaḥīḥ* everything that

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[220] Al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* i, 103–104; 334; cf. al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla* 271–272, no. 1002.

[221] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 30.

[222] Juynboll, "Muslim's introduction" 296.

[223] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 4.

[224] Lane, *Lexicon* iv, 1285.

[225] Ibid. iv, 1285.

[226] Juynboll, "Muslim's introduction" 266. Juynboll clearly realizes that *ʿilla* cannot be translated as "defect," although his "state of a tradition" hints at the terminological meaning of *ʿilla*, which, of course, is a state of defectiveness.

Abū Zurʿa marked as having an *ʿilla* and a *sabab*.[227] Muslim likely refers to the occasions and causes for the exclusion of a tradition from the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. If, nevertheless, the phrase is understood as "defects and circumstances," the rhetorical parallelism would be removed, and one would need to specify what kind of circumstances Muslim had in mind, just as Juynboll did in the preceding example. Note also that if Muslim were using *ʿilla* in its terminological meaning, he would hardly need to juxtapose it with *sabab*, which seems to lead away from that meaning.

In *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*, Muslim states:

> We will mention, God willing, the traditions that the people of knowledge mark as including errors (*aghālīṭ*) in their *isnād*s and *matn*s one by one, and we will inform about the occasions (*ʿilal*) on account of which they became erroneous reports (*allatī min ajli-hā ṣārat akhbār aghālīṭ*).[228]

Granting that Muslim uses the word *ʿilla* to signal an imperfection in the *isnād* or the *matn* of a tradition, we note that he still needs to explain that it stands for "erroneous reports." To him and his audience, the technical meaning of *ʿilla* is not yet self-evident.

A similar ambiguity is observed in Muslim's explanation that he may repeat a tradition when "an *isnād* comes beside an *isnād* for a reason thereby present" (*isnād yaqaʿu ilā janb isnād li-ʿilla takūnu hunāka*).[229] If by *ʿilla* Muslim meant a "defect," as translated by Juynboll,[230] one expects the expression to be *li-ʿilla takūnu fī-hi*, that is, "for a defect that is present in it (scil. the *isnād*)."

A third type of contexts unequivocally indicates that Muslim is acquainted with the meaning of *ʿilla* as a defect in a tradition. In the Introduction, he promises to add throughout the *Ṣaḥīḥ* clarifications and elucidations whenever defective reports are mentioned (*ʿind^a dhikr al-akhbār al-muʿallala*).[231] He specifically designates as *ʿilla* the *isnād* interruption (*irsāl*),[232] the obfuscation of transmission (*tadlīs*),[233] and the aberrant *matn* expression.[234]

Muslim's fluid use of *ʿilla* suggests that he did not treat this word as an established terminological unit. On some occasions, he had in mind the general cause of a tradition's weakness, and on other occasions, he deployed the word in the narrower signification of "defect." In the first half of the third/ninth century, *ʿilla* was a recent addition to the *ḥadīth*-critical vocabulary.

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[227] Al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd* i, 67.
[228] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 180.
[229] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 4.
[230] Juynboll, "Muslim's introduction" 267.
[231] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 8.
[232] Ibid. pp. 30, 32.
[233] Ibid. p. 33.
[234] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 195.

3.2.3 *Irsāl*

Muslim knows the term *mursal* and uses it in two senses. On the one hand, he describes as *mursal* an *isnād* in which an intermediate transmitter is omitted.[235] On the other hand, *mursal* is an *isnād* in which a Successor reports on the authority of the Prophet, without mentioning the Companion who mediated in the transmission of the Prophet's statement.[236] In the works of classical *ḥadīth* criticism, the latter meaning, which seems to have been earlier, will take precedence over the former.

3.2.4 *Khāṣṣ/ʿāmm*

See pp. 61–62 above.

3.2.5 *Khabar*

Muslim uses the term *akhbār* (reports; sg. *khabar*) to designate traditions from the Prophet. This is clear from expressions, such as "the reports that are transmitted from God's messenger" (*al-akhbār al-maʾthūra ʿan rasūl Allāh*) and "the reports from God's messenger with full *isnād*s" (*mā usnida min al-akhbār ʿan rasūl Allāh*).[237] In Muslim's understanding, *khabar* is synonymous and interchangeable with *ḥadīth*. He speaks about those who "forge *aḥādīth* and invent *akhbār*."[238] As he elaborates on the first group in his three-category nomenclature of transmitters, Muslim states that it includes *akhbār* that are transmitted by "the people of integrity in *ḥadīth* and mastery in transmission, whose narrations (*riwāyāt*, sg. *riwāya*) are free from grave contradictions and abominable confusion."[239] In this citation, Muslim articulates the word *riwāya* in the same breath as *khabar* and *ḥadīth*. In the same vein, he mentions those who "transmit *akhbār* and carry *āthār*."[240] The latter word (sg. *athar*) means "traces," "relics," and "vestiges"; in the vocabulary of the *ḥadīth* transmitters, it is yet another term that stands for transmission about the past. In addition to denoting a report from the Prophet, *khabar* may stand for a report on the authority of the Prophet's Companions (*al-akhbār ʿan Ibn ʿAbbās*)[241] or later transmitters (*al-akhbār* […] *ʿan Kurayb wa-sāʾir aṣḥāb Ibn ʿAbbās*).[242]

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[235] Muslim's opponent states, "I have found that a transmitter of reports in the old times and at present may transmit from another transmitter without having seen him or heard from him anything whatsoever. When I saw that they approve of *ḥadīth* transmission loosened in this manner (*hākadhā ʿalā l-irsāl*), etc."; ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 30; noted by Juynboll, Mursal 631.

[236] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 198.

[237] ʿAbd al-Bāqī pp. 3–4; cf. "the sound *akhbār* from God's messenger" (*Tamyīz* 183, 195).

[238] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 7; cf. "reporters of *akhbār* and transmitters of *ḥadīth*" (*Tamyīz* 170).

[239] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 5; cf. "For this reason, the weakest among the knowers of *ḥadīth* is ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khathʿam and his ilk from among the transmitters of *akhbār* who relate unrecognized *aḥādīth* that contradict the *riwāyāt* of the recognized retentive *thiqāt*" (Muslim, *Tamyīz* 209).

Muslim's syncretic use of the words *khabar*, *ḥadīth*, *athar*, and *riwāya* signals an initial stage in the development of the *ḥadīth*-critical terminology. His extant works do not include indications that he may have been acquainted with the efforts to draw a terminological line of distinction between *ḥadīth* as a tradition on the authority of the Prophet and *khabar* as a report on the authority of a Companion. Muslim does not seem either to have shared the opinion of unnamed "Khurasāni jurisprudents" that *khabar* stands for a Prophetic tradition against *athar*, which means a tradition that terminates at a Companion level (*mawqūf*).[243] There is no textual evidence to support Khalidi's hypothesis that Muslim was conversant with the use of *khabar* as a specific designation of the historical report.[244]

3.2.6 *Mashhūr*

Muslim deploys the term *mashhūr* with regard to both transmitters and traditions. He introduces the conception of personal renown (*shuhra*) in the short preface to al-*Munfaridāt wa-l-wuḥdān*.[245] In an unprecedented manner, he considers the transmitter's quality of being well known (*mashhūr*) as a criterion for accrediting his/her unparalleled transmissions. Before Muslim, al-Shāfiʿī used the words *mashhūr* and *shuhra* to designate widely known reports or facts of common knowledge, as well as infamy and bad reputation,[246] but he did not deploy them as a measure of transmitter acceptability.

Regarding *ḥadīth*, Muslim contrasts the term *mashhūr* (widely known) with *munkar* (unrecognized, singular).[247] He uses *mashhūr* in conjunction with

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[240] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 218.

[241] Ibid. 184.

[242] Ibid. 185.

[243] Al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb* i, 10–11.

[244] Khalidi, *Arabic historical thought* 43.

[245] Muslim, *al-Munfaridāt wa-l-wuḥdān* 17.

[246] Al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm* ix, 35 (under *Jimāʿ al-ʿilm*), 147 (under *al-Radd ʿalā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan*), 199 (under *Siyar al-Awzāʿī*); idem, *Risāla* 431, no. 1184; 600, no. 1821.

[247] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 8.

ṣaḥīḥ (sound) and rejects the report that clashes with the "firm and well-known" tradition.[248] Thus, Muslim operates with the same understanding of *mashhūr* as will be accepted in classical *ḥadīth* criticism. Sunni *ḥadīth* critics preferred to speak of widely known instead of massively transmitted (*mutawātir*) traditions. The latter category was used by legal theorists and speculative theologians to designate the imaginary category of a tradition that is so massively disseminated that any doubt in its authenticity is removed while its text commands apodictic certainty.[249]

3.2.7 *Munkar*

Juynboll translates *munkar* as "rejected,"[250] thereby correctly representing the result of the *ḥadīth*-evaluation procedure, but says nothing about the reason for rejection, which is central to the understanding of this term. According to Muslim's own definition, "the sign of *munkar* in a transmitter's *ḥadīth* is that, when his narration (*riwāya*) of *ḥadīth* is compared with the narrations of those who are retentive and agreed upon, his narration either contradicts or hardly corresponds with their narrations."[251]

In Muslim's understanding then, *munkar* is an isolated tradition that cannot be recognized as correctly representing the chain and the narrative core of a *ḥadīth* bundle comprising several similar traditions. A similar understanding of *munkar* that combined *isnād* and *matn* considerations may have been shared by Muslim's famous contemporary, al-Bukhārī.[252] The prophetic sunna, Muslim argues, requires that a *munkar* tradition should be rejected;[253] and if someone transmits mostly traditions of this type, he must be abandoned.[254] To translate *munkar* simply as "rejected" would be to impart to the term a tinge of circularity, which is unrelated to its original meaning. The initial understanding of *munkar* as "unrecognized" transpires in the words of the early critic Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (b. 195/810–811, d. 277/890), who opposes it to *maʿrūf*, that is, "known" and "recognized."[255]

While speaking about *munkar*, Muslim does not distinguish between an unrecognized transmission by an untrustworthy transmitter and a singular or contradictory transmission by a trustworthy one. Such a distinction, partly associated with al-Shāfiʿī, is habitually discussed by later *ḥadīth* critics, who furthermore introduce the term *shādhdh* to nuance what Muslim terms *munkar*.[256] Both *munkar* and *shādhdh* imply *tafarrud* (singularity), that is, a *ḥadīth* being unparalleled in its *isnād* or *matn*.[257] *Shādhdh*, however, does not convey the same negative connotation as *munkar*, which, as noted by Aghaei, allowed classical *ḥadīth* criticism to accommodate many singular traditions that were frowned upon in Muslim's lifetime.[258]

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[248] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 194.

[249] Pavlovitch, Ḥadīth.

[250] Juynboll, "Muslim's introduction" 269.

[251] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 7.

[252] Brown, "How we know" 174–175.

[253] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 9.

[254] Ibid. p. 7.

[255] Ibn Ḥajar, *Nuzha* 72–73; for another example, see Brown, "How we know" 174, note 83.

3.2.8 *Mustafīḍ*

To Muslim *mustafīḍ* (widely disseminated) is synonymous with *mashhūr*.[259]

3.2.9 *Muttaham*

One of the few disparaging qualifications that Muslim assigns to other traditionists is *muttaham* (accused, suspect). He speaks about *ahl al-tuham wa-l-muʿānidūn min ahl al-bidaʿ* (accused people and obdurate heretics) in opposition to *thiqāt al-nāqilīn* (trustworthy transmitters).[260] Although the juxtaposition of two grades of negative assessment may suggest a distinction in their understanding, the general context of Muslim's Introduction indicates that "accused people" and "heretics" are largely synonymous. If a distinction were to be made in the above locution, it would be implied in the expression "obdurate heretics," in which "obdurate" may be thought to signal such heretics who actively propagate their heresy (*duʿāt*, sg. *dāʿiya*) in contrast to passive followers of heresy, who are not obdurate.

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[256] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Maʿrifa* 375–381; al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* i, 419–426; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima* 76–82; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb* i, 123–128. According to a report by Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā (Egypt; 170–264/787–877), first cited by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, al-Shāfiʿī defined *shādhdh* as a *ḥadīth* in which a trustworthy transmitter's narration contradicts the narrations of a number of other transmitters (al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Maʿrifa* 375). I could not find such a definition in al-Shāfiʿī's extant works. Closest to al-Ḥākim's formulation stands a deliberation in *Kitāb al-Umm* in which al-Shāfiʿī describes as *shādhdh* an anonymous report about Abū Ḥanīfa's counsel that a convert to Islam who as a non-Muslim had taken five wives must be separated from all of his wives. Al-Shāfiʿī regards this tradition as *shādhdh* because it contradicts (1) al-Awzāʿī's tradition in which Abū Ḥanīfa counsels that the same convert must divorce only one of his wives; (2) the Quranic norm that allows any Muslim man to have four licit wives; (3) an opinion by Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī and two prophetic traditions stipulating divorce with the convert's excessive wives; al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm* ix, 254–257 (under *Siyar al-Awzāʿī*). Apparently, al-Shāfiʿī understands as *shādhdh* a legal opinion—either personal or based on *ḥadīth*—that contradicts the majority opinion. As a legal theorist, he would be less interested in developing a corresponding nomenclature of the *isnād*s.

[257] On the semantic nuances of *munkar* and its complex bearing on both *isnād* and *matn* of traditions, see Brown, "How we know" 174–175. On the relationship between *munkar*, *shādhdh*, and *fard*, see Aghaei, "Common link" 104–126. Muslim uses the word *tafarrud* once, in relation to *matn* addition by an authority (*ziyādat al-thiqa*); ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 7.

[258] Aghaei, "Common link" 105.

[259] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 183; cf. ibid. 170; ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 31.

[260] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 8.

The close relationship between *muttaham*, heresy, and *ḥadīth* forgery is clear from Muslim's example of those traditionists whose transmission must be avoided. According to him, the Partisans of Tradition held for *muttaham* ʿAbdallāh b. Miswar al-Hāshimī, ʿAmr b. Khālid, ʿAbd al-Quddūs b. Ḥabīb Wuḥāẓī, Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Maṣlūb, Ghiyāth b. Ibrāhīm, and Sulaymān b. ʿAmr Abū Dāwūd al-Nakhaʿī. They were accused of "*ḥadīth* forgery and concoction of reports."[261] The biographies of these traditionists reveal various traits that the Partisans of Tradition must have considered heretical, including ʿAlid sympathies, belief in free will, and *zandaqa*.[262] That is, to Muslim and other proto-Sunni *ḥadīth* critics sectarian bias was a pathway to forgery. Using the term *muttaham* was an easy way to disparage someone, as no representative of the proto-Sunni party would consider the accusation of heresy as *ghība* but in a small number of cases in which a traditionist's heretical slant was disputed.

3.2.10 *Tadlīs*

Muslim uses the term *tadlīs* in his polemical exchange with an unnamed opponent at the end of the Introduction. He explains that the leading traditionists of the previous generations (*aʾimmat al-salaf*) would check the accuracy of the audition only in the case of transmitters who widely practiced *tadlīs*. Muslim understands *tadlīs* (which he describes as *ʿilla* [defect]) as an obfuscation of transmission whereby a traditionist would omit his/her direct informant and cite an informant that he/she could not have met.[263]

Muslim's understanding of *tadlīs* agrees with the later uses of this term, but one must note that Muslim deploys it in a nuanced manner. Whenever an authority, such as Hishām b. ʿUrwa, transmits a *ḥadīth*, "occasionally he may transmit it with an interruption, without naming the one from whom he heard it, or be accurate on other occasions and name the informant from whom he took the *ḥadīth*."[264] Muslim is careful not to describe such behavior as *tadlīs* because it was quite widespread (*mustafīḍ*) in his lifetime. If prolific transmitters of Hishām b. ʿUrwa's grade were added to the list of *mudallisūn*, this could undercut the entire *isnād* system in its earliest parts. Such traditionists were well known, and their renown ensured that even when omitting an informant along the chain they did so in order to abbreviate the expression, not to conceal a debasing flaw.

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[261] Ibid. p. 7.

[262] For details, see pp. 128–130 above.

[263] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 33.

3.2.11 *Talqīn and takharruṣ al-isnād*

In *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*, Muslim explains that many transmission errors are caused by the mixing up of traditions and insouciance about the *isnād*s. Some traditionists grew confused about the material they transmitted either because of their own error (*tawahhum*) or because of someone else's insinuation. The latter type of oversight, known as *talqīn* (inculcation), stemmed from the abuse of *ʿarḍ*. Someone would read over to the *shaykh* a report that the *shaykh*'s notebook supposedly includes, which report is, however, either erroneous or downright invented.[265] Without checking his records, the *shaykh* would memorize and spread the wrong report. This practice was vehemently criticized by the Meccan traditionist and jurisprudent ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī (d. 219/834),[266] but we do not know if Muslim was acquainted with his teaching. Other traditionists were keen to memorize the *matn*s while neglecting the *isnād*s. When asked about their informants, such traditionists would concoct (*yatakharraṣ*) *isnād*s; that is, misattribute them to transmitters other than their actual sources.[267]

Inculcation and concoction of *isnād*s were widespread (*mustafīḍ*) phenomena in the first half of the third/ninth century.[268] In fact, they were hard to avoid even by astute critics like Muslim. Although recording inculcation as a cause of confused transmission, Muslim transmitted in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* fifty-three traditions on the authority of Suwayd b. Saʿīd b. Sahl al-Harawī (Iraq; d. 240/855). Suwayd is said to have lost his sight, whereupon many traditions that he never transmitted before his affliction were foisted upon him.[269]

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[264] Ibid. p. 31.

[265] As he visited Iraq, apparently without carrying along his notebooks, the Egyptian traditionist al-Layth b. Saʿd was inculcated a narration that replaces Saʿīd b. Abī Saʿīd al-Maqburī (Medina; d. ca. 120/738) with Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ (Medina; d. 50–58/670–678) in the *isnād* of a tradition about the recitation of the Quran. Al-Layth b. Saʿd's original record included Saʿīd; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *ʿIlal* ii, 489–490, no. 538. In this case, al-Layth b. Saʿd may have chosen intentionally to transmit the new *isnād*, as it mends an obvious interruption: Saʿīd b. Abī Saʿīd is a Successor, who had never met the Prophet, whereas Saʿd counts among the most renowned Companions. In a less benign instance of *talqīn*, Suwayd b. Saʿīd al-Harawī (active Iraq; d. 240/855) lost his sight, whereupon he was misled into transmitting as his own many traditions that he had never heard before his affliction; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* iv, 273–274.

[266] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ* ii, 23–24; al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* i, 446.

[267] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 170.

[268] Loc. cit.

3.2.12 *Tawātur*

In *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*, Muslim comments on a tradition according to which the Prophet pronounced the word *āmīn* after the recitation of sura *al-Fātiḥa*. Several narrations state that the Prophet raised his voice as he said *āmīn*, but Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj transmits that the Prophet lowered his voice. Muslim rejects Shuʿba's variant as an error, since "all narrations agree (*qad tawātarat al-riwāyāt kull^{u}-hā*) that the Prophet (ṣ) uttered *āmīn* loudly."[270] The verb *tawātara* refers to the concurrence of four of Muslim's informants (Ibn Abī Shayba, Abū Khaythama, Ibn Rāhwayh, and Abū Kurayb) on the loud-pronunciation variant against only two informants (Muḥammad b. Bashshār and Ibn Rāhwayh) supporting the silent-pronunciation variant.[271] On three occasions, Muslim uses the verb *tawāṭaʾa* (to agree) in a similar context.[272] This suggests that *tawāṭaʾa* may have been Muslim's original term, but in the *āmīn* tradition, a later copyist changed it to *tawātara*, because of the similarity of the two verbs in handwriting. On the other hand, one may not exclude that Muslim used both *tawātara* and *tawāṭaʾa*, which he did not treat as fixed terminological units. This possibility finds support in his deployment of *taẓāhur*,[273] and *iṭbāq*[274] (all connoting agreement) to signal substantive agreement between several narrations.

Muslim's understanding of *tawātur* differs from its established terminological meaning as massive multiplication of transmission over several successive generations of transmitters. Muslim uses the word in a synchronic and textually oriented manner (narration agreement); by contrast, later speculative theologians and legal theorists foreground the diachronic significance of the *isnād*s (multiplication over time). The earliest diachronic use of *tawātur* is found in al-Shāfiʿī's *Risāla*. According to al-Shāfiʿī, the dependability of reports as legal arguments is enhanced whenever they multiply and support each other (*kull*^{u}*-mā tawātarat wa-taẓāharat*).[275] By contrast, in *Jimāʿ al-ʿilm* al-Shāfiʿī's interlocutor, who is apparently a rationalist jurisprudent,[276] uses *tawātur* in the meaning of *ittifāq* (agreement) among at least four persons in different regional centers.[277] One immediately notes the synchronic shift in the deliberations of al-Shāfiʿī's opponent. He states that, in his understanding, *tawātur* means, "when you find these four persons […] transmit and their narrations agree (*fa-tattafiqu riwāyat*^{u}*-hum*) on that the Prophet (ṣ) forbade or allowed something."[278] The mention of the Prophet may be argued to imply a diachronic aspect, but the statement gives prominence to the narrative agreement in the present.

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[269] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* iv, 273–274.

[270] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 180–181.

[271] Brown treats this tradition as an instance of *matn* criticism ("How we know" 158), but one must note that Muslim pays equal attention to the text and the transmission line, and it is the numerical preponderance of *isnād*s that clinches the case.

[272] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 194, 201, 206.

[273] Ibid. 183.

[274] Ibid. 212.

Muslim's synchronic conception of *tawātur* is mirrored in the work *Qabūl al-akhbār* by al-Kaʿbī, the Muʿtazili. Al-Kaʿbī states that the basic principles of speculative theology (*uṣūl al-kalām*) may be derived only from *akhbār mutawātira*.[279] He adds that such reports are in no need of *isnād*s and of "someone [said] on the authority of someone." To al-Kaʿbī, *tawātur* stands for consensus, not transmission that is massively disseminated over many successive generations. He reasons, "General matters that concern everyone are accepted only by dint of the collective report or the community's practice."[280]

3.2.13 Other Technical and *rijāl*-Critical Terms

In his deliberation on *matn* and *isnād* errors in *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*,[281] Muslim predominantly deploys the words *ghalaṭ* (mistake), *khaṭaʾ* (error), and *wahm* (misconception).[282] In the Introduction, he uses the word *ʿuyūb* (defects; sg. *ʿayb*) with a similar meaning.[283]

In *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ* Muslim deploys an array of negative qualifications, including *matrūk al-ḥadīth* (abandoned in *ḥadīth*), *munkar al-ḥadīth* (transmitter of unrecognized, hence objectionable *ḥadīth*), *ḍaʿīf al-ḥadīth* (weak in *ḥadīth*), and *dhāhib al-ḥadīth* (foregone in *ḥadīth*).[284] By such *iḍāfa* compounds, he seems to specify that his objections are directed against the transmitted material (*ḥadīth*) not the transmitter himself, as a precaution against accusations of *ghība*. Muslim only seldom records a transmitter's espousal of a sectarian teaching or a methodological view that the Partisans of Tradition considered reprehensible. Muslim's preference for negative qualifications tallies with his exposition in the Introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, in which he cites numerous qualifications in the same register that were issued by second/eighth-century traditionists.

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[275] Al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla* 433, no. 1190. I translate *tawātara* as "multiply," since immediately before it al-Shāfiʿī speaks about six ways of establishing the Prophetic precedent, which clearly refers to a diachronic multiplication of the *isnād*s.

[276] According to Abu-Alabbas, al-Shāfiʿī may be engaging Muʿtazili Ḥanafis; "Principles" 323–324.

[277] Al-Shāfiʿī, *Jimāʿ al-ʿilm* 76, nos. 306–307.

[278] Ibid. 76.

[279] Al-Kaʿbī, *Qabūl* i, 17.

[280] *Wa-ka-dhālika al-amr al-ʿāmm alladhī yaḥtāju ilay-hi al-akthar laysa yuqbalu fī-hi illā khabar al-jamāʿa aw ʿamal al-umma*; al-Kaʿbī, *Qabūl* i, 17.

[281] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 180–220.

[282] Ibid. 180–181, 184, 189, 196, 207 (*ghalaṭ*); 169–172, 204, 212, 214 (*khaṭaʾ*); 186–187, 198, 208 (*wahm*); 185 (*wahm wa-khaṭaʾ*).

[283] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 5.

Muslim uses positive evaluation terms scantily. In the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, he articulates only two evaluation statements, both positive. He describes al-Sā'ib b. Farrūkh (Mecca; d. 86–96/705–715)[285] as trustworthy (*thiqa*) and upright (*ʿadl*) and Zayd b. Yazīd al-Thaqafī (Basra; d. ?) as trustworthy (*thiqa*).[286] Both al-Sā'ib and Zayd are virtually unknown traditionists, which must have necessitated their brief evaluation, helping Muslim to avoid uncertainty about the reliability of their transmission. Otherwise, he cites in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* traditionists whose reputation was too well known as to be in a need of specification.

4 Conclusion

Towards the end of the second/eighth century, al-Shāfiʿī highlighted the methodological importance of *isnād* comparison. The requirement to collate the chains of each tradition accorded a systematic underpinning to the science of *ḥadīth* criticism, which developed out of the second/eighth-century traditionists' desultory statements about their informants' reliability. To many pious traditionists, these statements smacked of personal insult and casting aspersions on absent Muslims. Al-Shāfiʿī's innovation allowed the systematic critics to rebut the arguments of their detractors. At last, the *ḥadīth* evaluation followed a consistent scholarly path.

Isnād comparison is the backbone of Muslim's *ḥadīth*-evaluation method. Without citing al-Shāfiʿī, Muslim endorses the new approach at the beginning of the Introduction and uses it to assign *ḥadīth* transmitters to three grades of veracity. Then he goes on to quote a swarm of second/eighth-century traditionists who issued various transmitter-critical qualifications, mostly in the negative. Against the new methodological background, these statements no longer seem arbitrary judgments and reproachful slander. Someone is now branded a "liar" or an "untrustworthy transmitter" when his traditions chiefly belong to the category of *munkar*, that is, they are either unparalleled or contradict the established versions transmitted by multiple trustworthy authorities. Based on the method of *isnād* comparison, Muslim and other Partisans of Tradition might accept any transmission that accords with their quantitative criterion, even if associated with a follower of heretical teaching. Comparing the heretic's *ḥadīth* with that of the established authorities could easily reveal whether he doctored the *matn* to suit his convictions.

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[284] See p. 190 below.

[285] Al-Sā'ib b. al-Farrūkh was an Umayyad loyalist. Born in the lifetime of the Prophet, he is said to have died in either the reign of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (86–96/705–715) or Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (101–105/720–724). The most comprehensive biography of al-Sā'ib is found in Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* v, 203–205.

[286] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 1159 (186), 1399 (517) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 1181.6, 1416.3.

Apart from the *isnād* comparison, Muslim's method is based on two other key criteria. First, memory retentiveness (*ḥifẓ*) is critical for accrediting someone's traditions. It may be inferred through a procedure that is similar to the *isnād* comparison. So long as one's traditions agree with the traditions of retentive transmitters, one is regarded as *ḥāfiẓ*. However, even a *ḥāfiẓ* may lose his status, were his mnemonic faculties to falter (*ikhtilāṭ*) towards the end of his life. Such afflictions are meticulously recorded, since they are detrimental to a scholarly system that gives prominence to the oral transmission of knowledge. Hearing from a *mukhtalaṭ* must be avoided at all costs, and if one did so unwittingly, one must desist from transmitting the dubious material.

Second, Muslim ushered in the conception of *shuhra*, by which he understood the transmitter's renown. If a transmitter's material is widely accepted by his peers and disseminated by his students, then even his unparalleled traditions are treated with confidence. By contrast, the same traditions reported by an obscure person should be avoided as *munkar*, that is, unrecognized and objectionable. The same applies to the interrupted chains. They are treated as facilitating abridgments when transmitted by an authority but become debilitating flaws when cited by a little-known traditionist. From a contemporary perspective, Muslim's conception of *shuhra* is reminiscent of the modern-day scholarly impact metrics.

Muslim's use of *ḥadīth*-evaluation terminology is idiosyncratic. Sometimes he is acquainted with the technical meaning of a word as established in classical *ḥadīth* criticism (e.g., *mashhūr*, *mustafīḍ*, *tadlīs*). At other times, he deploys a word as a technical term as well as in a variety of other non-terminological meanings (e.g., *ʿilla*). Muslim is unaware of the fine distinctions in the meaning of several *ḥadīth*-critical terms that will be introduced by later critics (e.g., *ḥadīth*, *khabar*, *munkar*). And in the case of *tawātur*, Muslim uses the word to designate textual agreement of traditions, whereas later legal theorists and speculative theologians will designate by the same word massive multiplication of *isnād*s. Muslim's peculiar usage of terminology suggests that in his lifetime *ḥadīth*-criticism was in its nascence. Its terminological apparatus had yet to mature and settle on conventional uses agreed upon by the community of critics.

CHAPTER 6

Muslim's Works

This chapter is devoted to Muslim's works. First, I examine his extant works, excluding the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which will be treated in Chapters 7 and 8. Second, I move on to four works, which although lost as independent texts, are nevertheless preserved in later citations by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī and Mughlaṭāy. Third, I record Muslim's lost works, with short comments about their possible contents, preserved passages, and the likelihood of overlapping titles.

1 Extant Works

1. *Al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ* is a collection with the teknonyms (*kunā*, sg. *kunya*) and names of 3804 *ḥadīth* transmitters.[1] Under the same title, ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī is said to have composed perhaps the earliest specimen in this genre of *rijāl* collections.[2] In the fourth/tenth century, Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim averred, "Whoever contemplates Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj's book about the names and the teknonyms will know that it is a copy of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl [al-Bukhārī's] book just as one feather of the arrow is a copy of the other."[3] Upon asserting that Muslim copied word for word an unspecified book by al-Bukhārī, Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim goes on to praise al-Bukhārī's *Tārīkh*, stating that Abū Zurʿa, Abū Ḥātim, and Muslim copied it without acknowledging their debt to it. This pronouncement is, however, questionable.

The number of biographies in the two works is incomparable (3804 entries in Muslim's *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ* against 13205 entries in al-Bukhārī's *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*), which already militates against the likelihood of literal copying.[4] To find out whether Muslim copied al-Bukhārī selectively, I compared seventy-

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[1] The entries on six transmitters, which are present in the manuscript, are absent in the printed edition of *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ* due to oversight by its editior, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Qashqarī. Apart from this, al-Qashqarī's edition is teeming with typographical errors and textual omissions; Āl Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim* i, 287–290. Al-Ṭarābīshī's edition is a photocopy of the MS. Ẓāhiriyya, *Majalla* 1, ff. 41–104b and does not include a numbering of the traditions. For other extant manuscripts, see *GAS* 143.

[2] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Maʿrifa* 261.

[3] Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim, *Asāmī* ii, 10.

[4] For this and other arguments against al-Ḥākim's claims, see al-Qashqarī's comments in Muslim, *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*[1] i, 26–28.

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five randomly picked entries (two percent) from al-*Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ* with the contents of *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*. Sixty-one entries turned out to be shared with al-Bukhārī's *Kunā*, which accounts for an overlap of 81.3 percent. However significant at first sight, this number alone is insufficient to prove that Muslim copied al-Bukhārī. Let us examine the correspondences in detail. Muslim's sixty-one entries that are shared with al-Bukhārī fall into four categories, as follows:

1. Seven entries are identical, which accounts for 11.5 percent of the shared group.
2. In twenty-six entries, or 42.6 percent of the shared group, one may argue that Muslim abridged al-Bukhārī. Where al-Bukhārī outlines a transmitter's scholarly circle by citing a tradition, Muslim extracts from the same tradition's chain the names of those who transmitted to and from the transmitter at hand and mentions them as his informants and students.[5] Whenever al-Bukhārī records biographical details, such as the transmitter's death date, Muslim omits them.[6]
3. In seven entries, or 11.5 percent of the shared group, Muslim may have abridged al-Bukhārī while adding information about the transmitter's scholarly circle that is not present in al-Bukhārī's entry.[7]
4. Twenty-one entries, or 34.4 percent of the shared group, differ between Muslim and al-Bukhārī to an extent that does not allow us to assess their possible interdependence. This category includes entries about ʿAbdallāh

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[5] E. g. "ʿĀṣim b. Rūba. ʿAbda related to me: *ʿAbd al-Ṣamad related to us*: Khaḍir b. Abī Bakr related to us: *Abū l-Jahm ʿĀṣim b. Rūba related to me*: 'I told Abū Hurayra (may God be pleased with him).' "; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* vi, 488, no. 3069. Cf. "Abū l-Jahm ʿĀṣim b. Ruʾba. He heard from Abū Hurayra. Ḥiṣn (sic!) b. Abī Bakr reported from him"; Muslim, *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*^{1} i, 184, no. 554.

[6] E.g., "Ibrāhīm b. Abī ʿAbla Abū Ismāʿīl al-Shāmī. His *kunya* was mentioned by Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb. He heard from Ibn ʿUmar and Ibn Umm Ḥarām. Ibn al-Mubārak heard from him. Al-Ḥasan b. Wāqiʿ told me from Ḍamra b. Rabīʿa that he died in the year 152"; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* i, 310–311, no. 986. Cf. "Abū Ismāʿīl Ibrāhīm b. Abī ʿAbla al-Shāmī. He heard from Ibn ʿUmar and Ibn Umm Ḥarām. Ibn al-Mubārak and Ḍamra reported from him"; Muslim, *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*^{1} i, 52, no. 72.

[7] E.g., "Dāwūd b. Nuṣayr al-Ṭāʾī al-Kūfī. He died after [al-Sufyān] al-Thawrī—thus said ʿAlī [b. al-Madīnī]. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ṭayyib said from Abū Dāwūd: 'Isrāʾīl [b. Yūnus] and Dāwūd [b. Nuṣayr] died within days, as I was in Kufa.' Abū Nuʿaym said: 'Dāwūd died in 160.' [Dāwūd] transmits from Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿAmra and al-Aʿmash. Ibn ʿUyayna heard from him"; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* iii, 240, no. 819. Cf. "Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd b. Nuṣayr al-Ṭāʾī. [He transmitted] from Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿAmra and al-Aʿmash. Ibn ʿUyayna and Muṣʿab b. al-Miqdām transmitted from him"; Muslim, *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*^{1} i, 371, no. 1366. While omitting the introductory reports about Dāwūd's death date, Muslim added Muṣʿab b. al-Miqdām to Dāwūd's scholarly circle recorded by al-Bukhārī.

> b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī, Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, and Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, who are so well known that Muslim does not need al-Bukhārī's text to record them in *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*.

The above observations suggest that Muslim used al-Bukhārī's *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* as the primary source for his *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*. The same is suggested by Muslim's explicit citation of al-Bukhārī in two of the entries in *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ* outside the above sample.[8] According to my count, literal borrowing may have taken place only in 11.5 percent of the cases. Most frequently, Muslim abridged al-Bukhārī's entries, but occasionally he supplemented them with the names of informants and students that were not mentioned by his fellow scholar. In one-third of the entries, Muslim drew on sources other than al-Bukhārī's *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*. These may have been the *isnād*s of traditions or works by Muslim's contemporary scholars. The latter possibility was raised by al-Ṭarābīshī, who detected a similarity of expression between Abū Zurʿa al-Dimashqī's *Tārīkh*, citing Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Maʿīn, and Muslim's entries that are not present in al-Bukhārī.[9] While the question of Muslim's sources in *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ* (including al-Ṭarābīshī's claim) needs further investigation, at present it may be said with certainty that, unlike *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, al-Bukhārī's *Kunā* was almost disregarded by Muslim. In my sample, only three out of seventy-five entries are shared between Muslim's *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ* and al-Bukhārī's *Kunā*, and in only one of them Muslim may be argued to have copied al-Bukhārī.

When we consider the degree of Muslim's indebtedness to al-Bukhārī's *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, two qualifications are in order. First, the canonical perception of Muslim as al-Bukhārī's student and less talented peer presupposes that in each case of textual agreement between *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ* and *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* Muslim copied al-Bukhārī while excluding the opposite direction of borrowing. Second, when Muslim and al-Bukhārī (and any other *rijāl* experts, for that matter) deal with little-known transmitters, who figure in a handful of *isnād*s, a similarity between their entries is unavoidable. Muslim may have been unaware of some names, which he borrowed from al-Bukhārī's collection, but, as a rule, he looked into the *isnād*s of the traditions that were available to him, without necessarily utilizing an alternative source. For his part, al-Bukhārī was not immune to borrowing as well. He continuously made corrections and additions to the text of *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, sometimes including the names of little-known transmitters from the poorly written manuscripts that were made in Iraq by other Bukhārans.[10] Be that as it may, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥākim's assertion that Muslim copied al-Bukhārī's work word for word does not hold water. Muslim's sources in *al-Kunā wa-l-asmā'* may transpire only after a comprehensive research.

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[8] Muslim, *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ* i, 153, 169, nos. 440, 491.

[9] Al-Ṭarābīshī, "Muqaddima" 30.

In *al-Kunā wa-l-asmā'*, Muslim is primarily concerned with establishing the full names and the scholarly networks of the included transmitters. For each of them, he usually mentions two or more informants and as many students, e.g.:

> *Abū l-Yasīr Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUlātha al-ʿUqaylī samiʿa al-ʿAlā' b. ʿAbdallāh wa-Hishām b. Ḥassān wa-ʿAlī b. Badhīma rawā ʿan-hu Wakīʿ wa-l-Aysī wa-Ḥaramī b. Ḥafṣ.*
>
> Abū l-Yasīr Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUlātha al-ʿUqaylī heard from al-ʿAlā' b. ʿAbdallāh, Hishām b. Ḥassān, and ʿAlī b. Badhīma; Wakīʿ, al-Aysī, and Ḥaramī b. Ḥafṣ narrated from him.[11]

Al-Kunā wa-l-asmā' is unique among Muslim's *rijāl* dictionaries in that it is not entirely devoid of biographical information. This trait may be due to the influence of al-Bukhārī's *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, which follows a similar pattern. Muslim sometimes records the following data:

- Someone is a Companion of the Prophet (signaled by the expressions *la-hu ṣuḥba*, *ṣāḥib al-nabī/rasūl Allāh*, and *samiʿa/ra'ā l-nabī/rasūl Allāh*): 176 times, or 4.63 percent of the entries. To this category, we should add twenty-six references to the participation in the battle of Badr in the year 2/624, signaled by the expression *shahida Badr* (witnessed Badr). Strikingly, Muslim does not record instances of participation in the subsequent military campaigns. As the first major battle against the polytheists, Badr established a priority (*sābiqa*) that was unrivaled by the other campaigns.
- Someone is a *mawlā* (client): 167 times, or 4.39 percent of all entries. The expression *mawlā* + personal name (less frequently the name of a tribal group) serves to identify the tribal affiliation (*nisba*) of a person who does not belong to the tribe by birth. Muslim's interest in the *mawālī* may have been driven by his own belonging to this category of population and the role they played in the establishment and advancement of sciences in the second/eighth and the third/ninth centuries.

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[10] Melchert, "Bukhārī" 10.

[11] Muslim, *al-Kunā wa-l-asmā'*[1] ii, 933, no. 3803.

- Settlement in a city other than the place of birth (*sakana* + urbanonym): thirty-three times, or 0.87 percent of the entries.
- Appointment as a *qāḍī* (with the key words *qāḍī, qāḍīyy*^{an}, *al-qāḍī,* and *qaḍāʾ*): thirty times, or 0.79 percent of the entries. The Partisans of Tradition viewed with suspicion the acceptance of official appointments, especially judgeship. There are well-known stories about trials of scholars who, led by pious aversion to politics, turned down such appointments.[12]
- Personal evaluations. In *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ,* Muslim uses exclusively negative evaluations, including
    1. *Matrūk al-ḥadīth* (abandoned in *ḥadīth*), *taraka l-nās ḥadīth*^{a}*-hu* (the transmitters abandoned his *ḥadīth*), and *turika ḥadīth*^{u}*-hu* (his *ḥadīth* is abandoned): thirty-nine times, or 1.03 percent of the entries;
    2. *Munkar al-ḥadīth*, by which he identifies those who transmitted unrecognized, hence objectionable traditions: twenty-eight times, or 0.74 percent of the entries;
    3. *Ḍaʿīf al-ḥadīth* (weak in *ḥadīth*): sixteen times, or 0.42 percent of the entries.
    4. *Dhāhib al-ḥadīth* (foregone in *ḥadīth*) and *dhahaba ḥadīth*^{u}*-hu* (his *ḥadīth* is gone): nine times, or 0.24 percent of the entries.
    5. *Dajjāl* (impostor, literally Antichrist): once.
    6. Espousal of reproachful views, including the doctrine of free will (*qadar*) three times; unrestricted opinion (*raʾy*) in jurisprudence three times, and *irjāʾ*, that is, the teaching that faith (*īmān*) consists only of the profession of belief, to the exclusion of actions, two times. Overall, doctrinal imputations are used only eight times throughout *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*. Clearly, to Muslim they did not amount to a major reason to abandon someone's traditions.

Muslim's preference for negative appraisals signals a degree of confidence that they will not be interpreted as *ghība.* Since this concern permeates the Introduction and *Kitāb al-Tamyīz,* in which Muslim avoids using such appraisals, it may be argued that *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ* is the latest of the three works. On balance, the incidence of critical statements in *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ* is low, suggesting that Muslim deployed disparaging degrees sparingly, only when he was certain of their validity. Note also that his pronouncements always take the form of an *iḍāfa* compound comprising a negative qualification and the word *ḥadīth.* In this manner, Muslim shifts the critical focus from individual traditionists to their traditions. He may disqualify a *ḥadīth* as weak, unrecognized, gone, or deserving to be abandoned, while referring only indirectly to its transmitter, e.g., "so and so is abandoned in *ḥadīth*." By such detached expressions, Muslim asserts their personal responsibility for faulty *ḥadīth* without inflicting personal insult.

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[12] For more on this issue, see Dickinson, *Development* 71–78 and p. 64, note 103 above.

2. *Al-Munfaridāt wa-l-wuḥdān* is a list of 1334[13] informants whose traditions were passed on to posterity by only one transmitter from the next generation. Frequently introduced by the clause, "those on whose authority so-and-so is the only transmitter" (*man tafarrada ʿan-hu fulān*), the next-generation transmitter may be envisaged as the pivot (*madār*) on which all subsequent transmissions on the authority of his/her informant turn. Thus, Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (Basra; d. 110/729) is the sole pivot of transmission on the authority of Abū Maryam Iyās b. Ḍubayḥ al-Ḥanafī (Yamāma → Ahvaz; d. ?), Sufyān b. Yazīd al-Azdī (d. ?),[14] Yaḥyā b. Sīrīn (Basra; d. before 110/729), and six other barely-known informants.[15] The verb *tafarrada* and the notion of *madār* were used by the *ḥadīth* critics, including those contemporary with Muslim, to signal someone's singular and unparalleled transmission from an earlier informant, often with a negative undertone.[16] Muslim's implicit uncertainty about the singular line of transmission, noted by al-Bayhaqī (384–458/994–1066),[17] may have been among the reasons that led al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī to infer that Muslim validated only *isnāds* that split into two branches at each successive register of transmission (that is two branches in the second generation, four branches in the third generation, etc.).[18]

3. *Rijāl ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr wa-jamāʿa min al-tābiʿīn wa-ghayr^{i}-him*. This work was published by Sukayna al-Shihābī in 1979,[19] based on the Ẓāhiriyya MS., *Majalla* 55/11, going back to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. The MS. likely belonged to the family book endowment (*waqf*) by the Damascene Ḥanbali Jamāl al-

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[13] This is an approximate number. Throughout the text, the editors, ʿAbd al-Ghaffār al-Bindārī and al-Saʿīd Zaghlūl, have assigned numbers to each of the subheadings that were added by them to the original text.

[14] In the edition of *al-Munfaridāt wa-l-wuḥdān* that I used for this monograph, Sufyān b. Yazīd's *nisba* is al-Awdī. The biographical dictionaries always mention him as al-Azdī, with some of them referring to his father's name as Zayd.

[15] Muslim, *al-Munfaridāt wa-l-wuḥdān* 107–109.

[16] Juynboll, "(Re)appraisal" 307–315; Aghaei, "Common link" 106–111.

[17] Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan* viii, 82.

[18] For a discussion of this criterion, see pp. 153–156 above.

[19] Muslim, *Rijāl ʿUrwa*.

Dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Ṣāliḥī (841–909/1437–1503).[20] The title *Rijāl ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr*, mentioned by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī and Sezgin,[21] is either an abridgment or a misnomer based on the first section of the Ẓāhiriyya MS., which is devoted to ʿUrwa. All things considered, Muslim records fifteen *ḥadīth* transmitters from the generations of Companions and Successors, as follows:

- ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (Medina; b. 23/643–644, d. 93/711–712). His informants are divided into male Companions, female Companions, and other informants. Those who transmitted from ʿUrwa are divided according to two principles. First, Muslim records ʿUrwa's sons and clients. Second, he classes the remaining transmitters according to their centers of learning, including Medina, Mecca, Basra, Kufa, and other localities.
- ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (Medina; d. 94–95/712–714). Muslim does not record ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn's informants. Similarly to ʿUrwa, the transmitters on ʿAlī's authority are divided into his sons, on the one hand, and residents of Medina, Kufa, Mecca, and Basra, on the other hand.
- Sulaymān b. Yasār al-Hilālī (Medina; d. 103–110/721–729). After mentioning Sulaymān's informants from among the Companions, Muslim divides the transmitters on his authority into Successors in general, and residents of Medina, Mecca, and Basra in particular.
- ʿAmr b. Dīnār (Basra; d. 126/743). Muslim records two groups of ʿAmr's informants: Companions and Medinese Successors.
- Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī (Medina; d. 63–65/682–685). The transmitters on the authority of this famous Companion are recorded in a single group, without an internal division between them.
- ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī (Kufa; d. 103–110/721–729). Muslim enumerates al-Shaʿbī's Companion informants and those who transmitted on his authority.
- Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī (Syria—Medina; d. 124/742). In his extensive entry on al-Zuhrī, Muslim divides his informants into three generations: (1) Companions, (2) the sons of the ten best Companions, the sons of Qurashi Companions, the sons of Anṣāri Companions, Qurashi informants whose fathers were not Companions, second-generation informants from different Arab tribes, and *mawālī* informants who belong to the first and the second generations (3) grandchildren of Companions, grandchildren of Medinese emigrants, grandchildren of Medinese Companions who took part in the

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[20] Hirschler, *Monument to book culture* 345, no. 422g; 535, no. 422. Al-Shihābī uses the old Ẓāhiriyya class marks, whereas Hirschler records the new marks by the National al-Asad Library—the name of the Ẓāhiriyya library in the time of writing of this book.

[21] *GAS* 143.

battle of Badr, residents of Mecca, Basra, and Kufa, and other informants. Nothing is said about those who transmitted on al-Zuhrī's authority.

- Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj (Wāsiṭ → Basra; d. 160/776). Without recording Shuʿba's informants, Muslim divides his students into ten (!) generations of Basrans, four generations of residents of other localities (*ghurabāʾ*), and a single group of twelve persons who transmitted on Shuʿba's authority, but whose *ḥadīth* had been lost. The absence of Shuʿba's *shaykh*s is likely due to the fact that Muslim enumerates them in a separate work, *Mashāyikh Shuʿba*.[22]
- Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim (Kufa; d. 97–98/715–717). Muslim mentions only Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim's informants, in a single group, but does not record his students.
- Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī (Kufa → Basra; d. 81/700–701 or 95/713–714, or 100/718–719). Muslim records only twenty-one informants of Abū ʿUthmān from the generation of the Companions.
- Muṭṭarif b. ʿAbdallāh (Basra; d. 95/713–714). Only his informants are recorded, in a single group comprising twenty-four persons, mainly Companions.
- Qays b. ʿUbād (Basra → Medina; d. after 83/702). Muslim records eleven Companion informants of Qays b. ʿUbād.
- Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir al-Raqāshī (Basra; d. 97/715–716). Muslim records eight Companion informants of Ḥuḍayn.
- Abū Wāʾil Shaqīq b. Salama (Kufa; d. after 82/701). Muslim records two generations of Abū Wāʾil's informants: (1) sixteen Companions and (2) seventeen Successors.
- Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (Medina; d. 94/712–713). Muslim records Saʿīd's Companion informants divided into men and women, followed by his informants among the Successors.
- Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (Medina; d. 13/634). Muslim records two groups of transmitters on Abū Bakr's authority: (1) Companions and (2) Successors.

Muslim focuses on the transmitters from the first two generations of Muslims—the Companions and the Successors. Two of the above sixteen transmitters belong to the former group, while the remaining fourteen are from the latter group. As he speaks about each individual transmitter, Muslim prefers to record his informants (with the exception of the Companions Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, and the Successors ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn and Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj). Such preference is unsurprising, as these informants invariably belong to the first two generations of transmitters from the Prophet. To Muslim, they are the mainstay of the *isnād* system.

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[22] See p. 197 below.

The most frequently used classification criterion applied by Muslim is the generation (*ṭabaqa*), which Muslim chiefly understands as the generation of the Companions and that of the Successors. The division of the Basran transmitters on the authority of Shuʿba into as many as ten *ṭabaqāt* is exceptional. Although a chronological progression from earlier to later transmitters may be observed in the sequence of *ṭabaqāt*, it is unclear how Muslim determined someone's belonging to one of the adjacent generations. Within the individual *ṭabaqāt*, Muslim may introduce additional classification criteria, such as kinship, the center of scholarly activity, and gender.

Just like the first group of transmitters at the beginning of the Introduction, in the present work Muslim does not mention Nāfiʿ, the client of Ibn ʿUmar. Given Nāfiʿ's fame with the later traditionists, his absence in Muslim's enumeration of the most reliable early *ḥadīth* transmitters is glaring. Admittedly, Nāfiʿ figures in 440 *isnād*s in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which means that Muslim was well acquainted with his role as an early Medinese traditionist who had access to the famous Companion ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar. Despite this fact, duly noted by Juynboll,[23] Muslim does not record Nāfiʿ in the list of pivotal transmitters, which includes figures, such as Sulaymān b. Yasār, ʿAmr b. Dīnār, and Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim, who should have ranked equally with Nāfiʿ in Muslim's perception of early *ḥadīth* transmission.

Notwithstanding the structural similarities between some of the entries in the Ẓāhiriyya MS., it is questionable whether in Muslim's lifetime these entries existed as a single work. The numerous differences, especially the atypical understanding of *ṭabaqa* in the case of those who transmitted on Shuʿba's authority and the absence of such transmitters where one expects them in other entries, suggest that the MS. is a collation of fascicles (*ajzāʾ*). These were composed by Muslim during different periods in his life and conveniently joined together in a single MS. by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. This possibility is supported by Mughlaṭāy's listing of *Rijāl Shuʿba*, *Rijāl ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn*, and *Kitāb Shuyūkh al-Zuhrī*, all of which are parts of the Ẓāhiriyya MS., as separate works by Muslim.[24]

4. *Al-Ṭabaqāt*. This collection includes the names of 2246 Companion and Successors transmitters.[25] Apart from the division into successive generations,

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[23] Juynboll, "Nāfiʿ" 240.

[24] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* v, 381; ix, 304–305; x, 345–346.

[25] *Pace* Sezgin, according to whom the collection is limited to the names of "the Prophet's contemporaries who saw him and transmitted on his authority, and those who saw him but did not transmit on his authority"; *GAS* 143; cf. Gilliot, "Prosopography" 23.

determining the center of scholarly activity is Muslim's second main classification criterion in the *Ṭabaqāt*. On a few occasions, his short entries include additional biographical details. Thus, Muslim identifies as *mawālī* 146 (8.9 percent) out of 1632 transmitters from the early- and late-Successor generations. In three entries, Muslim mentions that someone who was born elsewhere settled in a specific center of learning,[26] and in one entry he points out that ʿAbdallāh b. Burayda al-Aslamī and his brother Sulaymān were twins and died on the same day.[27] The work includes no evaluations of transmitters.

Al-Ṭabaqāt reflects an early-third/ninth-century impulse to identify the largest possible number of Companion and Successor transmitters, because of their essential role as purveyors of Prophetic *ḥadīth*.[28] The names of many little-known Companions were extracted from the *isnād*s of traditions, which turns their use for the verification of the same traditions into an exercise of circular reasoning. The knowledge of the generation and the center of activity of transmitters was important for determining the likelihood of their coming together, which was a central criterion of accrediting the lines of transmission.

5. *Al-Tamyīz*. This work is an exposition of Muslim's method of *ḥadīth* criticism. It was published for the first time by Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Aʿẓamī in 1395/1975,[29] based on the MS. 11 (1–15) in the Ẓāhiriyya library,[30] which likely belonged to Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī's *waqf*.[31] The colophon and an unknown number of pages at the manuscript's end have been lost. Throughout the text, Muslim is always referred to in the third person (e.g., *samiʿtu Muslim yaqūlu* [I heard Muslim say] and [*ḥadda*]*tha-nā Muslim* [Muslim related to us]). This suggests that *Kitāb al-Tamyīz* is the work of a later compiler, most likely Makkī b. ʿAbdān (Naysābūr; b. 242/856–857; d. 325/937), who is identified at the beginning of the text as its original source. The expression *quriʾa ʿalā Abī Ḥātim Makkī b. ʿAbdān* (It was read to Abū Ḥātim Makkī b. ʿAbdān) indicates that the MS. includes the notes that one of Makkī's students had taken during his lessons. The student then read over the notes to Makkī, who sanctioned their transmission on his authority.

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[26] Muslim, *Ṭabaqāt* i, 182, no. 338; 276, no. 1146; 342, no. 1756.

[27] Ibid. i, 340, nos. 1732–1733.

[28] On the origins of the *Ṭabaqāt* genre in the works of the *akhbārī*s (collectors and compilers of historical reports) and the genealogists, see Cooperson, *Classical biography* 1–6; cf. Gilliot, "Prosopography" 20.

[29] In this monograph, I use the second edition of *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*, published in 1402/1982 (see Bibliography).

[30] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 159; cf. *GAS* 143.

[31] Hirschler, *Monument to book culture* 493, no. 564a; 528, no. 301.

The book consists of two clearly distinguishable parts. The first part (pp. 169–180 in al-Aʿẓamī's edition) justifies transmitter criticism against detractors who accused the critics of perpetrating *ightiyāb*, in a manner that brings to mind the section *Bāb bayān anna al-isnād min al-dīn* in Muslim's Introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[32] The *Tamyīz* does not include the numerous examples of disparaging statements by second/eighth-century *ḥadīth* transmitters, which form a sizeable part of the Introduction. Like the Introduction, this part emphasizes the importance of memory retentiveness (*ḥifẓ*) and *isnād* comparison for establishing the degree of transmitter reliability.

The second part (pp. 180–220), which is much longer than the first part, is what may be termed a book of *ʿilal* (defects in *ḥadīth*). Muslim discusses defects affecting the *matn*s and the *isnād*s of traditions and makes occasional *rijāl*-critical pronouncements. His method is based on *isnād* comparison; hence, this part of *Tamyīz* may be seen as a series of case studies in which Muslim applies his chief methodological principle.[33] Because of its extensive discussion of *isnād* and *matn* defects, *Kitāb al-Tamyīz* is likely identical to the presently lost *al-ʿIlal* (no. 10 under "Lost works").

2 Works That Are Preserved as Secondary Citations

1. *Mashāyikh Mālik*. Under the description *man rawā ʿan-hum Mālik* (*Those on whose authority transmitted Mālik*), this work is preserved as a secondary citation in Mughlaṭāy's *Ikmāl*.[34] Mughlaṭāy may have transcribed this section from a copy of *Kitāb Tasmiyat shuyūkh Mālik wa-Sufyān wa-Shuʿba*, a collection that Ibn Khayr and al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ record among Muslim's works.[35]

Mashāyikh Mālik comprises a list of the names and centers of activity of forty-six informants, on whose authority Mālik transmitted *ḥadīth*. One is struck by the absence of Nāfiʿ, the *mawlā* of Ibn ʿUmar, among Mālik's informants enumerated by Muslim. This may be because Mughlaṭāy was unable to copy the entire content of Muslim's book, which is suggested by the low number of Mālik's *shaykh*s in comparison with those of Shuʿba and Sufyān al-Thawrī (see below). But if the manuscript were in a state that prevented Mughlaṭāy from fully copying it, one expects that he would have included a warning to that effect, as he did with *Mashāyikh Shuʿba*.

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[32] ʿAbd al-Bāqī pp. 14–28.

[33] Ibid. p. 7.

[34] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xi, 26–27.

[35] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 266; cf. ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 111.

2. *Mashāyikh Shuʿba.* The contents of this work have been partly preserved by Mughlaṭāy, who had access to an old and partially worn out manuscript entitled *Shuyūkh Shuʿba*, written by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdawayh al-Shīrāzī (fl. the second half of the fourth/tenth century).[36] Note that al-Shīrāzī is not present in the *isnād* of *Kitāb Tasmiyat shuyūkh Mālik wa-Sufyān wa-Shuʿba*, which, as I hypothesized above, may have been the source of Mughlaṭāy's citations in nos. 1, 2, and 3.

Mashāyikh Shuʿba records the names of 250 informants of Shuʿba. Muslim exhibits a keen interest in fixing the names and centers of activity of each of them. From time to time, he inserts Shuʿba's clarifying comments about the name of a certain person, e.g., "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya Abū l-Ḥuwayrith al-Zuraqī–Medinese; Shuʿba said: '[His *kunya* is] Abū l-Juwayriyya.'"[37] Towards the end of the text, Muslim shifts from identifying each person by a short relative adjective (Kūfī, Baṣrī, Makkī, etc.) to a list prefaced by a collective designation (*wa-min al-Baṣrīyyīn* [among the Basrans], *wa-min buldān shattā* [from other regions]).[38]

3. *Mashāyikh al-Thawrī.* This is a list of the names and centers of activity of 318 *shaykh*s of Sufyān al-Thawrī, preserved in Mughlaṭāy's *Ikmāl* under the title *Ashyākh Sufyān*.[39]

4. *Al-Mukhaḍramūn.* This work is cited, probably in full, by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, who had access to a manuscript in Muslim's handwriting.[40] It records twenty persons who lived in the Jāhiliyya and joined the Muslim community in the Prophet's lifetime but did not meet the Prophet. The work may have aimed at distinguishing presumptive Companions of the Prophet from the real ones. Juynboll has observed several distinctive features of this group of traditionists, suggesting that they bridged wide gaps in transmission between second/eighth-century collectors and early Companions.[41]

At the end of this section, an important question should be addressed. Mughlaṭāy, who flourished five centuries after Muslim, discovered manuscripts of three of his works that no one had seen before and used thereafter. Was this a rare stroke of serendipity? May Mughlaṭāy have made up his citations from Muslim's presently lost works? An invention seems unlikely for three reasons. First, the records with the *shaykh*s of Mālik, Shuʿba, and Sufyān al-Thawrī share a characteristic northeastern profile. They list the names of transmitters and their centers of activity, without adducing other biographical data. A similar tendency distinguishes Muslim's other biographical works, which enumerate names that he extracted from the *isnād*s of known traditions. Second, Mughlaṭāy designates each work with a different title, and concerning *Mashāyikh Shuʿba* he asserts to have found an old and partially illegible manuscript. To invent different titles and feign the discovery of an incomplete source, Mughlaṭāy would have been an unscrupulous liar, the memory of whose mendacity should have found its way into the biographical lexicons. Third, as an indirect witness to Mughlaṭāy's honesty, consider his citation from Muslim's *Rijāl Shuʿba*. The same work has been preserved in a potpourri MS. published in 1979 (see *Rijāl ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr* above). In the *Ikmāl*, Mughlaṭāy cites the beginning of the work, which agrees verbatim with the beginning of its published version in *Rijāl ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr*.[42] The correctness of this citation stands beyond doubt, from which we may conclude by extension that Mughlaṭāy cited real MSS. of *Mashāyikh Mālik*, *Mashāyikh Shuʿba*, and *Mashāyikh Sufyān al-Thawrī*. Alternatively, he may have had a MS. with a single work, as suggested by the records of Ibn Khayr and al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ.

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[36] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* vi, 256–261. On the bad state of the manuscript, see ibid. vi, 261.

[37] Ibid. vi, 257.

[38] Ibid. vi, 260–261.

[39] Ibid. v, 396–401.

[40] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Maʿrifa* 207.

[41] Juynboll, "Some methods" 360.

While arguing that Mughlaṭāy faithfully reproduced the manuscripts of Muslim's works, we must bear in mind that they were not Muslim's autographs. In the process of transmission, they may have undergone changes including deletion and addition of names that were not part of Muslim's original text. In the absence of comparative evidence, the likelihood of such emendations is impossible to assess. As noted, the texts of the three works are similar in style, which indicates that they were carefully preserved along their way to Mughlaṭāy's collection.

As regards al-Ḥākim's citation of *Kitāb al-Mukhaḍramīn*, there is no reason to suspect its authenticity. Al-Ḥākim lived in Naysābūr only two generations after Muslim and could easily come across manuscripts of his works.

3 Lost Works

In the following, I include a list of Muslim's lost works.[43]

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[42] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* v, 381 = Muslim, *Rijāl ʿUrwa* 136.

[43] The most comprehensive list of Muslim's works is found in Khalaf, *Istidrākāt* 313–325. I

1. *Al-Afrād*. This collection may have comprised either singular names of transmitters or singular traditions.[44]
2. *Afrād al-shāmiyyīn min al-ḥadīth ʿan rasūl Allāh* (ṣ). As suggested by the title, this was a collection of singular names of Syrian transmitters or singular traditions reported by Syrian transmitters. This work may have been part of no. 1.
3. *Al-Aqrān*. This collection may have included the names of transmitters who belonged to the same generation in the *isnād*s.
4. *Asmāʾ al-rijāl*. This may be another title of the extant *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*.
5. *Al-Awḥād*. This is likely another title of the extant *al-Munfaridāt wa-l-wuḥdān*.
6. *Awhām al-muḥaddithīn*. According to al-Sakhāwī, this is another title of *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*.[45] This possibility is strongly supported by the frequent use of the verb *wahima* (to misconceive) and its derivative nominal forms in *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*.
7. *Awlād al-ṣaḥāba wa-man baʿda-hum min al-muḥaddithīn*. A MS. of this book was extant in the lifetime of Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Ṣāliḥī (841–909/1437–1503), who recorded it in the list of books he endowed as a family *waqf*.[46] A similarly titled work is extant under the name of Ibn al-Madīnī.[47] A section entitled *Tasmiyat man yurwā ʿan-hu l-ḥadīth min awlād al-ʿashara wa-baʿda l-ʿashara min awlād al-ṣaḥāba raḥima-hum Allāh* is part of Ibn Zanjawayh's *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahāʾ wa-l-muḥaddithīn*. Ibn Zanjawayh's section is similar in structure and agrees in seventy-five percent of its content with the corresponding part of Ibn al-Madīnī's collection, which suggests that the latter may have been erroneously associated with Ibn Zanjawayh by a later copyist of his *Ṭabaqāt*.[48] Be that as it may, the similar titles indicate that Muslim's *Awlād al-ṣaḥāba* was an enumeration of the *ḥadīth* transmitters from among the progeny of the Prophet's ten best Companions and other less-well-known Companions.
8. *Dhikr awlād al-Ḥusayn*. This work may have been part of no. 7.
9. *Al-Ikhwa wa-l-akhawāt*. This was a collection of the names of brothers and sisters among the *ḥadīth* transmitters. In composing it, Muslim may have

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have used Khalaf's versions of the names of Muslim's lost works as a basis for my respective entries. For more details, see al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* ff16b–17; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 265–266; al-Sakhāwī, *Ghunya* 52–54; *GAS* 143, and the references throughout this section.

[44] Al-Ṭawāliba, *al-Imām Muslim* 89.

[45] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ghunya* 54.

[46] Hirschler, *Monument to book culture* 291, no. 301b; 553, no. 564.

[47] For more on this work, see Su, "ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī" 10–11.

[48] Pavlovitch, Ibn Zanjawayh.

followed the lead of ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī, who authored the earliest collection in this genre.[49] A similarly titled work is associated with al-Nasāʾī.[50] None of these collections is preserved.

10. *ʿIlal*. This is likely another title of the extant *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*.
11. *Al-Intifāʿ bi-uhub al-sibāʿ*. This treatise dealt with the legal possibility of using as clothes the hides of dead animals that were not slaughtered according to the Islamic ritual. Transmitted in five fascicles (*ajzāʾ*; sg. *juzʾ*) by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Māsarjisī (Naysābūr; d. 315/927),[51] it was still extant in the lifetime of al-Sakhāwī (830–902/1427–1497).[52] A paragraph of the work is preserved in al-Bayhaqī's *Bayān khaṭaʾ man akhṭaʾa ʿalā l-Shāfiʿī*. Without mentioning his source, al-Bayhaqī, who was Shāfiʿi in law, cites a statement by Muslim in which he defends al-Shāfiʿī's *ḥadīth*-critical prowess and mentions him together with such skilled *ḥadīth* critics as Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and Isḥāq b. Rāhwayh.[53] Ibn Ḥajar identified this citation as an excerpt from Muslim's work *al-Intifāʿ bi-julūd al-sibāʿ*.[54] ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037–1038), who was familiar with the same work, described it as "excessively reverential" (*bālagha fī taʿẓīm*) for al-Shāfiʿī.[55] Probably for the same reason, the Shāfiʿi al-Samʿānī (Marw; 506–562/1113–1166) regarded *al-Intifāʿ* as Muslim's second best work after the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[56]

As suggested by the work's title, the legal issue at stake was the ritual purity (*ṭahāra*) of the hides of dead animals, which was contested among third/ninth-century jurisprudents. If ritually pure, such hides could be used to make clothing as well as the hides of animals that had been slaughtered by the Islamic legal rules. Al-Shāfiʿī permitted the use of tanned hides of dead animals, based on a *ḥadīth* according to which, as the Prophet once passed by a dead ewe, he exclaimed, "Why did not you use its hide?" and went on to explain that the hide has nothing to do with the ewe's meat, whose consumption is prohibited. Isḥāq b. Rāhwayh rebutted al-Shāfiʿī's argument by citing a Prophet's letter (*kitāb*) to the obscure Companion ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAkīm in which the Prophet forbade the use of dead animals, including their hides. Since the letter was written a month before the Prophet's death, it repealed (*nasakha*) his previous pronouncement on the same issue.[57] Al-Shāfiʿī responded to Ibn Rāhwayh with recourse to *ḥadīth* criticism: Whereas the first tradition was the Prophet's statement received by audition (*samāʿ*), he averred, the second one was only a letter.[58] In the inventory of *ḥadīth* critics, correspondence (*mukātaba*) was inferior to audition, and Ibn Rāhwayh had to accept al-Shāfiʿī's argument. Ibn Ḥanbal, who attended the dispute, nevertheless stuck to the opinion that the prohibiting *ḥadīth* abrogated the sanctioning one.

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[49] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Maʿrifa* 262; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima* 310.

[50] Melchert, "Nasāʾī" 384, no. 30.

[51] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* v, 171–172. The *juzʾ* is probably a fascicle of about twenty folios; Brown, *Canonization* 61, note 39. Acording to Ibn ʿAsākir, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Tārīkh Baghdād* comprises 106 *juzʾ*; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* v, 39. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf's printed edition, which I used for the present monograph, comprises about 9 383 pages, which yields about ninety printed pages for each *juzʾ* of *Tārīkh Baghdād*.

[52] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ghunya* 37.

[53] Al-Bayhaqī, *Bayān khaṭaʾ* 332–333.

[54] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* ix, 30; al-Sakhāwī, *Ghunya* 37.

[55] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* ix, 31; al-Sakhāwī, *Ghunya* 37.

[56] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* v, 172.

As a *ḥadīth* critic, Muslim entertained al-Shāfiʿī's view, which is based on a tradition with a superior line of transmission. Muslim's position is clear from the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, in which he has a section with ten traditions sanctioning the use of the tanned hides of dead animals and none prohibiting it.[59] Such traditions were apparently the backbone of the presently lost *Kitāb al-Intifāʿ bi-uhub al-sibāʿ*. Along with them, Muslim's work may have included counterexamples in the form of permitting traditions that should be dismissed because of *isnād* flaws.

Ibn Nuqṭa (d. 629/1231) provides an example of Muslim's argumentation, which may have been part of *Kitāb al-Intifāʿ*. Aḥmad b. Salama asked Muslim about the tradition Abū Kurayb → ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak → Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj → Qatāda b. Diʿāma → Abū l-Malīḥ → his father: "The Prophet prohibited the animal hides." Muslim replied, "This is the way Abū Kurayb related it; veil it for him (*ustur-hu ʿalay-hi*)." Aḥmad b. Salama explains that Muslim instructed him to preserve Abū Kurayb's reputation by not revealing his error in transmission: Ibn al-Mubārak transmitted the *ḥadīth* on the authority of Saʿīd b. Abī ʿArūba, whereas Abū Kurayb erroneously stated "Shuʿba."[60] What is more, from Ibn Nuqṭa's follow-up citations it transpires that the line Ibn al-Mubārak → Ibn Abī ʿArūba carried the *matn* with a specific addition, "The Prophet prohibited animal hides to be used *as bedding*." The specification "as bedding" at the *matn*'s end transforms the originally blanket prohibition into an almost universal endorsement. Although this shift in the tradition's legal substance largely accorded with Muslim's legal opinion, he nevertheless rejected the tradition for its combination of a defective *isnād* with a dubious *matn* addition.

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[57] Al-Rāmahurmuzī, *Muḥaddith* 453–455, no. 542.

[58] Ibid. 454.

[59] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 363–366 (100–107) = Ta'ṣīl, 355–357.

[60] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* ii, 801.

12. *Al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr ʿalā l-abwāb*. Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī asserted that he had seen parts of this book in Muslim's handwriting.[61] The title suggests that this was a *muṣannaf* collection organized according to legal topics (*abwāb*).[62] Unlike the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which includes only traditions whose chains extend to the Prophet, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr* may have comprised both prophetic and Companion traditions.
13. *Kitāb ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb*. According to al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, in this work Muslim recorded ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb's (al-Ṭāʾif; d. 118/736–737) errors and enumerated those who did not use his traditions as legal arguments (*ḥujja*).[63] In Ibn Ḥajar's lifetime, this collection was extant under the name *Kitāb Mā istakraha ahl al-ʿilm ʿalā ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb* (*A book of that which the people of knowledge found reprehensible about ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb*). The work, transmitted on the authority of Muslim's student Makkī b. ʿAbdān, opened with the tradition Ibn Jurayj → ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb → his father, Shuʿayb b. Muḥammad → his grandfather → the Prophet: "Whichever woman is given in marriage by a pledge of a dowry, a gift, or a promise [of a gift] before the marriage had been consummated, they belong to her; and that which is [given] after the marriage had been consummated belongs to whom it is given; and the most deserving honor [amongst the man's female relatives] are the man's daughter and sister."[64] The tradition bears on the legal dispute about the status of gifts that had been pledged to the bride's relatives before the marriage apart from the customary dowry.

    In questioning the validity of ʿAmr's tradition, Muslim is presumably concerned with the quality of its family *isnād*. From early on, *rijāl* critics took ʿAmr to task for falsely presenting as his audition a book that he discovered with the transmission of his father on the authority of his grandfather.[65] This transmission was feeble, because ʿAmr's grandfather, Muḥammad, was not a Companion of the Prophet, which made his *isnād* interrupted (*mursal*). As a partial remedy, ʿAmr would cite his father on the authority of ʿAmr's great-grandfather, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, but this specification does not seem to have been entirely convincing. Misgivings about ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb led Muslim to abandon the *isnād*s on his authority.

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[61] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 579.

[62] On the meaning of *bāb* as a chapter in a *muṣannaf* work, see al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Madkhal ilā l-Iklīl* 64.

[63] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f16b.

[64] *Ayy^{u}-mā imraʾa nukiḥat ʿalā ṣadāq aw ḥibāʾ aw ʿida qabl^{a} ʿiṣmat al-nikāḥ fa-huwa la-hā wa-mā kāna baʿd^{a} ʿiṣmat al-nikāḥ fa-huwa li-man uʿṭiya-hu wa-aḥaqq^{u} mā yukramu ʿalay-hi al-rajul ibnat^{u}-hu wa-ukht^{u}-hu*; Ibn Ḥajar, *Majmaʿ* ii, 326. Ibn Ḥajar cites only the opening words of the tradition. The full text is cited according to ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī, *Muṣannaf* v, 302, no. 11481.

14. *Kitāb Ighrāb Shuʿba ʿalā Sufyān wa-Sufyān ʿalā Shuʿba*. A collection bearing the same title was compiled by al-Nasāʾī. Preserved in part and published in 2000,[66] al-Nasāʾī's work records traditions by Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj on the authority of *shaykh*s who are not cited by Sufyān al-Thawrī and vice versa. In Muslim's lifetime, Ibn Ḥanbal cataloged forty informants of Shuʿba (34 Kufans, 2 Basrans, 2 Medinese, and 2 Syrians, all virtually unknown) on whose authority Sufyān does not transmit, and he catalogued ninety-five informants of al-Thawrī (61 Kufans, 11 Medinese, 4 Basrans, 3 Madāʾinis, 2 Ḥarrānis, 2 Meccans, 2 Syrians, 1 Homsi, 1 Yemeni, and 8 unknowns) who do not appear in Shuʿba's transmissions.[67] These works provide a hint about the content of Muslim's lost collection. Taking into account his penchant for compiling tedious lists with the names of transmitters, I am inclined to think that Ibn Ḥanbal's catalogs stand closer to Muslim's *Ighrāb* than does al-Nasāʾī's detailed collection.

Third/ninth-century *ḥadīth* critics were evidently startled by the number of Kufan *shaykh*s in the *isnād*s of Shuʿba (active in Basra) who do not appear in the *isnād*s of al-Thawrī (active in Kufa), as well as by the number of Kufans cited by al-Thawrī who are not cited by Shuʿba. Shuʿba and al-Thawrī enjoyed the reputation of "commander of the faithful in *ḥadīth*" (*amīr al-muʾminīn fī l-ḥadīth*),[68] raising expectations that they applied strict evaluation criteria to their selection of informants. Such expectations, however, do not align with the *isnād* evidence: al-Thawrī disregards scores of Kufans, on whose authority transmits Shuʿba, while Shuʿba—despite his apparent expertise in Kufan transmitters—disregards even more Kufan informants who are cited by al-Thawrī. Moreover, al-Thawrī is known to have transmitted a large number of traditions based on defective chains, and both he and Shuʿba related *ḥadīth* on the authority of informants of dubious quality.[69] Such is the majority of *shaykh*s cataloged by Ibn Ḥanbal. To the third/ninth-century *ḥadīth* critics, who ranked Shuʿba and al-Thawrī among the foremost founders of *ḥadīth* criticism, these were baffling incongruities. They may become palatable if Shuʿba and al-Thawrī are seen as representatives of a generation of avid *ḥadīth* collectors who did not apply consistent selection criteria.

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[65] Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* xxii, 70–71; Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* x, 187–191; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* v, 168–177. In a recent publication, Scott Lucas provided evidence that some of the traditions associated with what is known as "ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb's scroll" (*ṣaḥīfa*), also known as *al-ṣaḥīfa al-ṣādiqa* (the veracious *ṣaḥīfa*), go back to ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb. The same evidence, however, militates against the authenticity of the family *isnād* between ʿAmr and the Prophet; Lucas, "Ibn Ḥanbal's Reconstruction" 181–182.

[66] Melchert, "Nasāʾī" 380.

[67] Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* i, 472 no. 1092, 475–477, no. 1094, noted by Mūsā, "Muqaddima" 33.

[68] Juynboll, *Encyclopedia* 629.

15. *Kitāb Maʿmar*. According to al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, this work recorded the errors of Maʿmar.[70] This Maʿmar must be Maʿmar b. Rāshid (Basra → Ṣanʿāʾ; 96–153/714–770), the teacher of ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī. Without going into detail, the much later al-Dhahabī reports that Maʿmar committed errors when he went to see his mother in Basra and transmitted from memory to the local traditionists.[71] Muslim may have had a record of these errors, which were subsequently lost.
16. *Man laysa la-hu illā rāwin wāḥid*.[72] This is likely another title of the extant *al-Munfaridāt wa-l-wuḥdān*.
17. *Maʿrifat ruwāt al-akhbār*. This may have been a work of *rijāl* criticism.
18. *Al-Muntakhab min ḥadīth Abī Aḥmad al-Farrāʾ*. The title suggests that the work was a selection by Muslim of sound traditions on the authority of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ḥabīb al-Farrāʾ (Naysābūr; b. 177/793–794, d. 272/886).
19. *Musnad ḥadīth Mālik*. This title is recorded only by Ibn Ḥajar.[73] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī may be referring to the same collection when, following a tradition on the authority of Mālik about the types of martyrdom, he states, "In [the collection] *Ḥadīth Mālik* compiled by Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, he begins with this tradition on the authority of Mālik's *shaykh*s."[74] The last part of al-Ḥākim's clause suggests that Muslim compiled a *musnad* with Mālik's traditions, which was arranged not according to the Companion transmitters but according to Mālik's *shaykh*s. A similarly arranged

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[69] Loc. cit.; idem, "Shuʿba" 190.

[70] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f16b.

[71] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* vii, 12.

[72] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 266; al-Sakhāwī, *Ghunya* 54.

[73] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* x, 127.

[74] Al-Ḥākim, *Mustadrak* i, 503, no. 1300.

Musnad ḥadīth Mālik by the Māliki *qāḍī* of Baghdad Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāq al-Jahḍamī (d. 282–283/896) is partly preserved and published.[75]

The composition of *musnad* works based on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* was widespread in the third/ninth and the fourth/tenth centuries. Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ put together a comprehensive list of these works, which, strikingly, does not associate with Muslim a *Musnad ḥadīth Mālik*.[76] The Qāḍī, however, mentions Muslim as a compiler of *Shuyūkh Mālik*,[77] a faint hint that *Musnad ḥadīth Mālik* might stand for *Mashāyikh Mālik* (no. 1 under "Works that are preserved as secondary citations").[78]

20. *Al-Musnad al-kabīr ʿalā l-rijāl*. This work could have been a collection according to the names of Companion transmitters. Ibn Ḥajar's statement that the work remained unfinished[79] may be pointing to a capacious collection similar to Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*. Three centuries earlier, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī stated about the *Musnad* "no one has heard it from him (i.e. Muslim),"[80] likely expressing his doubt that Muslim had ever compiled such a collection.
21. *Musnad Manṣūr b. Zādhān*. This collection included traditions through Manṣūr b. Zādhān (Wāsiṭ; d. 129/746–747) with an *isnād* going back to the Prophet. It is associated with Muslim only by al-Sakhāwī,[81] who may have confused it with a similarly titled work by al-Nasāʾī.[82]
22. *Al-Radd ʿalā Muḥammad b. Naṣr*. This treatise was extant in the lifetime of ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037–1038).[83] According to ʿAbd al-Qāhir, together with *al-Intifāʿ bi-uhub al-sibāʿ*, *al-Radd* was an expression of Muslim's reverential attitude to al-Shāfiʿī. By analogy with *al-Intifāʿ*, we may surmise that in the *Radd* Muslim upheld al-Shāfiʿī's legal opinions

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[75] Al-Jahḍamī, *Juzʾ*.

[76] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Tartīb* ii, 80–85.

[77] Ibid. ii, 83.

[78] Khalaf (*Istidrākāt* 323) has suggested that *Musnad ḥadīth Mālik* was a *musnad* organized according to Mālik's *shaykh*s, whereas *Mashāyikh Mālik* may have been another title for it. The text of the latter work preserved by Mughlaṭāy clearly shows that it was not a *musnad* work in any conceivable form. *Pace* Khalaf, either these were two separate works or, less likely, *Musnad ḥadīth Mālik* was another title of *Mashāyikh Mālik*.

[79] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* x, 127.

[80] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī *apud* Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam* xii, 171; Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Ṭabaqāt* ii, 288.

[81] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ghunya* 53, no. 10. Khalaf does not mention *Musnad Manṣūr b. Zādhān* in his list of Muslim's works.

[82] Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* i, 151; Melchert, "Nasāʾī" 384, no. 28.

[83] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* ix, 31; al-Sakhāwī, *Ghunya* 37. Khalaf does not mention the *Radd* in his list of Muslim's works.

against Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Marwazī. Al-Marwazī is associated with the Shāfiʿi tradition,[84] although he frequently disagreed with al-Shāfiʿī's legal views.[85]

23. *Rijāl Shuʿba*. This work is most likely preserved as part of the extant *Rijāl ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr wa-jamāʿa min al-tābiʿīn wa-ghayri-him*.[86]
24. *Ruwāt al-iʿtibār*. Unlike no. 17 above, this work of *rijāl* criticism likely included only transmitters of secondary importance, whose *isnād*s Muslim accepted as auxiliary evidence in parallel with his main *isnād*s (*uṣūl*).
25. *Suʾālāt Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*. This was apparently a collection of *rijāl*-critical responses by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.[87]
26. *Ṭabaqāt al-tābiʿīn*. Most likely another title of the extant *Ṭabaqāt*.
27. *Tafḍīl al-sinīn*.[88] This formulation, which translates as "Preferring the years," makes little sense. According to Ibn al-Jawzī, the collection was named *Tafḍīl al-sunan* (*Preferring the* [*prophetic?*] *precedent*).[89] A work by this title would seem to have endorsed the derivation of law exclusively from the Prophet's words and deeds,[90] which accords with Muslim's selection of only prophetic traditions for the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. If so, the treatise would indicate Muslim's concurrence with al-Shāfiʿī's understanding of the Sunna as exclusively prophetic precedent. The latter possibility finds indirect support in the opinion of those scholars who described Muslim as excessively glorifying al-Shāfiʿī. On the other hand, as suggested by the anonymous reader of the manuscript, the word "sunan" (precedent) in the book's title need not be qualified as prophetic. In this case, the work may have been directed against the followers of unrestricted opinion (*raʾy*) in jurisprudence while enjoining adherence to the textual sources comprising the precedents of the Prophet and his closest followers. Less likely, the title may be emended to *Tafṣīl al-sinīn* (*Dividing into years*), which would suggest an annalistic chronicle similar to those opening the works of al-Fallās (Basra; d. 249/864) and Abū Bishr Hārūn b. Ḥātim (Kufa; d. 249/863–864).[91]

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[84] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xiv, 34, 38.

[85] Melchert, *Formation* 92, 90–99.

[86] Muslim, *Rijāl ʿUrwa* 136–139.

[87] For a possible excerpt, see Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaqāt* ii, 414; noted by Āl Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim* i, 249.

[88] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f16b.

[89] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam* xii, 172.

[90] Khalaf, *Istidrākāt* 316.

[91] Another compiler of such a chronicle may have been Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Bukayr (Egypt; 154–231/771–845), his annalistic part going back to al-Layth b. Saʿd; Zychowicz-Coghill, *First annals* 29–30.

28. *Al-Tārīkh*. This work is mentioned only by Ibn al-Nadīm,[92] and it may well have entered his *Fihrist* by way of error. Recall Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim's assertion that Muslim's *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ* is a literal copy of al-Bukhārī's *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*.[93] In the course of his exposition, Abū Aḥmad writes, "Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl [al-Bukhārī's] (…) book on *Tārīkh* is unprecedented. Whoever composed afterwards a book on *Tārīkh* or on *al-Asāmī wa-l-kunā*, found it indispensable. Some of them arrogated it to themselves, as did Abū Zurʿa, Abū Ḥātim, and Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj."[94] Clearly, Abū Aḥmad states that some of those who copied al-Bukhārī's *Tārīkh* preserved the title, whereas others named it *al-Asāmī wa-l-kunā*. The context of Abū Aḥmad's exposition suggests that in the latter case he meant Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj's *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*, without implying that Muslim also composed a book named *Tārīkh*. Ibn al-Nadīm does not specify if he personally saw copies of Muslim's works that he recorded in the *Fihrist* or excerpted their names from an earlier written source. If he used such a source, Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim's *al-Asāmī wa-l-kunā* suggests itself as the most likely reason for Ibn al-Nadīm's erroneous association of a work entitled *Tārīkh* with Muslim.

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[92] Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 286.

[93] See p. 186 above.

[94] Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim, *Asāmī* ii, 10.

CHAPTER 7

The *Ṣaḥīḥ*

1 The Collection's Title and Purpose of Composition: *Muṣannaf*, *Musnad*, and *Ṣaḥīḥ*

The title and purpose of Muslim's work should be reflected upon against the background of the evolution of *ḥadīth* collections in the second/eighth and early third/ninth centuries. The oldest collections were devoted to specific legal areas, as, for instance, *Kitāb al-Ṭalāq* (*Book of divorce*) by the Basran traditionist Saʿīd b. Abī ʿArūba (d. 156–157/773–774)[1] and the works of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ b. Abī Zāʾida (d. 183/799–800), the first to author *muṣannaf*s (*awwal^{u} man ṣannafa*) in Kūfa.[2] Since no specimens of these collections are extant, the number of traditions that they included is a matter of guess. Judging from the capacious topical collections (*muṣannaf*) by ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī and Ibn Abī Shayba, which they compiled in the second half of the second/eighth and the beginning of the third/ninth century, their precursors would have aimed at collecting the largest number of *ḥadīth* devoted to a specific legal topic. Such all-inclusive compilers were hardly preoccupied with the quality of the chain of transmission and its association with the Prophet.

The end of the second/eighth century saw the dawn of the classical *musnad* genre.[3] The *musnad* collections encapsulated two recent developments in the articulation of the Sunni identity. First, following al-Shāfiʿī, the jurists began to require that the legal norms be derived from prophetic precedent. Second, the Prophet's Companions came to be regarded as undeniably upright purveyors of sound information about what he did, said, or tacitly approved. The collective probity of the Companions guaranteed the authenticity of the oldest and most troublesome links in the *isnād*s but left open the question of the later transmitters' reliability. Eager to find as many Companion traditions as they could, *musnad* compilers were mostly unconcerned with the quality of the chain of transmission, which usually included both reliable and unreliable transmitters.[4]

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[1] Schoeler, "Recording" 96; Pavlovitch, Ḥadīth. On the *muṣannaf* movement, see Goldziher, *Studien* 231–234; *GAS* 57–58; Abdul Rauf, "*Ḥadīth* literature" 272–273; Juynboll, Muṣannaf.

[2] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ* ix, 144.

[3] See p. 142 above.

[4] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Madkhal ilā l-Iklīl* 62, 64; idem, *Madkhal fī l-uṣūl* 4–5.

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Muslim's *magnum opus* is popularly known as *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, that is, *Muslim's sound collection*. From an early report by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī,[5] one is tempted to assume that Muslim entitled his work *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ* (*The sound collection with uninterrupted chains of transmission*). Caution is in order, however, since Muslim's expression is ambiguous. By stating "I have compiled this sound collection of traditions with uninterrupted *isnād*s going back to the Prophet from three hundred thousand traditions I had received by way of audition" (*ṣannaftu hādhā l-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ min thalāthimiʾat alf ḥadīth masmūʿa*), Muslim asserts that the collection's constituent traditions are sound and based on uninterrupted *isnād*s, without necessarily referring to a fixed title.[6]

In the Muslim West, al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ recorded the title *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ al-mukhtaṣar min al-sunan* (*The sound abbreviated collection of precedents with uninterrupted* isnāds).[7] Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī knew the even longer title *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ al-mukhtaṣar min al-sunan bi-naql al-ʿadl ʿan al-ʿadl ʿan rasūl Allāh* (*ṣ*) (*The sound abbreviated collection of precedents with uninterrupted* isnād*s, transmitted by upright transmitters on the authority of God's messenger*).[8] In these titles, the term *musnad* stands for an uninterrupted chain of trustworthy transmitters on the authority of the Prophet and does not imply an arrangement according to the Companion transmitters, which likewise bears the name *musnad*.[9] Since the eighth/fourteenth century, the collection has been occasionally referred to as *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* (*The sound compilation*) because of its variegated contents covering legal norms (*aḥkām*), the Prophet's biography (*siyar*), manners and comportment (*ādāb*), Quranic commentary (*tafsīr*), theology (*ʿaqāʾid*), the Last Day tribulations (*fitan*), the portents of the Hour (*ashrāṭ al-sāʿa*), and the virtues of the Prophet and his Companions (*manāqib*, *faḍāʾil*).[10]

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[5] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 122.

[6] The double meaning of Muslim's use of the word "musnad" has been noted by Juynboll, Musnad 706.

[7] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ghunya* 35.

[8] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 135.

[9] According to Brown, the title *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ* "is somewhat misleading, since Muslim's work is topically organized, not a *musnad*"; Brown, *Canonization* 81, note 115. This could be so, if Muslim had in mind an arrangement by Companion transmitters. However, Ibn Khayr's version of the title, emphasizing the transmission by "upright transmitters on the authority of God's messenger," makes it abundantly clear that by *musnad* Muslim meant the *isnād*s' quality of being associated with the Prophet through a contiguous sequence of authorities. The same follows from Muslim's method of *ḥadīth* criticism, which focuses on the *isnād*.

[10] Abū Ghudda, *Taḥqīq* 46–52; Āl Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim* i, 399–401.

From the Introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, it appears that Muslim conceived of the collection as a digest comprising "a small number of sound traditions" (*al-ṣaḥīḥ al-qalīl*).[11] It avoids "copious repetition" (*takrār yakthur*) and keeps at bay the "desire for copiousness" (*irādat al-takaththur*), which fosters the collection and preservation of numerous unsound traditions.[12] Conciseness, then, is not an indication that Muslim set out to compose what Abdul-Jabbar describes as "a brief work consisting of sound hadiths for the novice hadith student."[13] On the contrary, Muslim's resolve to include in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* only sound traditions indicates this collection's usefulness for the jurisprudent, who needs a firm evidentiary basis for the derivation of legal norms. At the same time, Muslim's method could hardly appeal to budding *ḥadīth* scholars. Unskilled novices will surely be troubled to make their way through Muslim's abstruse serial citation of traditions, devoid of intervening comments and explicative chapter headings.

Solicitude for *isnād* authenticity combined with the need for a topical structure, which suits the jurist much better than does the cumbersome organization according to Companions, gave rise to the third/ninth-century *ṣaḥīḥ*s. By describing his work as *musnad ṣaḥīḥ* Muslim referred to a topical collection that associates *ḥadīth* with the Prophet through uninterrupted chains of transmission. In this manner, he took the best of the *muṣannaf* and the *musnad* genres and enriched it with the more recent requirement for comprehensive *isnād* authenticity.

2 When Did Muslim Compose the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and Was It Finished?

Selecting a few thousand sound traditions out of tens of thousands of reports that were in circulation during Muslim's lifetime requires a long time for at least two reasons. First, like many other traditionists, Muslim gathered the necessary raw material in the course of lengthy travels in pursuit of knowledge, during which he interviewed hundreds of informants. Second, he applied a set of evaluation principles and selection criteria involving studious examination of the chains of transmission and the individual transmitters in order to separate reliable from unreliable material. Muslim's work on the collection likely included reading over its parts to his students and paying occasional visits to some informants to verify third-party transmissions on their authority. Given the attendant scholarly challenges as well as Muslim's continuing occupation as a cloth-merchant, which certainly took a lot of his time, there is no reason to question Aḥmad b. Salama's (Naysābūr; d. 286/899) report that Muslim worked on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* for at least fifteen years.[14] This chronology is compatible with Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān's (Naysābūr, d. 308/920) statement that Muslim finished reading the book in his presence in Naysābūr on 10 Ramaḍān 257/01 August 871.[15] Assuming that Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān heard from Muslim the collection in its accomplished form (which he duly transmitted to posterity),[16] we may conclude that it had been ready by 257/871 and, accordingly, that the work on it had begun in 242/856–857 at the latest.

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[11] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 3.

[12] Ibid. p. 28.

[13] Abdul-Jabbar, "Collections" 155.

Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī (d. 806/1404) knew a variant of Aḥmad b. Salama's abovementioned report, according to which Aḥmad was with Muslim "in the composition of this book in the year 205."[17] Al-ʿIrāqī rightly rejects this formulation as anachronistically setting the composition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* only one year after Muslim's birth and proposes to read the numeral "five" (*khams*) as "fifty" (*khamsūn*). Such an emendation holds a certain paleographical appeal, but how does it tie in with Aḥmad b. Salama's statement that Muslim spent at least fifteen years working on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*? To be sure, 250/864–865 may not be interpreted as signaling the commencement of Muslim's work on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, since, in this case, its compilation would extend either six or four years after Muslim's death. On the other hand, Ibn Salama's statement, "I was with Muslim in the composition of this book in the year 250" (*kuntu maʿa Muslim fī taʾlīf hādhā l-kitāb sanat^{a} khamsīn wa-miʾatayn*) is unclear. Several arabophone writers regarded 250/864–865 as the year in which Muslim finished the *Ṣaḥīḥ*,[18] but their opinion is not borne out by the sentence grammar, which clearly indicates a composition in progress. Ibn Salama may have meant that 250 was one of the years in which he accompanied Muslim as he was composing the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, or, alternatively, that Muslim composed the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the year 250. The latter possibility is chronologically untenable, as Muslim surely needed more than a year to compose his monumental collection. The former possibility seems feasible, but why would Ibn Salama highlight 250/864–865 as one of the years in which Muslim was still composing the *Ṣaḥīḥ*? Was he disproving claims that Muslim finished the work before this year? May he have sought to establish a relationship between the composition of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and al-Bukhārī's arrival in Naysābūr for the last time in 250/864–865?[19] It is significant to note the resemblance between Ibn Salama's words "I was with Muslim as he composed this book in the year 250" and his other statement "I was with Muslim as he composed his *Ṣaḥīḥ* for fifteen years." Conceivably, the former expression, which is semantically odd, may be a garbled variant of the latter expression. If so, the period between 242/856–857 and 257/871 would seem as the most likely chronology for the composition of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

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[14] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Ṭabaqāt* ii, 288; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 186. Aḥmad b. Salama's ambiguous statement, "I was with Muslim in the composition of his *Ṣaḥīḥ* for fifteen years," may be understood as bearing on either the period in which Muslim composed the *Ṣaḥīḥ* or the period in which Aḥmad accompanied Muslim. In the second case, the actual composition may have lasted more than fifteen years. Ibn Taghrībirdī (*Nujūm* iii, 43) cites a variant of Aḥmad b. Salama's statement in which he speaks about twelve years instead of fifteen years. This is probably an error caused by association with the second part of the *matn*, which states that the *Ṣaḥīḥ* comprises twelve thousand traditions. Al-Nawawī (*Sharḥ* i, 14) claims that Muslim spent sixteen years in composing and refining the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, but he likely took this number form a similar report about al-Bukhārī.

[15] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 137. Al-Nawawī (*Sharḥ* i, 10) mentions only *Ramaḍān* 257/23 July–21 August 871.

[16] For arguments in support of this interpretation, see Fākhūrī, *Imām Muslim* 62; Abū Ghudda, "Tatimmāt" 139, note 2.

[17] Al-ʿIrāqī, *Taqyīd* 13–14.

[18] Fākhūrī, *Imām Muslim*, 61–62; Ṭawāliba, *Imām Muslim* 104–106; Āl Salmān, *Imām Muslim* i, 357; Abū Ghudda, "Tatimmāt" 138–139. Uncertainty as to when Muslim completed the

The prolonged work on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and the uncertain date of its completion were probably responsible for early doubts that the collection was ever finished. Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī believed that Muslim had intended to divide the *Ṣaḥīḥ* into three parts, according to the grades of transmitters. This intention remained unfulfilled, as death overtook Muslim in his prime (*fī ḥadd al-kuhūla*) after he had composed only the first part.[20] Echoing al-Ḥākim's opinion, Ibn ʿAsākir considered Muslim's work incomplete and asserted that it was to comprise two parts. The first part would include traditions by highly reliable expert transmitters (*ahl al-itqān*), whereas the second part would draw on the material of sincere transmitters who did not attain the grade of absolute trustworthiness (*muthabbatūn*). It was the second part that Muslim failed to finish before his death.[21]

Ṣaḥīḥ is reflected in the fact that, although arguing for 250/864–865, Āl Salmān also mentions 257/871 as the year of completion; *Imām Muslim* i, 370.

[19] Al-Bukhārī spent in Naysābūr five years, between 250/864–865 and 255/868–869; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī *apud* al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 404. In the surviving abridgment of al-Ḥākim's *History of Naysābūr*, al-Ḥākim only states that al-Bukhārī came to Naysābūr at an advanced age and stayed there for five years before being expelled from the city and dying in 256/870; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f15b. From this chronology, it is easy to deduce that al-Bukhārī entered Naysābūr ca. 250/864–865.

[20] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Madkhal ilā l-Iklīl* 78, cf. idem, *Madkhal ilā l-Ṣaḥīḥ* 112; *Madkhal fī l-uṣūl* 7; ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 113–114; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 574.

[21] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 573–574.

Both hypotheses build on Muslim's *Muqaddima*, in which he isolates three groups of transmitters: (1) those with unblemished trustworthiness, (2) those who are generally reliable, but their *isnād*s suffer from non-critical defects, and (3) those whose traditions must be abandoned. Al-Ḥākim would seem to have argued that Muslim wanted to include in his collection even traditions from the third group. In reality, he never intended to admit *ḥadīth* of abysmal quality; hence, Ibn ʿAsākir's two-part hypothesis better suits what Muslim set out in the Introduction. While Ibn ʿAsākir did not openly question the validity of al-Ḥākim's abstruse assertion, his Andalusian contemporary al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ clearly struggled to make sense of it. To offset al-Ḥākim's implication that Muslim connived at traditions that should be abandoned, the Qāḍī ingeniously expanded his tripartite typology of transmitters as to include a fourth category. Even if seemingly speaking about three types of transmitters, the Qāḍī argued, Muslim had in mind four types. This is so because the last category includes (1) those who are abandoned by either all or most of the critics and (2) those who are abandoned by some critics yet accepted by others. Although not explicitly mentioned in the Introduction, the latter category is included in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Thus, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* comprises three types of transmitters in an order of diminishing reliability, while excluding those who are unanimously abandoned.[22]

Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's earnest efforts to remove the inconsistency in al-Ḥākim's statement suggest that by the sixth/twelfth century its original setting had become opaque. Al-Ḥākim may have unwittingly misrepresented Muslim's division of *ḥadīth* transmitters into three categories, but his assertion that the *Ṣaḥīḥ* had remained unfinished may well have been intentional. In Brown's view, al-Ḥākim raised this possibility to make room for his grand project of expanding Muslim's corpus of traditions, which came into fruition in al-Ḥākim's *al-Mustadrak ʿalā l-Ṣaḥīḥayn*.[23] That is to say, al-Ḥākim accomplished what Muslim could not achieve because of his premature death.

Aside from al-Ḥākim's statement, the tripartite hypothesis had a peculiar reincarnation in the sixth/twelfth-century Andalus. Citing Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān, the best-known transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* among Muslim's students, al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ and Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī specify that Muslim prepared three *musnad* books (*thalāthat kutub min al-musnadāt*). The first he "read over to the people," the second included traditions by ʿIkrima, the *mawlā* of Ibn ʿAbbās, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, the compiler of *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, and their likes, and the third comprised weak transmitters.[24] In this way, Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān asserts that Muslim had not one but three works that were entitled *musnad*. The first of them, which seems to be the same as the extant *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ*, he used for public transmission. The second and the third appear to have been reserved for Muslim's private use. Traditions on the authority of ʿIkrima and Ibn Isḥāq would have been part of the second *musnad*, because of the accusations of heterodoxy that were leveled against these two men. ʿIkrima was a *Khariji*,[25] whereas Ibn Isḥāq was suspected of being a Qadari.[26] By extension, one may think that "the likes" of ʿIkrima and Ibn Isḥāq were transmitters whose reputation suffered, in the eyes of the third/ninth-century Partisans of Tradition, from similar suspicions of heterodoxy. Barring this ideological blemish, they were reliable transmitters of *ḥadīth*. If the second *musnad* included reliable transmitters from among the "people of heretical innovation" (*ahl al-bidaʿ*), the third *musnad* presumably added to them both orthodox and heterodox transmitters who ranked as weak because their transmission was spoiled by various *isnād* flaws and *matn* errors.

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[22] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 123–129.

[23] Brown, *Canonization* 174.

At first glance, the three-*musnad* scenario may sound more cogent than al-Ḥākim's three-part hypothesis, but on a closer inspection it is equally problematic. Neither al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ nor Ibn Khayr reveals the *isnād* of the three-*musnad* tradition; both cite only Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān, who died almost two centuries before they were born. My combing of the sources has shown that the tradition appears for the first time in a short supplement to al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's *Tasmiyat man akhraja-hum al-Bukhārī wa-Muslim*. The author of the supplement is Abū Bakr ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿIqāl al-Ṣaqallī (Sicily—Mecca; d. after 426/1034–1035), who heard the *Tasmiya* from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nasawī (Nasā–Mecca; 306–396/919–1006) and ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Sijzī (Naysābūr; d. 403/1012–1013?) on the authority of al-Ḥākim.[27] Unlike the introductory *isnād* to the main work, the supplement is preceded by the chain Abū Bakr b. ʿIqāl al-Ṣaqallī → Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāq b. ʿAzra (Qayrawān; d. 405/1014) → Makkī b. ʿAbdān → Muslim,[28] which suggests the original independency of the two parts. In the supplement, the three-*musnad* tradition is attributed directly to Ibn Sufyān (*wa-*[*dhakara Ibn ʿIqāl*] *ʿan Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān*), who is not part of the introductory *isnād*. Ibn ʿIqāl may have heard Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān's statement from Ibn ʿAzra, but one wonders how Ibn ʿAzra could have met a person who predeceased him by an entire century. Ibn ʿIqāl's *isnād* is utterly confused, and this explains why al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ and Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, who were likely familiar with this report, do not mention an *isnād* between themselves and Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān.

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[24] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 111–112; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 140.
[25] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* ii, 38; vii, 267.
[26] Ibid. ix, 42.
[27] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Tasmiya* 35.
[28] Ibid. 281.

Given the *isnād* uncertainty, we may only grant that the three-book tradition had been in circulation in Mecca towards the end of the first quarter of the fifth/eleventh century.[29] Its relevance to Muslim's oeuvre is doubtful. Muslim could have hardly contemplated a *musnad* comprising abandoned traditions. Many of them have defective *isnād*s, which alone demotes the collection from the grade of *musnad* as understood by Muslim. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿIqāl al-Ṣaqallī may have been the first to put the three-*musnad* hypothesis in circulation, as a critical response to al-Ḥākim's three-part hypothesis.

3 Is Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* an Appendix to al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*?

In the fourth/tenth century, the Baghdadi *ḥadīth* expert Abū l-Ḥasan al-Dāraquṭnī averred that Muslim owed his renown to following the lead of al-Bukhārī. "If not for al-Bukhārī," al-Dāraquṭnī reputedly said, "Muslim would never have gone either forth or back."[30] According to Ibn Ḥajar, al-Dāraquṭnī may have gone as far as stating that Muslim produced an appendix (*mustakhraj*) to al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[31] Among modern scholars, Sprenger and Guillaume repeated this claim, without citing their source or subjecting it to a critical assessment.[32] Al-Dāraquṭnī's assertion presumes a hierarchy of *Ṣaḥīḥ* works, whose top is occupied by al-Bukhārī's collection. Muslim, and implicitly all other traditionists who compiled similar collections, are viewed as dependent on al-Bukhārī's groundbreaking achievement. To check whether Muslim used al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* as a template for his own collection, let us explore to what degree Muslim's *Kitāb al-Qadar* overlaps with al-Bukhārī's *Kitāb al-Qadar*, on the one hand, and with the contents of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in general, on the other hand (for a detailed comparison of the traditions, see Appendix 7).

I have enumerated the witnesses according to the base traditions (*uṣūl*) in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Only in three instances (nos. 13, 20, and 23 in Appendix 7), I have treated Muslim's auxiliaries as independent witnesses, because they have correspondences in chapters of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* other than *Kitāb al-Qadar*. Muslim's other auxiliaries are accordingly marked but not included in my calculation of the degree of correspondence between the two *Ṣaḥīḥ*s, because of their dependence on Muslim's respective *uṣūl* and the absence of correspondences in the chapters of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* other than *Kitāb al-Qadar*. Overall, my calculation is based on twenty-eight witnesses. Nine of these traditions match traditions in al-Bukhārī's *Kitāb al-Qadar*, which amounts to a degree of correspondence of 32.1 percent. Five other traditions in Muslim's *Kitāb al-Qadar*, that is, 17.9 percent of its contents, have correspondences elsewhere in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Thus, 50 percent of Muslim's *Kitāb al-Qadar* is shared with al-Bukhārī, whereas the remaining 50 percent comprise traditions that are unique to Muslim's collection.

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[29] In both introductory *isnād*s, the unidentified transmitter reports that he heard the text from Ibn ʿIqāl in Mecca in 426/1034–1035.

[30] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 124.

[31] Ibn Ḥajar, *Hady* 491.

[32] Sprenger, *Leben* iii, ciii; Guillaume, *Traditions of Islam* 31.

Although considerable, this degree of correspondence makes it hard to consider Muslim's *Kitāb al-Qadar* as an appendix to the respective part in al-Bukhārī's collection. In order to accept al-Dāraquṭnī's claim that Muslim made a *mustakhraj* (even if partial) of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, we must make several unwarranted assumptions. First, since Muslim never admitted that his *Ṣaḥīḥ* is a *mustakhraj* of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, he supposedly took a disingenuous advantage of al-Bukhārī's material. In our case, Muslim would have borrowed random traditions from al-Bukhārī's *Kitāb al-Qadar*. Then, to cover his tracks, he would have mixed them with other *ḥadīth*, partly scattered throughout al-Bukhārī's collection and partly absent therein. Although hypothetically possible, such a scenario is unverifiable. Apart from al-Dāraquṭnī's assertion, which is recorded in a single late source, Muslim's emulation of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* has left no traces in our biographical dictionaries.

Second, al-Dāraquṭnī presumes that the *mustakhraj* genre was already in place in Muslim's lifetime, or, alternatively, that Muslim brought it into existence. Given that the earliest *mustakhraj* works began to appear only after Muslim's death,[33] we have no historical basis to admit that Muslim produced a

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[33] Brown, *Canonization* 104–106. The earliest *mustakhraj*s of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, all lost, were composed by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl al-Jurjānī (Jurjān; b. 277/890–891, d. 371/982), Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghiṭrīfī (Jurjān; b. after 280/893–894, d. 377/987), Ibn Abī Dhuhl Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās b. Aḥmad (Herat; b. 294/906–907, d. 378/988), and Ibn Mardawyh Aḥmad b. Mūsā (Isfahan; b. 323/934–935, d. 410/1020); Mullā Khāṭir, *Makāna* 174–175. The earliest *mustakhraj*s of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, also lost, belong to Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Rajāʾ (Naysābūr; d. 286/899), Aḥmad b. Salama al-Naysābūrī (Naysābūr; d. 286/899), and Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān al-Ḥīrī (Naysābūr; d. 311/923–924); Ṭawāliba, *Imām Muslim* 145; Āl Salmān, *Imām Muslim* ii, 604; Aerts, Canon. The biographical reports about the works of these early collectors are ambiguous. Aḥmad b. Salama compiled a *Ṣaḥīḥ* of his own (see pp. 364–365 below). Muḥammad b. Muḥammad and Aḥmad b.

mustakhraj of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Third, considering al-Bukhārī's work worthy of *takhrīj* presupposes either an ongoing or an accomplished process of elevation to canonical status. To work under the latter assumption would mean to regard al-Bukhārī's status and his relationship with Muslim from the standpoint of idealized notions that evolved long after both scholars had passed away.

The partial degree of correspondence between Muslim's *Kitāb al-Qadar* and al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is likely due to both scholars' tapping a shared pool of traditions, which, moreover, was also available to other collectors.[34] Citing parallel lines of transmission for similar *matn*s was a staple of the third/ninth-century traditionist profession. By searching for and discovering such lines, each collector proved his mastery and independence from well-known colleagues. In the first half of the third/ninth century, certain patterns of transmission enjoyed more prestige than others, but the former were hardly turning on al-Bukhārī and Muslim, who came to be cherished as towering *ḥadīth* collectors and critics only in the fourth/tenth century. The pivots of these patterns were *ḥadīth* transmitters who flourished towards the end of the first/seventh century, such as Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān, al-Zuhrī, and al-Aʿmash. The paramount importance of these pivotal transmitters is patent in the *isnād*s of Muslim, al-Bukhārī, and other collectors from their lifetime.

If al-Dāraquṭnī has ever raised the claim that Muslim produced a *mustakhraj* of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, he may have been misled by the partial similarity in some of their *isnād*s. But the *isnād*s in only two collections are a limited set of evidence, which does not take into account the overall state of *ḥadīth* transmission during the period of these collections' composition. Al-Dāraquṭnī was active half a century after the death of al-Bukhārī and Muslim and had recent memories about the state of *ḥadīth* scholarship in their lifetime. Four centuries later, as Ibn Ḥajar cited for the first time al-Dāraquṭnī's alleged statement, these memories had been blurred by the canonical perception of the two master traditionists.

Ḥamdān are said to have composed *Ṣaḥīḥ* works "according to Muslim's condition"; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 87–88; Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Ṭabaqāt* ii, 479. These were likely independent collections, which later came to be regarded as appendices to Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the same manner in which al-Dāraquṭnī considered Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* an appendix to al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

[34] Also noted by Goldziher, *Studien* 245.

4 Contents and Structure of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*

4.1 *The Internal Division of the* Ṣaḥīḥ

The *Ṣaḥīḥ* comprises forty-two books (*kutub*, sg. *kitāb*) according to al-Mizzī[35] and fifty-four books according to Wensinck[36] and ʿAbd al-Bāqī.[37] ʿAbd al-Bāqī's division goes back to al-Nawawī, whereas al-Mizzī's division largely agrees with the number of books (forty-three) and their titles in Ibn Manjuwayh's (d. 428/1036) *Rijāl Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (see Appendix 8). This is the earliest surviving work whose compiler systematically records the book titles in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. From Ibn Manjuwayh's list and an occasional mention by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī,[38] we may conclude that, by and large, the division followed by al-Mizzī had been in place in the second half of the fourth/tenth century.

Each book in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is devoted to a specific topic, e.g., *Kitāb al-Ṣalāt* (*Book of prayer*), *Kitāb al-Ṣiyām* (*Book of fasting*), and *Kitāb al-Qadar* (*Book of predestination*). The mismatching number of books in the different manuscripts and editions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is due to the redactor's decision to keep similar thematic units under a general heading or divide them into smaller discrete books under nuanced headings. For instance, ʿAbd al-Bāqī has a separate *Book of prayer*, *Book of the mosques and the places of prayer*, and *Book of the prayer of wayfarers* (nos. 4–6), which in the Dār al-Taʾṣīl edition are joined together in a single *Book of prayer* (no. 3), following al-Mizzī (and Ibn Manjuwayh). Al-Sanūsī (North Africa; b. 838–839/1435–1436, d. 895/1490) suggested that Muslim did not fix headings (*tarājim*; sg. *tarjama*) for his books.[39] The insignificant differences between the titles mentioned by Ibn Manjuwayh and the corresponding titles in al-Nawawī's commentary do not lend support to this hypothesis. The discrepant number of books, however, indicates that later transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* departed from Muslim's division and split some of his larger books into smaller units.

Ibn ʿAsākir is known to have divided the *Ṣaḥīḥ* into more than forty-three sections (*ajzāʾ*, sg. *juzʾ*). His division is recorded by al-Fāsī,[40] who must have had an accordingly marked copy. The number of Ibn ʿAsākir's sections brings to mind the division into forty-three books that was known to Ibn Manjuwayh, but al-Fāsī's account indicates that Ibn ʿAsākir did not divide the collection into the same thematic units. His sections often separate a base tradition from its auxiliaries (*mutābiʿāt*), which points to an organizing principle that entirely differed from Ibn Manjuwayh's division into books. From al-Fāsī's account (see Appendix 9), we may calculate that Ibn ʿAsākir's sections mostly comprised forty-eight to seventy-one base traditions (*uṣūl*), except for Section 2, which comprised 142 or 144 *uṣūl*, and Sections 34–37, which comprised an average of 29–30 *uṣūl*. Assuming an average of sixty *uṣūl* for Ibn ʿAsākir's sectioning and taking into account that Section 43 ends at ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2912 = Taʾṣīl, no. 3024, we may reasonably think that Ibn ʿAsākir divided the remaining part of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* (121 *uṣūl* according to ʿAbd al-Bāqī and 120 *uṣūl* according to Taʾṣīl) into two more sections. In this case, the number of Ibn ʿAsākir's sections would have been forty-five. Their lengths varied to some extent, but, conceivably, Ibn ʿAsākir had in mind parts of commensurate textual length that remind of the Quranic *ajzāʾ*.

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[35] Sharaf al-Dīn, *Kashshāf* 127–128.

[36] Wensinck, *Handbook* xii.

[37] ʿAbd al-Bāqī has fifty-six books, but *Kitāb al-Riqāq* and *Kitāb Ṣifat al-qiyāma wa-l-janna wa-l-nār* lack numbers.

[38] According to al-Ḥākim (*Mustadrak* iv, 602), al-Bukhārī and Muslim "mentioned the terror of the Resurrection and the [Judgment Day] congregation as part of the [Book of apocalyptic] tribulations (*fitan*)." Noted by Āl Salmān, *Imām Muslim* i, 390, note 4.

[39] Al-Sanūsī, *Mukammil* i, 48.

[40] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 96, no. 46; i, 127, no. 60; iii, 277–281, no. 1633.

Muslim scholars hold different views about who divided each individual book into smaller subchapters (*abwāb*, sg. *bāb*), which are present in all surviving manuscripts of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. According to one opinion, in the lifetime of Muslim and the next generation of transmitters the books were continuous textual units undivided into *bāb*s. Regarding the original text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Suyūṭī asserted, "after the Introduction, there was only continuously flowing *ḥadīth*." As a witness he called upon the presently lost copy of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ṣarīfīnī (Damascus; b. 581/1185–1186, d. 641/1243), which "included no *bāb*s whatsoever."[41] Ibn Rushayd (Ceuta → Fes; 657–721/1259–1321) reports that the *bāb*s were introduced by Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāq b. ʿAzra (d. 405/1014), a Māliki jurisprudent from Qayrawān.[42]

Against these witnesses, Ibn ʿAsākir states that Muslim died before he was able to accomplish his headings (*tarājim*, sg. *tarjama*) and *bāb*s.[43] This formulation leads us to think that Muslim introduced at least some of the subchapters and their headings. According to Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, the original copy of Muslim's work included *bāb*s, but Muslim left them without titles in order to reduce the collection's volume.[44] That is to say, he not only accomplished the sectioning of each *kitāb* but also consciously left the sections unannotated.

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[41] Al-Suyūṭī, *Dībāj* i, 33.

[42] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *ʿUmr* i, 285–286.

[43] Kātib Çelebi, *Keşf* i, 556.

[44] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 101.

A comparison between Abū Nuʿaym's early *Mustakhraj* of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and ʿAbd al-Bāqī's modern edition of the collection may help us to assess the above contradictory claims. My examination of the *bāb* headings in *Kitāb al-Īmān* in the two collections has yielded the following observations:

First, ʿAbd al-Bāqī's edition has ninety-six *bāb*s against ninety-two *bāb*s in Abū Nuʿaym's *Mustakhraj*. Second, despite the almost identical number of *bāb*s in the two collections, many individual *bāb*s differ in volume. On nine occasions, Abū Nuʿaym has one *bāb* where ʿAbd al-Bāqī has two or more *bāb*s[45] while the opposite applies to four of ʿAbd al-Bāqī's *bāb*s.[46] Third, whenever the *bāb*s coincide, the ordering of traditions in Abū Nuʿaym's collection frequently differs from ʿAbd al-Bāqī's ordering. Abū Nuʿaym does not provide equivalents for some of Muslim's traditions. Fourth, the *bāb* headings in Abū Nuʿaym's *Mustakhraj* usually repeat the most salient phrase in the *bāb*'s constituent traditions. By contrast, many of the *bāb* headings in ʿAbd al-Bāqī's edition take the form of explicative statements describing the *bāb*'s contents in general terms.

The above observations suggest that a fixed text of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* existed in the second half of the fourth/tenth century, which nonetheless could be rearranged or cited selectively by its transmitters and commentators. The text was divided into books according to broad thematic outlines, such as prayer, taxation, predestination, and the portents of the Last Hour. Individual redactors could split larger books into smaller units, as is the case with al-Nawawī's three books of prayer, which correspond to a single Book of Prayer in the redactions of Ibn Manjuwayh and al-Mizzī.

Setting aside Ibn ʿAsākir's claim that Muslim left the collection's structure unfinished, we may think that in Muslim's lifetime the work comprised forty-three books. In all likelihood, each book was a continuous textual unit, reflecting Muslim's view that traditions should be left to speak for themselves, without an explicative intervention on behalf of the collector. During the fourth/tenth century, the transmitters and copyists of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* began to divide the books into *bāb*s, to facilitate its use by the jurists. Similarly to the books, the *bāb*s in the early redactions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* were mostly larger than the *bāb*s in its later redactions. In the lifetime of al-Ḥākim and Ibn Manjuwayh, the *bāb* headings were at an initial stage of development. They took the form of short annotations repeating an outstanding expression that is shared by the following group of traditions. The *bāb* headings were ultimately fixed by al-Nawawī,[47] although they are notably absent even in some of the post-Nawawī manuscripts.[48] More recently, ʿAbd al-Bāqī adhered to al-Nawawī's formulations of the *bāb* headings, whereas the editors of Dār al-Taʾṣīl marked the *bāb* breaks with an octagram placed in an empty rectangle while citing in the footnotes the variant heading according to each of the five manuscripts used for their critical edition.[49]

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[45] Abū Nuʿaym, *Mustakhraj*, *Kitāb al-Īmān* § 2 = ʿAbd al-Bāqī, *Kitāb al-Īmān* §§ 2–4; AN § 49 = ʿABq. §§ 43–46; AN § 56 = ʿABq. §§ 53–55; AN § 57 = ʿABq. §§ 56–57; AN § 67 = ʿABq. §§ 66–68; AN § 78 = ʿABq. §§ 76–77; AN § 82 = ʿABq. §§ 80 (partly), 81, and 82 (partly); AN § 83 = ʿABq. §§ 82 (partly)–85; AN § 92 = ʿABq. §§ 95–96.

[46] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, *Kitāb al-Īmān* § 10 = Abū Nuʿaym, *Mustakhraj*, *Kitāb al-Īmān* 8–14; ʿABq. § 60 = AN §§ 60–61; ʿABq. § 70 = AN §§ 69–71; ʿABq. § 71 = AN §§ 72–73.

4.2 *The Structure of Subchapters in the* Ṣaḥīḥ*: Continuous* ḥadīth *Criticism*

Juynboll has observed that Muslim groups all traditions devoted to a concrete legal or theological question in a single *isnād-cum-matn* unit.[50] Such units formed the basis of the later division of the books into *bāb*s. This approach allowed Muslim to keep conveniently all traditions dealing with a specific issue in one place, with only a few repetitions across different *bāb*s.[51] This compact citation of similar *matn*s earned him the praise of many *ḥadīth* experts and led some of them to prefer his *Ṣaḥīḥ* to al-Bukhārī's collection.[52]

Each of Muslim's chapters opens with a lead-in tradition outlining the basic issue at hand. Designated by al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ as *aṣl* (basis),[53] this tradition is followed by nuancing auxiliaries in the form of *mutābiʿāt* and *shawāhid*. According to the Qāḍī, the *aṣl* is transmitted by a representative of Muslim's first, most trustworthy, category of traditionists, whereas the auxiliary transmissions belong to the second, less reliable, category.[54] Juynboll has aptly described the chapters in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* as "*matn* clusters." He argued that, compared with the imperfect *mutābiʿāt*, the accomplished *aṣl* traditions are more often than not of a later origin.[55] In his thematic units, Muslim does not merely pile up traditions with similar texts and chains. He arranges series of *matn* clusters in such a manner as to make a theological or legal point while paying close attention to the quality of *ḥadīth* variants. Let us take up four examples.

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[47] Al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* i, 21.

[48] Taʾṣīl i, 104.

[49] The Escorial MS. and the Köprülü MS. include *bāb* headings only sporadically; Taʾṣīl i, 227, 236; in the Ibn Khayr MS., the headings are carefully fixed; ibid. i, 231; the Princeton MS. features *bāb* headings mostly as marginal annotations; ibid. i, 252. Nothing is mentioned about the sectioning of the Medina MS.

[50] Juynboll, Muslim 692; idem, "Nāfiʿ" 239–240.

[51] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 70; al-Sakhāwī, *Ghunya* 42. ʿAbd al-Bāqī counted 137 repetitions, of which seventy-one in different books of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*; ʿAbd al-Bāqī v, 601.

[52] Ibn Ḥajar, *Hady* 12; al-Suyūṭī, *Dībāj* i, 33.

[53] Juynboll, Muslim 692. Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, who died 140 years before al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, articulated a similar understanding of *aṣl* as he stated that *shādhdh* (peculiar) is a singular tradition by a trustworthy transmitter "that has no *aṣl* by way of transmissions [that run] parallel to the trustworthy transmitter's one"; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Maʿrifa* 375.

[54] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 128–129.

Example 1. *Kitāb al-Qadar* opens with five traditions asserting that every human being's lot is predetermined by God 120 days after conception.[56] In the next eight traditions (nos. 6–9), the Prophet assures an anonymous interlocutor that, although the lots are predetermined, one may not abandon actions on account of predestination, for God facilitates (*yassara*) actions by their foreordained course of happening.[57] The series ends with two traditions that emphasize the decisiveness of the last actions in life (*khawātīm*) for one's entrance into Paradise or Hell.[58] In his arrangement, Muslim moves on from traditions endorsing divine predestination in general to theological nuances of the traditionalist understanding of predestination. He argues that no one should abandon works by presuming that every course of action and its outcome had been set in stone by God. Although predetermined, the actions are performed of one's free volition. God facilitates their happening, and they remain decisive for one's fate in the afterlife. By asserting the synergy of divine predestination and human actions, Muslim oppugns the Qadaris, who rejected divine predestination, as well as the early Ḥanafis/Murji'is, who could use predestinarian traditions to exclude the actions from the definition of faith.

As a *ḥadīth* critic, Muslim focuses on the quality of the *isnād*s and the *matn*s of the *qadar* traditions. In the first group, he explores a significant *matn* difference. Ten *isnād*s converging on al-Aʿmash (Kufa; d. 148/765) carry *matn*s according to which God sends an angel to breathe the spirit into the embryo and write down its lots after a fetal development spanning three stages, each forty days long, to wit, *jamʿ* (putting together), *ʿalaqa* (blood-clot), and *muḍgha* (lump of flesh).[59] This tripartite formula, which, as noted by Van Ess and Eich,[60] goes back to the Quranic sequence of *nuṭfa* (semen), *ʿalaqa*, and *muḍgha* (Q 22:5; 23:13–14), is absent in the second group of traditions, whose seven chains center on the centenarian Companion Abū l-Ṭufayl ʿĀmir b. Wāthila al-Laythī (Mecca—Kufa; b. 3/625, d. between 100/718–719 and 110/728–729). In

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[55] Juynboll, Muslim 692.

[56] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 2643–2646 (1–5) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 2732–2736. On the theological implications of these traditions, see pp. 111–115 above.

[57] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 2647–2649 (6–9) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 2737–2739.1.

[58] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2651 (11–12) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 2741–2742.

[59] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2643 (1) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 2732–2732.1.

[60] Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 16, 32; Eich, "Topos" 49.

Abū Ṭufayl's tradition, only *nuṭfa* is mentioned, while the angel comes down on the fortieth or the forty-second day after conception.[61] Muslim, who prefers the Quranic tripartite scheme, seals the argument with a tradition based on a chain through the Basran companion Anas b. Malik (d. 93/712), in which the Quranic formula *nuṭfa–ʿalaqa–muḍgha* is repeated verbatim.[62] Muslim's formal reason to accept the tripartite version is the numerical preponderance of the *isnād*s that support it. Apart from this argument, the contradictory biographical data about Abū Ṭufayl[63] puts a question mark on the reliability of his reports in the eyes of Muslim and other traditionalists. By citing Anas b. Mālik's tradition last, after the clusters through al-Aʿmash and Abū l-Ṭufayl, Muslim may have wanted to introduce a Sunni counterbalance to the pro-ʿAlid inclinations of the latter two men. Most likely, he also took into account the fact that the tradition was originally stopped (*mawqūf*) at Anas b. Mālik's level and only then raised to the Prophet's level by Anas's grandson ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. Anas.

The above example shows that Muslim takes into account the existence of contradictory evidence and gives preference to one of the reports, based on his *ḥadīth*-critical methodology.

Example 2. In *Kitāb al-Musāqāt*, Muslim cites three variants of a tradition that prohibits the selling of unripe dates. The *isnād*s turn on the Basran Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl (d. 142–143/759–761) reporting on the authority of Anas b. Mālik.[64] The *isnād*s of the first variant carry a *matn* in which Anas b. Malik states that the Prophet prohibited the selling of dates in advance, before they had ripened (*tazhū*). Those present query Anas about the exact meaning of ripening, which he defines as "turning red or yellow" and goes on to exclaim, "Should God prevent the dates [from ripening], how would the wealth of your brother be licit for you?!"[65] In the second variant, Muslim cites a *mutābiʿ* through Ibn Wahb → Mālik b. Anas → Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, in which the *matn* is blurred in a way that the audience's query may now be understood as being directed to the Prophet, not Anas.[66] Lastly, in yet another *mutābiʿ*, through Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād (Mecca → Baghdad; d. 234/849) → ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad al-Darāwardī (Medina; d. 189/804–805) → Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, what was Anas's justification of the prohibition ("Should God prevent" etc.) has become the Prophet's utterance.[67] Clearly, Muslim begins with the correct variant, which is supported by the largest number of *isnād*s. In it Anas transmits a prophetic *ḥadīth* and supplements it with his own comment. Second, Muslim presents us with two anomalous variants, which demonstrate how Anas's comment was erroneously inserted into the Prophet's statement. In the parlance of later *ḥadīth* critics, such insertions became known as *idrāj*.[68] To modern *ḥadīth* scholars, Muslim's arrangement of traditions instantiates what Schacht termed "back projection of opinions" and "backward growth of *isnāds*" from more recent to older authorities.[69]

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[61] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, 2645 (2–3) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 2734, 2735–2734, 2735.3. The transmission history of this tradition is examined in Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie* 20–30 and Eich, "Topos" 22–53.

[62] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2646 (5) = Taʾṣīl, no. 2736. The Common Link of this group is the Basran traditionist Ḥammād b. Zayd (b. 98/716–717, d. 179/795); Eich, "The term *nasama*" 38–40.

[63] ʿĀmir b. Wāthila is sometimes described as a follower of the mild Shiʿi opinion that although ʿAlī was superior to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, their caliphate was legitimate. On the other hand, al-Bukhārī is said to have avoided ʿĀmir's transmissions because of his "excessive Shiʿism"; Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* vii, 153. Moreover, Ibn Qutayba describes ʿĀmir as al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī's standard bearer and a believer in the return (*rajʿa*) of the imam (likely ʿAlī) after a period of occultation; *Mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* 22. Both claims imply extremist Shiʿi beliefs. The remaining biographical reports about Abū Ṭufayl are equally contradictory and difficult to verify; Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 338–340; Eich, "Topos" 14–17.

[64] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1555 (15–16) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 1589–1589.2.

The Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl bundle is included in a larger *bāb* prohibiting the sale of unripe fruit. Based on this fact, Abdul-Jabbar has analyzed this bundle in relation to the preceding one, which includes three variants as well.[70] Centering on the Meccan Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767), who reports on the authority of Abū l-Zubayr al-Makkī (d. 126/743–744 or 128/745–746) → Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh (Medina; d. 73/692–693), they justify the prohibition by the Prophet's own words.[71] Abdul-Jabbar argues that this is the technically superior variant of the *ḥadīth*[72] while noting that in the Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl bundle the justification of the prohibition is a statement by Anas, not the Prophet. If a connection is to be made between the two bundles, it suggests a logical progression that calls for modifying Abdul-Jabbar's opinion that, in this case, Muslim begins with the most accomplished narration. By citing the Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl bundle after the Ibn Jurayj bundle, Muslim exposes the *matn* alteration in the latter and implies that it extends to the former. He also points to Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād (who is present in the *isnād*s of both bundles!) as the transmitter who was responsible for transforming an opinion that was originally associated with Anas into a Prophetic utterance.[73] Muslim's reason to put the Meccan cluster at the beginning of the subsection was that formally it is a prophetic statement, whereas the Basran version is such a statement mixed with a Companion pronouncement.

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[65] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1555 (15) = Taʾṣīl, no. 1589.

[66] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1555 (15) = Taʾṣīl, no. 1589.1.

[67] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1555 (16) = Taʾṣīl, no. 1589.2.

[68] According to al-Dāraquṭnī, this is an error committed by either Muslim's direct informant, Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād, or Ibn ʿAbbād's informant, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad, "if he ever communicated it to Muḥammad [b. ʿAbbād]"; al-Dāraquṭnī, *Tatabbuʿ* 361, no. 199; al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* x, 218. See also Brown, "Criticism" 24. *Pace* Brown, it does not seem that al-Dāraquṭnī meant to criticize Muslim. He only drew the obvious conclusion from the ordering of Muslim's evidence.

[69] Schacht, "Revaluation" 145–146, 150–151; idem, *Origins* 156–157, 165–166.

[70] Abdul-Jabbar, "Collections" 145–147.

[71] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1554 (14) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 1588–1588.2.

[72] Abdul-Jabbar, "Collections" 146.

Example 3. In *Kitāb al-Ḥajj*, Muslim examines three clusters of traditions about the places near Mecca (*mawāqīt*) in which pilgrims coming from different directions should enter the ritual state of performing the pilgrimage (*ihlāl*).[74] The first bundle includes five *isnād*s converging on Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān (Yemen; b. ca. 35/655–656; d. 106/725) citing Ibn ʿAbbās who reports that the Prophet appointed Dhū l-Ḥulayfa for the people of Medina, al-Juḥfa for the Syrians, Qarn al-Manāzil for the pilgrims coming from Najd, and Yalamlam for the Yemenis.[75] This tradition is followed by a group of eight *isnād*s converging on ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar.[76] Ibn ʿUmar cites the Prophet, except for one *isnād*, in which he cites his father, the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, reporting on the authority of the Prophet.[77] This *isnād* difference suggests that most of Ibn ʿUmar's traditions may be interrupted (*mursal*) between Ibn ʿUmar and the Prophet. The impression of *irsāl* is strengthened by the *matn* in which Ibn ʿUmar admits, using slightly varying expressions, that he is uncertain about the source of the statement that the Yemenis enter from Yalamlam. The third bundle comprises three *isnād*s turning on Ibn Jurayj, who cites Abū l-Zubayr al-Makkī on the authority of Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh.[78] Just like the second bundle, the *isnād* here seems to be defective: Abū l-Zubayr is unsure that Jābir cited the Prophet. Apart from the *isnād* uncertainty, the last *matn* differs from the other *matn*s in the *mawāqīt* cluster in that it appoints Dhāt ʿIrq for the people of Iraq. The reference to Iraq is, of course, anachronistic. This part of the world was not yet conquered in the Prophet's days, and there could not have been pilgrims coming from there.[79]

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[73] Abdul-Jabbar has noted this possibility but kept it confined to the Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl → Anas version.

[74] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 1181–1183 (11–18) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 1204–1206.

[75] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1181 (11–12) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 1204–1204.1.

[76] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 1182 (13–15), 1183 (17) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 1205–1205.3.

[77] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1182 (14) = Taʾṣīl, no. 1205.1.

[78] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1183 (16, 18) = Taʾṣīl, no. 1206. In ʿAbd al-Bāqī's edition, no. 16 is clearly misplaced.

[79] Noted by al-Dāraquṭnī, *Tatabbuʿ* 369–370, no. 208; cf. Goldziher, *Studien* 149. Al-Nawawī

Thus, Muslim begins with a bundle whose *isnād* runs uninterrupted to the level of the Prophet. Then he cites two groups of traditions based on *isnād*s that were originally interrupted. By this arrangement, he argues that the first group of *mawāqīt* traditions represents the correct transmission, whereas the other two groups have defective *isnād*s that were improved in the process of transmission. Note also that the defective *matn* is cited last.

Example 4. In *Kitāb al-Masājid wa-mawāḍiʿ al-ṣalāt* Muslim cites a series of traditions that prohibit anyone who ate garlic or onions from going to pray in the mosque.[80] At the very end of the series, Muslim quotes an extensive tradition about ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's farewell sermon, in which he digresses to the said prohibition.[81] The reason for this ordering of traditions is that the last tradition presents the garlic-and-onion statement as ʿUmar's not the Prophet's words, that is, the *isnād* is stopped (*mawqūf*) at a Companion level. In addition, Muslim may have known that, unlike his *isnād*, which passes through Qatāda b. Diʿāma → Sālim b. Abī l-Jaʿd (Kufa; d. 97–101/715–720) → Maʿdān b. Abī Ṭalḥa (Syria; d. ?) → ʿUmar, there were several *isnād*s from the type *mursal*, in which Sālim b. Abī l-Jaʿd reports directly on the authority of ʿUmar, although he could not have met him due to the age difference.[82] By placing the tradition at the paragraph's end, Muslim certainly had in mind its defectiveness.

The above examples show that, as observed by Juynboll, Muslim carefully arranges his evidence taking into account the quality of each *isnād* and *matn* variant. When citing variants of uneven quality, Muslim places the most accomplished tradition at the beginning of the respective *isnād-cum-matn* cluster. This tradition is then followed by one or more variants whose *isnād*s or *matn*s Muslim considers defective.[83] Sometimes the anomalous tradition is flanked

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is at pains to refute al-Dāraquṭnī's criticism, because, implicitly, it casts doubt on the authenticity of the other *mawāqīt* traditions—for their mention of Syria, which was not conquered as well. Al-Nawawī argues that these traditions attest to the Prophet's miraculous foreknowledge of future events; *Sharḥ* viii, 81–82.

[80] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 561–566 (68–77) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 551–556.

[81] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 567 (78) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 557–557.1.

[82] Such knowledge is assumed by al-Dāraquṭnī, who suggests that Muslim preferred Qatāda's full *isnād*, even though it is contested by three authorities transmitting on the authority of Sālim b. Abī l-Jaʿd → ʿUmar; al-Dāraquṭnī, *Tatabbuʿ* 370, no. 209.

[83] For what seems to be an exception, see ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 455 (163) = Taʾṣīl, no. 449. The issue at hand here is a minor *isnād* error in which one of the transmitters has incorrectly added "Ibn al-ʿĀṣ" to the name of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr al-Ḥijāzī, thus wrongly identifying him as ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. Muslim cites collectively the two *isnād*s, and remarks that the second one, passing through ʿAbd al-Razzāq, does not include "Ibn al-ʿĀṣ." He must have regarded this slip of tongue as insignificant enough as to preclude citing the two traditions separately, with the correct variant placed before the incorrect one.

by the numerically preponderant correct variants.[84] Anyone conversant with Muslim's methodological principles can quickly identify the reasons for which he put a bundle of traditions in the foreground while shifting another bundle of similar traditions to the second place. The *Ṣaḥīḥ* is not only a source of legal norms but also a continuous exercise in *ḥadīth* criticism.

4.3 *The Number of Traditions in the* Ṣaḥīḥ

According to an early estimation by Aḥmad b. Salama, the number of traditions in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* stands at 12 000.[85] In al-Dhahabī's opinion, this number includes all instances of repetition (*mukarrar*), by which he understands that whenever Muslim reports on the authority of direct informants A and B, citing a single informant C, Ibn Salama counts two traditions. Citing Abū Quraysh al-Quhustānī (d. 313/925–926),[86] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ specifies that the number of base traditions (*uṣūl*) in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* stands at 4 000 while the remaining ones are repetitions. Without defining his understanding of repetition, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ suggests—by analogy to al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*—that the total number of traditions in Muslim's collection is close to 7 300.[87]

The modern editor of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* Muḥammad Fu'ād ʿAbd al-Bāqī enumerated 3 033 *uṣūl*.[88] By adding to this number the number of repetitions, that is, the auxiliary traditions that ʿAbd al-Bāqī marked following Wensinck's numbering,[89] and the traditions that ʿAbd al-Bāqī marked with brackets without numbering, Ṭawāliba and Āl Salmān arrived at 7395 traditions, including those cited in the Introduction.[90] A more recent electronic count by Dār al-Ta'ṣīl yielded 3031 *uṣūl* and 4494 repetitions, or a total of 7525 traditions.[91] The above counts fall markedly short of 12000 traditions, because they consider as a separate tradition only an *isnād* followed by a *matn* (or its part, or a statement that it carries a *matn* similar to the one carried by the preceding *isnād*), without taking into account how many direct informants reported the same *matn* to Muslim. That is, unlike Aḥmad b. Salama, who counted A and B on the authority of C as two traditions, Ṭawāliba, Āl Salmān, and Dār al-Ta'ṣīl consider it a single one.

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[84] Muslim's occasional insertion of the rejected variant amid the correct ones has misled ʿAwwāma into concluding that sometimes Muslim might open his *matn* cluster with the defective wording and afterwards cite the correct one. ʿAwwāma gives an example with two variants of the Prophet's statement urging thorough ablution. In the first variant, the Prophet (1) states "Woe to the heels from the Fire" and (2) adds, "Perform ablution thoroughly"; in the second, correct variant, he only states "Woe to the heels from the Fire"; ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 241 (26–27) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 232–232.1. ʿAwwāma (*Manhaj* 28) failed to notice that the incorrect variant is in fact preceded by seven *isnād*s carrying a *matn* in which ʿĀ'isha states, "Perform ablution thoroughly," and then cites the Prophet's statement in no. 1. By so ordering the *matn* clusters, Muslim conveys the message that a Companion statement was erroneously presented as the Prophet's words.

[85] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Ṭabaqāt* ii, 288; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh* xx, 186.

[86] Quhustān is the southern part of Khurāsān between Naysābūr and Herat; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iv, 564.

[87] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 99–100; cf. al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 187.

[88] ʿAbd al-Bāqī v, 602.

[89] After each *aṣl*, ʿAbd al-Bāqī retains Wensinck's numbering of the *mutābiʿāt*, without marking them continuously, e.g., *Kitāb al-Nikāḥ* 120 (1436), 121 (…), 122 (…), in which the first digit stands for Wensinck's numbering within the chapter while the second digit reflects Abd al-Baqi's continuous numbering of the *uṣūl*. Compared with Wensinck, ʿAbd al-Bāqī

Clearly, the number of traditions in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is a matter of methodological assumption that depends on the editor's understanding of repetition. Counting each individual informant of Muslim will yield about 12000 transmissions; counting each individual text will yield 7395 or 7525 texts. Be that as it may, ʿAbd al-Bāqī and Dār al-Ta'ṣīl agree on an almost identical number of *uṣūl*: 3033 and 3031 respectively.

5 Reception and Canonization

5.1 *Muslim and His Critics*

Notwithstanding his posthumous fame, during his lifetime Muslim does not seem to have been a much sought-after traditionist. The list of those who transmitted *ḥadīth* on his authority includes forty-six persons (see Appendix 4).[92] One of them, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasnawayh, was an impostor who pretended to have transmitted from Muslim, whereas another one, Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq al-Ṣayrafī, is impossible to identify. Among the remaining forty-four, twenty-five, or 56.8 percent, were active in Naysābūr.[93] The next largest group, trailing far behind the Naysābūri traditionists, comprises seven Baghdadis, or 15.9 per-

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sometimes isolates even more *mutābiʿāt*, which he leaves unnumbered, e.g., (…) between *Kitāb al-Nikāḥ* 120 (1436) and 121 (…).

[90] Ṭawāliba, *al-Imām Muslim* 109–110; Āl Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim* i, 394–395.

[91] Dār al-Ta'ṣīl i, 102, 291. The actual numbering in the Dār al-Ta'ṣīl edition ends at no. 3145, because they counted as more than one tradition each *matn* in which two or more Companions are cited; see p. XIV above.

[92] The list is based on al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iv, 503; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* xxvii, 504–505; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* x, 126; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 562–563.

[93] Three of them are shared with other scholarly centers, namely Egypt, Isfahan, and Isfarāyīn.

cent of those who transmitted from Muslim.[94] The remaining twelve transmitters are spread over different centers in Iran and Transoxiana,[95] which suggests that they heard from Muslim during the course of scholarly travels to Naysābūr.

The regional distribution of those who took *ḥadīth* from Muslim indicates that he was a scholar of local significance who attracted chiefly Naysābūri students. Although recognized by a handful of Baghdadi traditionists, he was nearly unknown in the imperial capital. The reason for his limited popularity may have been the fame that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal enjoyed among the Partisans of Tradition. Because of his unswerving rejection of the Quran-created doctrine during the Miḥna, Aḥmad's fame as a towering champion of orthodoxy easily outshone the merits of any of his followers in the traditionalist movement. Moreover, Muslim's espousal of the *lafẓ* doctrine irritated Ibn Ḥanbal's influential Naysābūri lieutenant Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī. Even those who were less staunch in the rejection of *lafẓ* would have been reluctant to associate themselves with Muslim until al-Dhuhlī died in 258/872. In the remaining one or three years before his own passing away, Muslim could not accrete many new students.

The lukewarm reception of Muslim and his works by his contemporary traditionists was conditioned not only by theological and political reasons. After a century of largely indiscriminate gathering and transmission of *ḥadīth*, Muslim's efforts to establish and promote professional *ḥadīth* criticism aroused misgivings of various types and magnitude. Even though Muslim toiled to prove that many second/eighth-century traditionists criticized their informants, he could hardly ward off accusations of *ghība*. What is more, unlike traditionists like Yazīd b. Hārūn (Wāsiṭ; 118–206/736–821), who collected and passed on almost every tradition they came across, without much effort to sift the wheat from the chaff,[96] Muslim inaugurated a critical selection of traditions. Unseen in the second/eighth century, this practice gave the impression of selfish impudence. The traditionalist outrage at the critics' take on *ḥadīth* was expressed by Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī (b. 200/815–816, d. 264/878) who, upon seeing Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, exclaimed:

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[94] One of them is shared with Bukhara.

[95] Four of them are shared between two centers each.

[96] Yazīd b. Hārūn reputedly knew by heart 20 000 traditions with Syrian *isnād*s and 24 000 traditions with other *isnād*s, but Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn tellingly described him as "someone who does not belong to the Partisans of Tradition (!), because he does not discriminate [between sound and weak traditions] nor does he care about those on whose authority he relates"; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* xi, 368.

> These are people who seek untimely precedence and act self-conceitedly. They have composed a book that has no precedent to attain leadership before its time.[97]

Abū Zurʿa's charges against Muslim highlight the cleavage between the old school, whose representatives, even if aware of the problematic character of many traditions, would not exclude the unsound *ḥadīth* from their collections, and Muslim's newly introduced approach of composing a collection that included only reliable material.[98] As a traditionist, Abū Zurʿa wondered why Muslim selected for the *Ṣaḥīḥ* only four thousand traditions. "To whom has he left the rest?" he exclaimed[99] and, according to some versions of the same report, went on, "had he followed in the footsteps of (*dārā*) Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā [al-Dhuhlī], he would have become a scholar."[100] The second part of Abū Zurʿa's statement is illuminating: al-Dhuhlī was an old-school traditionist, who, because of his fondness for collecting everything transmitted, was often likened to al-Zuhrī.[101]

Al-Dhuhlī's resentment at the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is vividly described in an unparalleled report by Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (Damascus; b. 581–582/1185–1186, d. 654/1256). Muslim brought along the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to al-Dhuhlī boasting that, together with al-Bukhārī, he vetted a million traditions, of which only ten thousand turned out to be sound. These were written down in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Upon hearing this statement, al-Dhuhlī threw the manuscript in a nearby puddle.[102] Even if a witness to Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī's predilection for Ḥanbalism,[103] this report (whose source is unknown) grasps the attitude of the old-generation traditionists to Muslim's innovative take on *ḥadīth*. While al-Dhuhlī and Abū Zurʿa certainly appreciated Muslim's collection of tens of thousands of traditions, they found it hard to swallow his decision to cull only a few thousand for a work that he pretentiously entitled *The sound collection*.

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[97] *Abū Zurʿa wa-juhūdu-hu* ii, 675; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* v, 451; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 571. Noted by Dickinson, *Development* 19, note 30 and Brown, *Canonization* 91–92.

[98] Noted by Gilliot, Abū Zurʿa.

[99] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 99.

[100] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 93; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 187; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* ix, 514.

[101] Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt* ix, 115; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xix, 339; idem, *Siyar* xii, 274, 276.

[102] Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt* xv, 448.

[103] That such a predilection may have been at work is suggested by the fact that Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī has selected for his biographical note on Muslim only two reports, none of which may be described as favorable. First, he recounts how al-Dhuhlī threw the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the mud, and, second, he cites a report about Muslim's siding with al-Bukhārī in the *lafẓ* issue.

In addition to intolerable innovation and scholarly immodesty, Abū Zurʿa scolded Muslim for methodological inconsistency. Although he alleged to have included in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* only sound traditions, Muslim transmitted on the authority of informants who either committed errors or spread outright lies.[104] Abū Zurʿa was also sensitive to the political situation in the wake of the Miḥna: The adherents of heretical teachings (*ahl al-bidaʿ*) might invalidate traditionalist arguments just because they were based on traditions that Muslim excluded from the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Wāra (Rayy; b. ca. 190/805–806, d. 270/884) seconded Abū Zurʿa's dogmatic charge, which could hardly be allayed by Muslim's conciliatory statement that not every tradition he left outside the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is unsound.[105] The rationalist opponents of the Partisans of Tradition disliked *ḥadīth*. Now Muslim seemed to go along with their *ḥadīth* deprecating arguments, thereby depriving the traditionalist party of a powerful polemical tool. The rationalists could easily drive the exclusivist attitude to its extreme and question the authenticity of each *ḥadīth* that is not part of Muslim's sound selection. In the issues of dogma, which were the crux of the Miḥna, the repercussions of such an exclusivism could be disastrous for the Partisans of Tradition.

Another Rāzi critical voice was Abū Zurʿa's nephew Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm (d. Isfahan, 320/932). When the famous traditionist Ibn Khuzayma (Naysābūr; 223–311/838–924) decided to compose a *mustakhraj* of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Abū l-Qāsim burst out, "Do not disgrace yourself!"[106] Abū l-Qāsim's exclamation may have hardly been driven by a reverence for Muslim's collection. Ibn Khuzayma was a famous Naysābūri traditionist who, by all means, could compose a work that was not inferior to Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the quality of its *isnād*s. Ibn Khuzayma risked disgracing himself not because he would fail to match Muslim but because, from Abū l-Qāsim's perspective, his contemplated *mustakhraj* would confer on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* undue scholarly significance. The encounter between Ibn Khuzayma and Abū l-Qāsim al-Rāzī indicates that while the authority of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* was on the rise in his native Naysābūr, *ḥadīth* experts from Rayy (located 659 km. to the west of Naysābūr) were sharply critical of this collection.

5.2 *Approval and Elevation to Canonical Status*

Notwithstanding the critical voices from Rayy, elsewhere Muslim received acclaim already in his lifetime. Isḥāq b. Rāhwayh (Marw → Naysābūr; 161–

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[104] *Abū Zurʿa wa-juhūdu-hu* ii, 675–676; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* v, 451–452.

[105] *Abū Zurʿa wa-juhūdu-hu* ii, 676–677; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* v, 452.

[106] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 109.

238/778–853) praised him as one of a kind,[107] and Isḥāq b. Manṣūr al-Kawsaj (Marw → Naysābūr; d. 251/865) told him, "the good will not vanish so long as God preserves you for the Muslims."[108] Muslim's Basran *shaykh* Muḥammad b. Bashshār Bundār (b. 167/783–784, d. 252/866) ranked him among the "four best memorizers in the world," the other three being Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī, al-Dārimī (Samarqand; 181–255/797–869), and al-Bukhārī.[109] Similarly, Muḥammad b. al-Yaʿqūb b. al-Akhram (Naysābūr; b. ca. 250/864–865, d. 344/955) said that Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī, Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, and Ibrāhīm b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 295/908) had been the greatest scholars born in Naysābūr.[110] Muslim and al-Bukhārī may be later additions to such catalogs of the best *ḥadīth* masters; as shown by Brown, their early versions do not include either name.[111] Al-Akhram also averred that al-Bukhārī and Muslim would rarely fail to notice a sound tradition (*mā yathbutu min al-ḥadīth*),[112] a statement that seems to contradict assertions that Muslim left out from the *Ṣaḥīḥ* many sound traditions.[113]

Naṣr b. Aḥmad (Baghdad → Bukhara; b. 223/837–838, d. 293/906) praised Muslim as a "vessel of knowledge."[114] The same laudation is associated with Muḥammad b. al-Naḍr al-Jārūdī (Naysābūr; d. 291/904),[115] a close friend of Muslim and a partisan of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī. The identical words of the two reports may suggest that the second one, which is cited by Mughlaṭāy, is modeled on the first one, which is cited by Ibn ʿAsākir, who flourished two centuries earlier than Mughlaṭāy. On the other hand, the expression "vessel of knowledge" is habitually applied to famous Muslim scholars by their contemporaries and successors, and it is conceivable that more than one *ḥadīth* transmitter and biographer might praise Muslim with these words.

Some *ḥadīth* scholars preferred Muslim to al-Bukhārī. The Kufan authority Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. ʿUqda (249–332/863–944) held Muslim and al-Bukhārī in equal respect. He, nevertheless, pointed out that, when mentioning Syrian transmitters, al-Bukhārī would sometimes record someone's name and teknonym in two places as signifying different persons, thereby splitting one person into two different transmitters. By contrast, Muslim seldom overlooked defects (*ʿilal*) in *ḥadīth*, because he relied only on uninterrupted *isnād*s and avoided those missing a link at one of the levels of transmission.[116] Incidentally, this report suggests that Muslim used the *isnād*s as his main source for the names of transmitters.

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[107] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 123.

[108] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 89.

[109] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* ii, 336; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 89; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 185; Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xi, 171; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* x, 128.

[110] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f19a (s.v. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Ṭālib); Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 91; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 185; Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xi, 170; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* x, 128.

[111] Brown, *Canonization* 87.

[112] Ibn Manda, *Shurūṭ* 73; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 123.

[113] *Abū Zurʿa wa-juhūdu-hu* ii, 677.

[114] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 89.

[115] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xi, 170; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* x, 128.

In comparison with the acclaim accorded to Muslim in Transoxiana, Naysābūr, Basra, and Kufa, his reception in Rayy was less enthusiastic. Abū Zurʿa's famous colleague Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (b. 195/810–811, d. 277/890) described Muslim as *ṣadūq* (sincere),[117] a mildly positive qualification suggesting that Abū Ḥātim's attitude to Muslim was lukewarm. This attitude changed shortly after Muslim's death. Abū Ḥātim's famous son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (b. 240/854–855; d. 327/938), who as a young student of *ḥadīth* heard from Muslim in Rayy, described him as someone who is "trustworthy and retentive" and "possesses knowledge of *ḥadīth*."[118]

Whereas no one seems to have doubted Muslim's qualities qua *ḥadīth* transmitter, the controversy was triggered chiefly by his novel *ḥadīth* selection. We have seen how Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī censured Muslim for having composed a self-aggrandizing work in which he unblushingly abandoned the practice of the second/eighth-century traditionists. In contrast to this account, other reports, whose origins may be traced to early fifth/eleventh-century Sicily and al-Andalus, portray Abū Zurʿa as an appreciative evaluator of the same work. According to Muslim's own statement, upon completing the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, he showed it to Abū Zurʿa, who carefully reviewed the collection. Following Abū Zurʿa's comments, Muslim expunged every tradition for which Abū Zurʿa found a reason to be considered unsound.[119]

Abū Zurʿa and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī are said to have preferred Muslim as the most knowledgeable collector of sound traditions among their contemporary authorities (*mashāyikh ʿaṣr^i-himā*).[120] The language of this report suggests that both Abū Zurʿa and Abū Ḥātim ranked Muslim above al-Bukhārī. They may have been led to this opinion by animosity towards al-Bukhārī due to his belief in the createdness of the Quran's pronunciation. But, in this case, one wonders how they could hold Muslim in such a great esteem, considering that, "he defended al-Bukhārī for so long that this estranged him from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī."[121] Al-Dhuhlī, it will be recalled, was the head of the traditionalist party in Naysābūr; Abū Zurʿa and Abū Ḥātim were part of the same movement. Conceivably, their acclaim of Muslim may have preceded his siding with al-Bukhārī in the *lafẓ* issue. On the other hand, one should not discount the possibility that Muslim's articulation of *lafẓ* was less outspoken than al-Bukhārī's articulation, or that Abū Zurʿa and Abū Ḥātim, who were active in Rayy, were not as extreme traditionalists as their Naysābūri colleague al-Dhuhlī.

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[116] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f16b; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 123–124; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 90; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 185; Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xi, 170.

[117] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ* viii, 182–183.

[118] Ibid. viii, 182.

[119] The earliest known disseminator of this report is ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿIqāl al-Ṣaqallī (Sicily—Mecca; d. after 426/1034–1035), on the authority of Makkī b. ʿAbdān; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Tasmiya* 281. See also al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd* i, 67; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 139–140; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 186.

[120] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 122.

The contradictory reports about Abū Zurʿa's attitude to Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which flit between adamant rejection and critical approval, may reflect rival takes on Muslim's legacy. On the one side of the spectrum stood Muslim's traditionalist opponents, who perceived *ḥadīth* criticism as a form of personal insult to the forbears that undermined the sacred link between the Prophet and the next generations of Muslims and played into the hands of the detractors of traditionalist orthodoxy. Against these intransigent traditionalists stood those who cherished the *Ṣaḥīḥ* as an indispensable tool of *ḥadīth*-based theology and jurisprudence. Such a collection spared legal theorists and theologians the need for arduous gathering and evaluation of *ḥadīth* and allowed them to focus on the specific aspects of their scholarship.

A close examination of the two reports about Abū Zurʿa's reaction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ* suggests that they are not as contradictory as first glance may suggest. In the positive report, Muslim shows the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Abū Zurʿa immediately after its completion. Upon receiving Abū Zurʿa's response, Muslim weeds out all traditions whose soundness Abū Zurʿa questioned. In the negative report, an unnamed man brings to Abū Zurʿa "the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Muslim's narration," and Abū Zurʿa takes Muslim to task for citing Asbāṭ b. Naṣr, Qaṭan b. Nusayr, and Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, who were unreliable transmitters, while disregarding Muḥammad b. ʿAjlān (Medina; d. 148–149/765–767) and other reliable traditionists.

Abū Zurʿa may have resented Muslim's decision to preserve in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* a handful of citations through the above three transmitters[122] despite Abū Zurʿa's counsel to the contrary. Such a small misdemeanor, however, does not seem capable of undermining the reliability of the entire *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Abū Zurʿa's eyes. But even if he were as intransigent and unswerving as depicted in the negative report, one still wonders about the reason for his allegation that Muslim omits (*taraka*) to transmit from Muḥammad b. ʿAjlān. In fact, Muslim cites Ibn

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[121] Ibid. xv, 125.

[122] In the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim cites each of Asbāṭ b. Naṣr and Qaṭan b. Nusayr once, and Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā four times.

ʿAjlān fifteen times in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which could hardly have evaded Abū Zurʿa's sharp eye. One suspects that Abū Zurʿa's anonymous interlocutor showed him a collection that differed from Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* as we know it today. This possibility finds support in reports that, apart from the *Ṣaḥīḥ* that he "read over to the people," Muslim prepared two versions of the collection that included less authoritative traditions.[123] In the first, he left transmissions through ʿIkrima, the *mawlā* of Ibn ʿAbbās, and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, the biographer of the Prophet, both of whom had been accused of heterodoxy. In the second alternative version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim preserved traditions on the authority of weak transmitters (*ḍuʿafāʾ*). Neither of these two versions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is extant, but, if they really existed, each of them could easily provoke Abū Zurʿa's critical ire.

As a professional *ḥadīth* critic, Abū Zurʿa could not dismiss the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on account of its critical rigor. As a Partisan of Tradition, he was alert to the political repercussions of Muslim's scholarly exercise. Fears that such a collection might bring advantage to the adversaries of the traditionalist movement provided the strongest impulse for Abū Zurʿa's and Ibn Wāra's criticism. With the eclipse of the Miḥna and the ultimate victory of the traditionalist party over its rationalist rivals, qualms about the ideological disadvantage of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* (and Muslim's support of the *lafẓ* doctrine) quickly waned.

The *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s renown surged among the *ḥadīth* collectors and transmitters in the fourth/tenth century. Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Naysābūrī (b. 277/890–891, d. 349/960) declared, "Under the heaven, there is no sounder [work] in the knowledge of traditions than Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj's book."[124] Like Abū Zurʿa and Abū Ḥātim, Abū ʿAlī al-Naysābūrī apparently positioned Muslim's collection above that of al-Bukhārī. As a traditionist gifted with an excellent memory,[125] Abū ʿAlī should have valued highly the coherent structure of Muslim's collection as well as his preference for literal transmission and his avoidance of strewing the variants of a single *ḥadīth* across different thematic sections.

Saʿīd b. al-Sakan (Baghdad → Egypt; b. 294/906–907, d. 353/964) considered the works of Muslim, al-Bukhārī, Abū Dāwūd, and al-Nasāʾī "the pillars of Islam."[126] If not accidental, the order of the books in this early attestation of the four-book canon (which preceded the six-book canon) suggests that Saʿīd b. al-Sakan preferred Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* to al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[127] Ibn al-Sakan authored the presently lost *al-Muntaqā al-ṣaḥīḥ* (*The Sound selection*), which gained popularity in al-Andalus.[128] He may have been among the earliest authorities who were responsible for spreading Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the western parts of the caliphate, including al-Andalus.

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[123] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Tasmiya* 281; ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 111–112; Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, *Fahrasa* 140.

[124] Ibn Manda, *Shurūṭ* 71–72; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 123; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iv, 503; ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ikmāl* i, 80; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 92; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 69. Ibn Khuzayma used a similar expression to praise al-Bukhārī's expertise in the field of *ḥadīth*; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Maʿrifa* 267.

[125] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī described al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī as a "skillful memorizer" (*bāqiʿa fī l-ḥifẓ*); al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxv, 420.

[126] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 93.

Traditionalist approval of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* resonates in the words of Maslama b. al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (Cordoba; b. 293/905–906, d. 353/964),[129] "no one has composed a collection like it."[130] It is difficult to judge what made Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* so appealing to Maslama; Ibn Ḥajar's contention that Maslama appraised its "good composition and excellent order" (*ḥusn al-waḍʿa wa-jawdat al-tartīb*)[131] suggests that, just like Abū ʿAlī al-Naysābūrī, Maslama b. al-Qāsim liked the tidiness of Muslim's collection and probably his fondness for literal transmission. If Maslama b. al-Qāsim held anthropomorphist views as some reports allege,[132] he may have liked Muslim's gathering of traditions about the beatific vision and other anthropomorphic divine qualities in a single place in *Kitāb al-Īmān*.[133] During the period after the Miḥna, anthropomorphist *ḥadīth* had become "one of the most powerful icons of Islamic traditionalism,"[134] and Muslim's collection surely held a special appeal to traditionalists. On the other hand, Maslama's praise of Muslim is the antithesis of his debasing opinion about al-Bukhārī. According to Maslama, al-Bukhārī stole Ibn al-Madīnī's *ʿIlal* and subsequently used them to "compose his sound collection" (*waḍaʿa kitāb^{a}-hu al-ṣaḥīḥ*).[135] Thus, in Maslama's eyes, Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is an original work with indisputable merits, whereas al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* owes its fame to an act of plagiarism.[136]

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[127] The later al-Mizzī, who also cites this report, places al-Bukhārī before Muslim (*Tahdhīb* i, 167).

[128] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxvi, 89.

[129] On Maslama, see Fierro, "Bāṭinism."

[130] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ikmāl* i, 80; Ibn Ḥajar, *Hady* 13.

[131] Ibn Ḥajar, *Hady* 13.

[132] Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān* viii, 62. For more on this issue, see Fierro, "Bāṭinism" 91.

[133] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 173–183 (279–303) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 164–173, 174.5.

[134] Holtzman, *Anthropomorphism* 186–187.

[135] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* ix, 54–55.

[136] According to Brown (*Canonization* 94–96), the story implies traditionalist discontent with al-Bukhārī's daring undertaking to evaluate and cull his masters' traditions rather than merely transmit them. There is more to Maslama's report, however. Ibn al-Madīnī's *ʿIlal* could not have served as the basis of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, as averred by Maslama b. al-Qāsim. In the third/ninth century, the word *ʿilal* served to describe *rijāl*-critical compendia, which is clear from the contents of Ibn al-Madīnī's *ʿIlal*; see Pavlovitch, *Ḥadīth* criticism. In this

As the authority of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* increased among local and visiting traditionists in Naysābūr, so did the fame of its compiler. The reverential attitude to Muslim permeates the story about Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī's (Naysābūr; b. 325/937 or 330/962, d. 412/1021) dream in which the caliph (*amīr al-muʾminīn*) ordains that Muslim should lead the prayer in the mosque.[137] While retrospectively alluding to the caliphal endorsement of the traditionalist party, most likely in the reign of al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–247/847–861), who abolished the Miḥna, al-Sulamī's dream elevates Muslim's scholarly stature. Leading the congregational prayer by the caliph's decree symbolically transforms Muslim into "the commander of the faithful in *ḥadīth*" (*amīr al-muʾminīn fī l-ḥadīth*), a honorific that was conferred on the most outstanding *ḥadīth* scholars.[138]

With its transformation into a paragon of methodological strictness and *ḥadīth* authenticity, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* became capable of working miracles. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī recounts a tradition, on the authority of al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, according to which an uncertain informant saw in a dream Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Zaghūrī (Naysābūr; d. 359/970), who, in his life, had spared no effort in collecting (*jamʿ*) Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. When asked, "What has God done for you?", Abū ʿAlī al-Zaghūrī told his oneiric interlocutor that he was saved (*najawtu*) thanks to his transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[139]

During Muslim's lifetime and the first century after his death, his renown as a *ḥadīth* collector and transmitter was centered in Naysābūr. Although praised by *ḥadīth* transmitters such as the Basran Muḥammad b. Bashshār, the Kufan Ibn ʿUqda, the Egyptian Ibn al-Sakan, and the Andalusian Maslama b. al-Qāsim, Muslim does not seem to have basked in the universal acclaim that will be conferred on him in the later centuries.[140] This situation began to change towards

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capacity, it stands closer to al-Bukhārī's *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* than to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Indirect criticism of al-Bukhārī's *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* may be seen in the report that Maslama composed his own work of the same title, which included all traditionists neglected by al-Bukhārī; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān* viii, 61. Maslama's debasing opinion about al-Bukhārī may have been animated by scholarly rivalry.

[137] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 91–92.

[138] Muslim, however, is not counted among the "commanders of the faithful in *ḥadīth*."

[139] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 123; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lviii, 92; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 71. On al-Zaghūrī, see al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iii, 158. Al-Ḥākim's informant, ʿUmar b. Aḥmad [b. ʿUmar] al-Zāhid (Naysābūr; d. ?), conjectured that the dreamer was Abū Saʿīd [Aḥmad] b. Yaʿqūb [b. Aḥmad] (Naysābūr; d. 340/952), but his hypothesis does not stand the test of chronology. Abū Saʿīd died nineteen years before al-Zaghūrī, and his dream does not seem to have been prognostic. Probably for this reason, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ omits the dreamer's name altogether.

[140] Muslim was hardly noticed by the fourth/tenth-century *ḥadīth* theorists; Brown, *Canonization* 87–90.

mid-fourth/tenth century, when we observe an increasing penetration of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Iran, North Africa, and al-Andalus.

In Isfahan, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was promoted by Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Manda (310–395/922–1005), a Ḥanbalī traditionist and theologian. A student of Ibn al-Sakan,[141] Ibn Manda adopted his teacher's arrangement of the four major *ḥadīth* collectors, as follows: al-Bukhārī, Muslim, ʿAbū Dāwūd, and al-Nasāʾī. To these superior collectors, he added a group of another four presumably less significant authorities, to wit, al-Dārimī, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Khuzayma, and Aḥmad al-Nabīl.[142] Muḥammad b. Isḥāq's son Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (b. 381–383/991–994, d. 470/1078) became a pivotal transmitter of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

At the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century, the famous Andalusian traditionist and jurisprudent ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Ḥazm (384–456/994–1064), who held Ibn al-Sakan's *al-Muntaqā al-ṣaḥīḥ* in great esteem,[143] preferred Muslim's work because of his contiguous transmission (*al-ḥadīth al-sard*).[144] By this expression, Ibn Ḥazm most likely commended Muslim's convenient grouping together of similar traditions, as well as his keeping away from explicative chapter headings. A textually oriented Ẓāhiri jurisprudent, Ibn Ḥazm found such an unreflective citation especially appealing.

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ziyādat Allāh, Abū Marwān al-Ṭubnī (Cordoba; 396–457/1006–1065) recalls that some of his *shaykh*s preferred Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* to al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[145] Although this statement may be describing Ibn Ḥazm, who was one of al-Ṭubnī's teachers, it may be referring as well to a larger group of Andalusian scholars who held Muslim in great esteem during the first quarter of the fifth/eleventh century. The same tendency is reflected in al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's declaration, "[Muslim] was praised by not a few among the past masters, who agreed on his mastery and precedence."[146]

By the sixth/twelfth century, disputes about the precedence of one of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s over the other had largely abated. Both collections came to be praised as overwhelmingly sound, with al-Bukhārī ranking above Muslim as being stricter in his selection of traditions.[147] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ regarded Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* as accredited by the consensus (*ijmāʿ*) of the *umma*, even though it had not attained the degree of massive dissemination (*tawātur*), which precludes error and yields certain knowledge.[148] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ was reluctant to accord the *Ṣaḥīḥ* the status of *mutawātir*, because in the first generation after Muslim its transmission was limited to Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān in the east and Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Qalānisī in the west.[149] A generation after Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, al-Nawawī pointed out that the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was *mutawātir* in general; that is, its belonging to Muslim was a matter of certain knowledge. At the same time, al-Nawawī reiterated Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's warning about the sparsity of the collection's early transmitters.[150] He also stated that the traditions in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* are collectively accepted as sound by the *umma*. This consensus makes them legally binding, but, significantly, it does not guarantee that they incorporate the Prophet's words.[151] Since al-Nawawī made this statement while reflecting on the status of isolated traditions (*āḥād*, sg. *wāḥid*), one may overhear in his words the old concern about the reliability of the early parts of the *isnād*s, which frequently take the form of single lines of transmission. Be that as it may, by the lifetime of al-Sakhāwī (830–902/1427–1497) the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* had become so widespread—arguably even at its earliest stages—that the collection attained the degree of *mutawātir*,[152] hence impeccable.

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[141] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* xxi, 218.

[142] Pavlovitch, "Manda family" 650.

[143] Brown, *Canonization* 55, note 20.

[144] Al-Tujībī, *Barnāmaj* 93; cf. ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ikmāl* i, 80; Ibn Ḥajar, *Hady* 10; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb* i, 44.

[145] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 99–100.

[146] Ibid. 96.

[147] For an exposition of the arguments, see Ṭawāliba, *Imām Muslim* 139–144; Āl Salmān, *Imām Muslim* ii, 562–570.

The reasons for the canonization of al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*s have puzzled modern analysts. Apart from these two works, the compilers of several other *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections raised the claim of ultimate stringency in the selection of traditions, as did, for instance, Ibn Khuzayma (Naysābūr; 223–311/838–924) and Ibn Ḥibbān (Bust; d. 354/965). Brown has highlighted scholarly preference and accidents of history as the two driving forces behind the selection of al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*s as the most accurate embodiments of the prophetic Sunna.[153] Although these factors were operative with regard to the

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[148] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 85–86; al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* i, 19–20.

[149] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 103.

[150] Al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* i, 11.

[151] Ibid. i, 20.

[152] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ghunya* 40. Al-Sakhāwī does not use the term *mutawātir*, but his description of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s widespread transmission agrees with the notion of *tawātur*. Remarkably, al-Sakhāwī explains that, in the first generation after Muslim, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was transmitted not only by Ibn Sufyān and al-Qalānisī but also by Makkī b. ʿAbdān and Ibn al-Sharqī. The existence of four transmitters instead of the two mentioned by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ does away with his worries about the insufficient spread of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s early transmission. For an exposition of opinions about the status of the *isnād*s in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of Muslim and al-Bukhārī, see Mullā Khāṭir, *Makāna* 129–165.

[153] Brown, *Canonization* 149–151, 360–362.

*Ṣaḥīḥ*s of Ibn Khuzayma and Ibn Ḥibbān, which Brown chose as comparative examples, and may be extended to other collections as well, the chronological precedence of al-Bukhārī and Muslim over the other compilers of similar works seems to hold the key to understanding the role that they were destined to play in the formation of Sunni identity. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim were the first who defied the all-inclusive approach of their predecessors towards the collection and transmission of *ḥadīth*. Many old-school traditionalists were outraged by their selective approach to *ḥadīth*, which seemed to play into the hands of its rationalist detractors, but over time, their method was found to serve best the practical needs of jurisprudence and theology. Since the fifth/eleventh century, personal *isnād*s based on oral transmission all the way to the Prophet had become increasingly cumbersome, and the insistence on citing such *isnād*s could bring the work of the jurists to a halt.[154] Universally recognized collections of authentic Sunni traditions ensured the efficacy of *ḥadīth* even when the jurist did not have a personal chain of transmission to the Prophet. Muslim and al-Bukhārī were the first to compose such collections, which accorded them a place of precedence over the later traditionists who went their way. As an embodiment of critical rigor, their works became canonical sources of legal norms; as repositories of traditions with uninterrupted chains to the Prophet, they transformed into objects of ritual reverence.

5.3 *Muslim the Saintly Scholar*

Ibn ʿAsākir opens his lengthy biography of Muslim with a remarkable account. Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Yūnārtī (Isfahan; 466–527/1074–1133), Ibn ʿAsākir recalls, once told him that Ṣāliḥ b. Abī Ṣāliḥ (Naysābūr; d. 493/1100) had shown to him a single *ḥadīth* on the authority of al-Walīd b. Muslim that Muslim had written down by his own hand in Damascus on a piece of bark.[155] Two centuries later, al-Dhahabī had misgivings about the historicity of Muslim's visit to Damascus,[156] but he did not question the existence of the bark inscription or the authenticity of Muslim's autograph. To al-Dhahabī and Ibn ʿAsākir, just as to Ṣāliḥ b. Abī Ṣāliḥ and al-Yūnārtī, whose conversation may be dated into the 480s/1090s, the piece of bark was more than a simple proof of Muslim's sojourn in Damascus. It was a sacred object bearing the relic of the hallowed imam Muslim; by virtue of his personal *isnād*, it was the Prophet's relic as well.

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[154] Brown, *Hadith* 42; Aerts, Canon; Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 6–13.

[155] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lxviii, 87.

[156] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 184.

As Ṣāliḥ b. Abī Ṣāliḥ and al-Yūnārtī were gazing at the bark with Muslim's handwriting, his tomb was turning into a shrine.[157] At the beginning of the sixth/eleventh century, the tomb became a place of ritual veneration and pilgrimage. A weighty reason for this may have been the Prophet's saying "Whoever visits my grave, I will be his intercessor" (*man zāra qabrī kuntu la-hu shafīʿan*),[158] which encouraged the devotional visit (*ziyāra*) to the Prophet's tomb in Medina, but could easily extend to the tombs of his Companions and his spiritual successors among the great scholars, such as Muslim.

In Jumādā ii 516/August 1122, the Naysābūri scholar ʿAlī b. Masʿūd b. Muḥammad was buried, "in the cemetery in the higher part of the Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān neighborhood, over Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj's grave."[159] The ambiguous expression "over Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj's grave" (*fawqa qabr Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj*) likely indicates a place nearby Muslim's grave. An analogy may be drawn with a similar report about the Isfahani scholar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maghāzilī. Al-Maghāzilī died in Naysābūr on 21 Jumādā i 544/26 September 1149, and he was interred "in the higher part of Maydān Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in the cemetery of Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj."[160] The story about these two burials is telling about the reverential attitude in which the Naysābūri scholars held the place of Muslim's burial.

Fourteen years after ʿAlī b. Masʿūd's death, in Ramaḍān 530/June 1136 the then decrepit Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī (Naysābūr—Mecca; b. ca. 441/-1049–1150, d. 530/1136), a renowned transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, was carried (*ḥumila*) to Muslim's grave, by which he read aloud the entire *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[161] This was one of the last acts of devotion in al-Furāwī's life, as he died about a month after visiting Muslim's tomb. About a century later, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ made a pilgrimage to the tomb and listened there to the ritual reading of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s ending and some of Muslim's other works.[162] From Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's words, it appears that Muslim's entire oeuvre had become sacrosanct. Instead of reading the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from the beginning to the end, as did al-Furāwī, scholars in Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's days were content with the final part of the collection. Such a metonymical representation of the text suggests a highly ritualized context of its use similar to the recitation of sections of the Quran during prayer and other devotional rites.

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[157] On the location of Muslim's tomb, see p. 52 above.

[158] For an early version of the *ḥadīth*, see al-Ṭayālisī, *Musnad* i, 66.

[159] Al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 396, no. 1346.

[160] Al-Samʿānī, *Taḥbīr* ii, 164–165.

[161] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam* xvii, 319.

[162] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 66.

Devotional visits to Muslim's tomb combined with the reading of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* continued to be paid in al-Dhahabī's (Damascus; 673–748/1274–1348) lifetime. At the end of his lengthy biography of Muslim in *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, al-Dhahabī notes that his tomb is a destination of pilgrimage (*qabr^{u}-hu yuzār*).[163] The present tense suggests the continuation of this practice well into the eighth/fourteenth century. This conclusion finds support in Mullā ʿAlī al-Qārī's (Herat → Mecca; d. 1014/1606) statement that Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Jazarī (Damascus; d. 833/1430), who was the *shaykh* of some of al-Qārī's *shaykh*s, visited Muslim's tomb in Naysābūr and read over it parts of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* while praying for blessing. After finishing his prayer, al-Jazarī discerned on the grave's surface the signs of acceptance and favorable response to his supplication.[164]

At the same time that Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī made a pilgrimage to Muslim's tomb, devotional practice involving the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was in place in Hamadhān, 937 km. to the west of Naysābūr. In 526/1131–1132, Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Ṭalḥī al-Iṣfahānī (457–535/1065–1141) read his commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the grave of his son Abū ʿAbdallāh (b. 500/1106–1107, d. 526/1131–1132?). The reading took a certain period, at the end of which Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad set up a table full of sweets to commemorate his deceased son.[165] Although this ritual consisted of reading Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad's commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, its sanctity undoubtedly derived from Muslim's collection, which had attained iconic status throughout Northeastern Iran.[166]

By the end of the fifth/eleventh century, the admiration of Muslim and his works had transformed into a popular cult with physical dimensions and characteristic rituals. Through devotional visit to Muslim's tomb, one could earn the imam's blessings and even receive his response to questions and supplications. The text of his *Ṣaḥīḥ* came to be perceived as a sacred receptacle for the Prophet's truest words, his relics (*āthār*, sg. *athar*). The ritual recitation of the entire *Ṣaḥīḥ* or some of its parts brings to mind the ritual recitation of the Quran. Unlike the Quran, which is recited during the acts of prayer and other devotional occasions, the recitation of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was deemed appropriate for funerary rites and the veneration of the imam at his tomb. Geographically, this use of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* seems to have been confined to Northeastern

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[163] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xii, 580.

[164] Mullā ʿAlī al-Qārī, *Mirqāt* i, 64; noted by Brown, *Canonization* 342, based on another source.

[165] Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira* vi, 1279–1280; noted by Brown, *Canonization* 340–341.

[166] On iconicity, see Holtzman, *Anthropomorphism* 271–273 and the references cited thereto.

Iran, as there are no extant reports about similar practices in other regions of the Islamic world. Elsewhere, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* became so famous that, thanks to it, Muslim was considered to have attained a heavenly place in the "canopy of stars."[167]

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[167] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 61.

CHAPTER 8

The Transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*

In this chapter, I investigate the transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. According to the preserved *isnād*s, the collection was transmitted, with different degrees of magnitude, on the authority of four persons above Muslim's level: Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Qalānisī, Makkī b. ʿAbdān, and Aḥmad b. al-Sharqī. For the sake of orderly exposition, I examine the chains that converge on each of these transmitters in a separate section. At the chapter's end, I survey reports about three other students of Muslim, who, apart from the above four, are sometimes said to have transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

The chapter's individual sections are arranged according to the generations of transmitters following the base authority, e.g., the first generation of transmitters after Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān and so forth. The generational approach facilitates the reconstruction of the regional networks of transmission in their synchronic and diachronic interactions. From the fifth/eleventh century onward, the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* took two divergent regional paths, to wit, a Western path in al-Andalus and an Eastern path in Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Egypt. Following this bifurcation, I shall subdivide my generational arrangement into two regional branches when needed. Another type of subdivision is according to the main knots of transmission in each generation, such as ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī, Ibn al-Dalāʾī, al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī, and others. These knots are marked in light gray on the *isnād* diagrams (Appendix 1, Diagrams 3–13), which must always be consulted when reading this chapter. The upper chronological boundary of my study is represented by the generation of the major collectors: al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, Ibn ʿAṭiyya, Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, and al-Ḥajrī in al-Andalus, and Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, al-Nawawī, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, and al-Suyūṭī in the Muslim East.

Apart from the *isnād*s that reached the major collectors, my analysis includes a large number of transmissions that I designate as "truncated." Undocumented in the main *isnād*s, they are scattered throughout the biographical dictionaries, which, as they speak about the scholarly circle of a given transmitter, sometimes state that he/she transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* on someone's authority. The source is usually one of the well-known collectors and transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which, given our familiarity with the source's *isnād*, allows us to trace the transmission all the way back to Muslim. The chain of authorities is nevertheless truncated insofar as the last transmitter in the *isnād* is not recorded as having passed the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on to the next generation of transmitters. The reas-

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ons for a specific path's termination do not lie on the surface but conceivably relate to the scholarly conventions and historical circumstances of transmission. Some transmitters did not live long enough for their chain to become high and acquire the social prestige that was necessary for attracting a swarm of students. Others resided in remote regions or territories that were difficult to reach because of political upheaval. To take an example, in the sixth/twelfth and the seventh/thirteenth century, the Islamic polities in al-Andalus declined under the push of the Reconquista, which led some scholars to immigrate to North Africa and the eastern Islamic lands and ultimately put an end to the Andalusian branch of transmission. Although defunct, the truncated chains are important for determining the salient knots of transmission and the regional centers of interest in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* along its way from the second half of the third/ninth century to the lifetime of the major collectors in al-Andalus and the eastern parts of the Muslim world.

The list of truncated transmissions does not include transmitters who are documented as having studied with transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, without an explicit mention that the former heard or otherwise received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from the latter. Such is, for instance, the case with Aṣbagh b. Saʿīd b. Aṣbagh (Cordoba; d. 401/1010–1011), who is recorded among those who transmitted on the authority of Ibn al-Rassān, a major transmitter of Ibn Māhān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[1] In some of these cases, we may be dealing with implicit witnesses to the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, but it is impossible to assess the feasibility of each intimation. Hence, I excluded the uncertain data from my study of the truncated *isnād*s.

Cataloging all truncated transmissions is an overwhelming task, even if aided by modern computer technologies. The main sources that I used to extract truncated chains are Ibn Bashkuwāl's *Ṣila*, al-Fāsī's *Dhayl al-Taqyīd*, and al-Dhahabī's *Tārīkh al-islām* and *Muʿjam al shuyūkh*. In the footnotes of the section *Truncated transmissions*, the reader will find references to several other biographical and bibliographical works from which I extracted a few truncated chains.

Now and then, the reader will notice that, at the late tiers of transmission, a certain authority appears in two, seldom three, successive generations. The reason for such double and triple attributions is the understanding of generation, which derives from the transmitter's position in each particular chain and may alternate according to the chain's relative lowness and highness. The prominent transmitters of Muslim's collection received it by different paths, some of which include more intermediate transmitters between the respective collector and Muslim than other paths of transmission. The low *isnād*s usually add one additional tier of transmission, thereby shifting the collector to the next lower generation. In my quantitative analysis of the geography of transmission, I count each transmitter in a given generation, even if accounted for in the previous generation.

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[1] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 109, no. 254.

1 The Transmission through Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Sufyān al-Naysābūrī

The most widespread and only extant transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is associated with Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Sufyān al-Naysābūrī (d. 308/920) (Appendix 1, Diagrams 3–4). Despite Ibn Sufyān's fame, the biographical information about him is surprisingly scant. It boils down to statements that he was a jurisprudent and a righteous and observant traditionist from Ayyūb b. al-Ḥasan's (Naysābūr; d. 251/865) circle.[2] Ayyūb is remembered as an ascetic Ḥanafi jurisprudent with a proclivity for *ra'y*.[3] Ibn Sufyān heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muslim in the year 257/871.[4] His copy includes three sections beginning with the expression "Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān from (*ʿan*) Muslim," which, as noted by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, Ibrāhīm transmitted without prior audition from Muslim. These sections are as follows:

1. From ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1301 (318) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 1318.3 to ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1342 (425) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 1362.
2. From ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1627 (1) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 1666 to ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1669 (6) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 1710, 1711.7.
3. From ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1841 (43) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 1889 to ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1931 (9) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 1985.

Taken together, the above sections account for four percent of ʿAbd al-Bāqī's printed edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ observed that most transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* failed to record the existence of these sections.[5] Such is the case of some of the manuscripts used for Dār al-Ta'ṣīl's critical edition, which lack a reference to the changed mode of transmission.[6]

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[2] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* ff19a–b; Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* i, 380–382; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 103–104; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xiv, 311–313.

[3] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 104.

[4] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 137; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 104; al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* i, 10.

[5] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 111.

[6] Ta'ṣīl, i, 122–123; iii, 540, note 2; iv, 339, note 2; v, 166, note 1.

The source from which Ibn Sufyān took the above sections, which he did not hear from Muslim, is unknown. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ hypothesized that Ibn Sufyān may have obtained Muslim's license (*ijāza*) to transmit them on his authority or, alternatively, that he may have discovered (*wajada*) a record of Muslim's traditions, from which he extracted the missing material.[7] From Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's comments, it appears that Abū ʿĀmir al-ʿAbdī (Majorca → Baghdad; d. 524/1130) and Ibn ʿAsākir had been the first to notice the changed mode of transmission in these sections. The text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* seems to have remained variable a century after Muslim's death.

1.1 *The First Generation of Transmitters after Ibrāhīm b Sufyān*

Ibn Sufyān's copy was passed on to posterity by four transmitters. The most important of them is Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAmrawayh Abū Aḥmad al-Julūdī (Naysābūr; b. ca. 288/901, d. 368/979). Less frequently, the *isnād*s include Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Kisāʾī (Naysābūr, d. 385/996). Each of Abū l-Qāsim Maslama b. al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥātim (Cordoba; b. 293/905–906, d. 353/964) and Muḥammad b. Yazīd, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAdl (Naysābūr; d. 365/975–976) is recorded as a transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* once, in a single late source.

1.1.1 Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Julūdī

Our knowledge about al-Julūdī is limited to a short biographical note by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, habitually cited by the later biographers.[8] According to al-Ḥākim, al-Julūdī was an ascetic *ḥadīth* collector and jurisprudent. He earned his living as a manuscript copyist who "ate what his hand had acquired" (*kāna yuwarriqu wa-yaʾkulu min kasb^{i}yad^{i}-hi*). Al-Ḥākim's expression suggests that, as a Sufi, al-Julūdī practiced a mild form of *tawakkul* (ascetic reliance on God) that sanctioned licit gain (*kasb*), as opposed to the concept of exclusive *tawakkul* on God, which forbade work for a profit. The extreme understanding of *tawakkul* was a tenet of Muḥammad b. Karrām;[9] hence, if associated with any tendency at all, al-Julūdī would seem to have belonged to the moderate ascetic school known as Malāmatiyya.[10]

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[7] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 111.

[8] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* ii, 76–77; Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* i, 250; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 105; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxvi, 404–405. The extant abridgment of *Tārīkh Naysābūr* preserves only al-Ḥākim's note that al-Julūdī was one of "the great observant Sufis"; *Aḥvāl* ff51b–52a.

[9] Malamud, "Politics of heresy" 42–43.

[10] Melchert, "Sufis and competing movements" 237, 240, 243.

In law, al-Julūdī followed the teaching (*madhhab*) of Sufyān al-Thawrī. The word *madhhab* in al-Ḥākim's description signifies Sufyān's jurisprudence and theology, which held strong appeal to later traditionalists, although his anti-establishment piety certainly played a role in al-Julūdī's choice of legal affiliation. Al-Ḥākim's report seems not entirely consonant with reports according to which al-Julūdī's *shaykh* and informant with the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān, was an ascetic Ḥanafi jurisprudent who was fond of *raʾy*. It is possible that al-Julūdī did not share all of Ibn Sufyān's views. On the other hand, in the third/ninth and the fourth/tenth century, Sufyān al-Thawrī was not necessarily remembered as an epitome of staunch traditionalism. Recent scholarship has shown that he was originally counted among *aṣḥāb al-raʾy*, and only in the third/ninth century, traditionist jurisprudents began to attune his image to their overarching reliance on *ḥadīth*.[11]

The transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* are uncertain about the way al-Julūdī received it from Ibn Sufyān. Some assert that Ibn Sufyān dictated the collection to his student, while others insist that al-Julūdī read over his records to Ibrāhīm, who accredited them as correct.[12] *Ḥadīth* experts regard the latter procedure as inferior to the former, as the *shaykh* may fail to notice some errors in the process of listening to the student's recitation. To make the situation worse, at an unspecified juncture in his life al-Julūdī lost his records with auditions (*samāʿāt*) from Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān. He substituted for them copies from the records of other auditors,[13] a dubious practice, which was frowned upon by many *ḥadīth* transmitters. Critically for the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, we do not know who of the transmitters on the authority of al-Julūdī got the collection from his original record and who was familiar only with the later secondary copy.

1.1.2 Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kisāʾī

In the lifetime of al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (312–405/933–1014), those who transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān after al-Julūdī's death were considered unreliable.[14] Al-Samʿānī points out that this judgment is particularly true of the Naysābūri litterateur Abū Bakr al-Kisāʾī, the latest known transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn Sufyān.[15] According to his own statement, al-Kisāʾī heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn Sufyān in 308/920, which is the year of Ibn Sufyān's death.[16] Al-Ḥākim records that al-Kisāʾī transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in his old age, "from a new book in his own writing." Asked to produce his original record (*aṣl*), al-Kisāʾī told al-Ḥākim that as a small child his father brought him to Ibn Sufyān's lessons. This procedure, known as "audition by attendance," would end with the *shaykh* giving his pupil an *ijāza* to transmit on his authority. Al-Kisāʾī, who often slept through Ibn Sufyān's lessons, apparently held such an *ijāza*, associated with a manuscript recorded by his father. To al-Ḥākim's indignation, al-Kisāʾī acknowledged that he had lost the original record on the authority of Ibn Sufyān and made a substitute copy from al-Julūdī's manuscript in response to al-Julūdī's request. We do not know if the copying took place from al-Julūdī's original record, which he subsequently lost, or from the one he reconstructed from the records of other transmitters on the authority of Ibn Sufyān. Subsequently, al-Kisāʾī claimed to have found a fascicle (*juzʾ*)[17] of his records from Ibn Sufyān but never showed it to al-Ḥākim.[18]

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[11] For reports about his adherence of the rationalist method of *aṣḥāb al-raʾy*, see Melchert, "Traditionist-jurisprudents" 404–405. Raddatz has observed that prophetic *ḥadīth* played insignificant role in Sufyān's jurisprudence; "Frühislamisches Erbrecht" 28. In the second/eighth century, Sufyān al-Thawrī may have been not as hostile to Abū Ḥanīfa as he came to be described from the beginning of the third/ninth century onward; Melchert, *Formation* 4–13.

[12] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 110.

[13] Al-Sijzī, *Suʾālāt* 55–56, no. 2; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxvi, 404; idem, *Siyar* xvi, 302.

[14] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 105; al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* i, 9.

May al-Ḥākim be suggesting that al-Julūdī's record was al-Kisāʾī's actual source and that al-Kisāʾī, in fact, had no direct audition from Ibn Sufyān? Evidence to this effect is found in two sources. First, according to a biographical report by Ibn Nuqṭa (d. 629/1231), Dhākir b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr b. Ḥasnawayh (Isfahan; d. after 559/1163–1164) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Aḥmad b. Zāhir al-Ṭūsī who heard it from al-Kisāʾī on the authority of al-Julūdī.[19] Second, the collection with homiletic traditions, *al-Targhīb wa-l-tarhīb*, by the famous Isfahani traditionist Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Ṭalḥī (457–535/1065–1141) includes fifteen traditions carried by the *isnād* Aḥmad b. Zāhir → al-Kisāʾī → al-Julūdī → Ibn Sufyān → Muslim.[20] Al-Ṭalḥī does not explicitly state that he extracted the traditions from Aḥmad b. Zāhir's copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, but this is likely, given that all traditions are present in Muslim's collection. In like manner, Ibn Nuqṭa does not identify the source of his report that Dhākir b. Aḥmad received the entire *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Aḥmad b. Zāhir. He likely inferred Dhākir's transmission of al-Kisāʾī's copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Julūdī from scattered citations as those in al-Ṭalḥī's collection.

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[15] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* ii, 77.

[16] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 137.

[17] On the volume of the *juzʾ*, see p. 200, note 51.

[18] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* v, 67; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxvii, 108. However, the story is not part of the abridged version of al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's *Tārīkh Naysābūr*, in which al-Kisāʾī is mentioned only as a name, without biographical details; *Aḥvāl* f49b.

[19] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* ii, 511. In the printed edition, Ibn Nuqṭa identifies the transmitter on al-Julūdī's authority as Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Maqdisī, which must be an error. No person by the *nisba* al-Maqdisī is known to have transmitted on the authority of al-Julūdī, while the other parts of the name agree completely with that of al-Kisāʾī. For more about Aḥmad b. Zāhir and his problematic transmission from al-Kisāʾī, see no. 38 under "Truncated transmissions" below.

[20] Al-Ṭalḥī, *Targhīb* i, 291, no. 470; 315, no. 527; 419, no. 732; 470, no. 843; 472, no. 847; 481, no. 868; 512, no. 923; 524, no. 951; ii, 11, no. 1047; 151, no. 1333; 204, no. 1438; 241, no. 1501; iii, 125, no. 2212; 195, no. 2341; 235, no. 2425.

On the other hand, a corpus of thirty-six apocalyptic traditions based on the *isnād* ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaqallī[21] → al-Kisāʾī → Ibn Sufyān → Muslim is preserved in al-Dānī's *al-Sunan al-wārida fī l-fitan wa-ghawāʾili-hā wa-l-sāʿa wa-ashrāṭi-hā* (*Prophetic traditions about the tribulations* [*of the Apocalypse*] *and their malice and the* [*Last*] *Hour and its portents*). My examination of these traditions has shown that while mostly identical to the corresponding traditions in al-Julūdī's corpus, they nevertheless differ from them in a manner that suggests al-Kisāʾī's independent transmission on the authority of Ibn Sufyān.[22]

The existence of two paths of transmission, one of which passes through al-Kisāʾī → al-Julūdī → Ibn Sufyān whereas the other represents al-Kisāʾī's direct transmission on the authority of Ibn Sufyān lends support to the two-source scenario in al-Ḥākim's report. Al-Kisāʾī may be thought to have lost his original record of Ibn Sufyān's sessions, made up for the loss by copying al-Julūdī's record, and ultimately discovered parts of the lost record. It is also possible that al-Kisāʾī stitched together parts of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* that he received in at least two different ways.

1.1.3 Maslama b. al-Qāsim

Maslama b. al-Qāsim (293–355/905–964) was an Andalusian traditionist from Cordoba.[23] His transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is documented only by Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (Egypt; 1145–1205/1732–1791), based on the Cordovan *isnād* Ibn Bashkuwāl → ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb → Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb → Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Nabāt → Maslama b. al-Qāsim.[24] Maslama is remembered as a dull-witted traditionist and a "man of talismans and magic" (*ruqā*

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[21] On al-Ṣaqallī, see p. 256 below.

[22] Pavlovitch, "Rare witness" 28–29. For a detailed comparison, ibid. 30–44.

[23] On Maslama, see Fierro, "Bāṭinism."

[24] Al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 56. A reference to this *isnād* is found in the MS. of *al-Minaḥ al-bādiya fī al-asānīd al-ʿāliya* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī (d. 1134/1721–1722); al-Sabīʿī, "Riwāyāt" 156. Al-Sabīʿī puts Maslama b. al-Qāsim's *isnād* under the heading "Kayfa waṣalat riwāyat al-Qalānisī" (How al-Qalānisī's transmission has reached us), but my check in the MS. with al-Fāsī's work has shown that the *isnād* between Maslama b. al-Qāsim and Muslim is interrupted. Al-Zabīdī's work suggests that this chain passed through Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān.

wa-nīranjāt) who made “troubling anthropomorphic statements.”[25] As argued by Maribel Fierro, he may have espoused Bāṭini tenets.[26] Maslama’s low reputation with Sunni traditionists may have been partly responsible for the loss of his transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, but there are reasons for doubt that such a transmission ever existed. Maslama’s scholarly travel included North Africa, Crete, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Arabia, and the Yemen,[27] but he is not recorded to have visited Iran and, for that matter, Naysābūr, where he may have heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān. Maslama’s transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* becomes even more dubious when one surveys the chain of authorities above his level.

Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Nabāt (Cordoba; 335–429/946–1037), who according to al-Zabīdī transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Maslama b. al-Qāsim, is never listed among Maslama’s pupils nor is he associated with the transmission of Muslim’s collection. Remembered as a stalwart Sunni and “a sword drawn against the people of fancy and heretical innovation,”[28] Ibn Nabāt may have hardly been an associate of Maslama b. al-Qāsim, whose Bāṭini convictions the Partisans of Tradition would shun as reprehensible heresy. Not surprisingly, Ibn Nabāt was the *shaykh* of the Ẓāhiri Ibn Ḥazm, the antithesis of the Bāṭini Maslama b. al-Qāsim.

At the next higher level of al-Zabīdī’s *isnād*, the Māliki jurisprudent Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb b. Muḥsin al-Judhāmī (Cordoba; 383–462/994–1069) is known to have taken *ḥadīth* from Ibn Nabāt.[29] Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb’s biographers do not specify the type of material that he received from Ibn Nabāt, which may have included Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*. According to al-Zabīdī, Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb passed on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to his son, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (Cordoba; b. 433/1041–1042, d. 520/1126). As a channel for the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* this family *isnād* is mentioned once by Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, albeit on the authority of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, not Maslama b. al-Qāsim (see Appendix 1, Diagram 11).

In the generation after ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb, the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by Ibn Bashkuwāl (Cordoba; 494–578/1101–1183) is problematic. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was one of Ibn Bashkuwāl’s most important *shaykh*s, from whom he received more than one hundred books,[30] but Maslama b. al-

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[25] Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Tārīkh* ii, 130; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxvi, 98.

[26] Fierro, “Bāṭinism” 102–108.

[27] Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Tārīkh* ii, 128–130; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān* viii, 61–62. For a comprehensive list of Maslama’s teachers, see Fierro, “Bāṭinism” 110–112.

[28] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 492, no. 1136.

[29] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Tartīb* viii, 131; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 515, no. 1194.

[30] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* i, 248, no. 851.

Qāsim's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is never attested as one of them. Al-Fāsī, who punctiliously documents the transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥān*, has a biography of Ibn Bashkuwāl, in which he records his transmission of al-Qābisī's (Morocco; b. 324/935–936, d. 403/1012) *Mulakhkhaṣ* on the authority of Ibn ʿAttāb,[31] but does not say a word about Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Similarly, Ibn al-Sarrāj (Seville; 560–657/1165–1259) heard from Ibn Bashkuwāl in Cordoba several records (*ʿiddat dawāwīn*), of which he finds worth mentioning the transmission of al-Nasāʾī's *Tafsīr*, which Ibn Bashkuwāl had from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb.[32]

Significantly, the North African scholar al-Qāsim b. Yūsuf al-Tujībī (ca. 670–ca. 730/ca. 1271–ca. 1329) records that Ibn Bashkuwāl heard Muslim's entire *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb, but as Ibn ʿAttāb's informant by way of *ijāza* he documents Ḥātim b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī transmitting on the authority of ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Sijzī → al-Julūdī → Ibn Sufyān → Muslim.[33] This is Ibn ʿAttāb's customary *isnād*, attested in many other transmissions. The chain does not include Maslama b. al-Qāsim. That said, Ibn Bashkuwāl is familiar with at least two *ḥadīth* transmissions in which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAttāb cites the *isnād* Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb → Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Nabāt → Maslama b. al-Qāsim.[34] Although neither chain passes through Muslim, they suggest that al-Zabīdī's *isnād* through Maslama b. al-Qāsim is a reminiscence of an actual transmission line, albeit not associated with Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

Above Ibn Bashkuwāl, al-Zabīdī's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is confused and uncertain. It passes through (1) Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Mursī (?), (2) Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Zubayr al-Thaqafī al-ʿĀṣimī (Granada; b. 628/1230–1231, d. 708/1308), (3) Abū l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Khalīl (Niebla → Seville; d. 652/1254), and (4) Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, Ibn al-Sarrāj al-Anṣārī (Seville; 560–657/1165–1259), all reporting on the authority of Ibn Bashkuwāl.[35]

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān is an unknown transmitter, no trace of whom is found in the *rijāl* compendia. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Zubayr was born fifty years after Ibn Bashkuwāl's death. If not an error, his role in al-Zabīdī's *isnād* may be only of a recipient of the other three's transmission from Ibn Bashkuwāl. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Khalīl died in 652/1254, that is, seventy-four years after Ibn Bashkuwāl. His audition from Ibn Bashkuwāl is barely possible; one would presume instead an unstated intermediary or an *ijāza*. Ibn al-Sarrāj was born eighteen years before Ibn Bashkuwāl's death; hence, his audition from him is feasible. None of Ibn al-Sarrāj's biographers, however, mentions that he received Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn Bashkuwāl. On the other hand, Ibn al-Sarrāj transmitted this collection on the authority of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Suhaylī (Malaga; b. 509/1115–1116, d. 581/1185).[36]

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[31] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 359, no. 1027.

[32] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xxiii, 331; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 144, no. 727.

[33] Al-Tujībī, *Barnāmaj* 90.

[34] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ghawāmiḍ* ii, 647; idem, *al-Āthār al-marwiyya* 295.

[35] Al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 55.

Our evidence supports the existence of al-Zabīdī's *isnād*, partly or in full, but it does not allow us to conclude that it ever carried Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* to posterity. Maslama b. al-Qāsim, Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Nabāt, and Ibn Bashkuwāl are not recorded as transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. By contrast, Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb, his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and Ibn al-Sarrāj were historical transmitters of Muslim's collection, but we do not possess biographical or *isnād* witnesses to the effect that they took part in the transmission of a version associated with Maslama b. al-Qāsim reporting on the authority of Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān. As we have seen, Maslama b. al-Qāsim was familiar with Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and considered it one of a kind. Conceivably, such reports misled al-Zabīdī into counting Maslama as one of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s transmitters. Because Maslama b. al-Qāsim's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* cannot be proven as historical, I do not include al-Zabīdī *isnād* in the quantitative analysis of the generations of transmitters of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

1.1.4 Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-ʿAdl

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ has documented a transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* through the Naysābūri *isnād* Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī → Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khalaf → Abū Ḥāzim al-ʿAbdawī → Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-ʿAdl → Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Sufyān → Muslim.[37] The information about Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-ʿAdl is virtually absent. He is probably Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Muḥammad al-ʿAdl (Naysābūr; d. ?), whose brother was the Naysābūri ascetic ʿAbdallāh al-Zāhid (d. ?).[38] Muḥammad b.

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[36] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xxiii, 331; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 144, no. 727.

[37] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 113, 114–115.

[38] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f53b. Al-Samʿānī (*Ansāb* ii, 120) has catalogued one Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Muḥammad al-Muaʿddal al-Jawzī al-Naysābūrī. This Muḥammad b. Yazīd transmitted on the authority of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Bashshār al-Baghdādī (d. 311/923) and may have been born in the second half of the 290s/907–913. Muḥammad b. Yazīd's ascetic scholarly profile is suggested by al-Samʿānī's mention of the Sufi Abū Saʿd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mālīnī (d. 412/1022) as his only student. Al-Mālīnī's *shaykh*s (al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira* iii, 1070) died in the second half of the 360s (975–981), from which we may surmise that Muḥammad b. Yazīd died in the same period. The likelihood of al-Samʿānī's Muḥammad b. Yazīd being the same as Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's Muḥammad b. Yazīd is undermined

Yazīd al-ʿAdl is known as an informant of al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī.[39] He transmitted *ḥadīth* on the authority of Ibn Sufyān,[40] but, except for Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, no later scholar associates him with the transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

Unlike Muḥammad b. Yazīd, Abū Ḥāzim al-ʿAbdawī, recorded by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ in the next higher level of transmission, is well known. He is ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdawayh al-ʿAbdawī (Naysābūr; b. after 340/951–952, d. 417/1026).[41] This fact, however, is of little help for validating Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's transmission. Al-ʿAbdawī is not known as a transmitter of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Moreover, his biographers do not remember him as a transmitter on the authority of Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-ʿAdl. An isolated *isnād* Abū Ḥāzim [al-ʿAbdawī] → Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-ʿAdl → Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān survives in *Tārīkh Baghdād*,[42] but it does not pass through Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj.

The next higher transmitter, the Naysābūri man of letters Aḥmad b. Khalaf (b. 398/1007–1008, d. 487/1094) is scantily attested in the biographical lexica.[43] He is not known as either a transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* or al-ʿAbdawī's student. It is only at the level of Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī, who is four generations apart from Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān, that Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's *isnād* includes a well-attested transmitter of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

How are we to explain the existence of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's *isnād* through Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-ʿAdl? Al-ʿAdl apparently knew Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān in person, whom he praised as *mujāb al-daʿwa* (one whose supplication is answered by God).[44] Conceivably, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ or one of his informants interpreted this relationship, together with Muḥammad b. Yazīd's sporadic transmission on the authority of Ibn Sufyān, as evidence that al-ʿAdl received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn Sufyān. If the inventor of al-ʿAdl's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was al-ʿAbdawī, one wonders why later biographers and *ḥadīth* experts failed to notice his unfounded claim. May it be responsible for al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's statement that al-ʿAbdawī was a "liar in transmission"?[45] Because of its unreliability, Ibn

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by the fact that al-Samʿānī does not mention among his students either al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī or Abū Ḥāzim al-ʿAbdawī.

[39] In the *Mustadrak*, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī transmits on the authority of Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-ʿAdl at least eight times.

[40] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* viii, 726.

[41] Ibid. xiii, 143–145; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iv, 134; al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 366–367, no. 1216; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xvii, 333–337.

[42] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* viii, 726.

[43] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xviii, 478–480; idem, *ʿIbar* ii, 354; al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt* iii, 109.

[44] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 103–104.

[45] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xvii, 335.

al-Ṣalāḥ's *isnād* through Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-ʿAdl is not accounted for in the quantitative analysis of the transmission history of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

1.2 *The Second Generation of Transmitters after Ibn Sufyān al-Naysābūrī*

1.2.1 The cluster on the authority of al-Julūdī

Al-Julūdī is cited by (1) Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿAbd al-Ghāfir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ghāfir b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Fārisī (Naysābūr; 353–448/964–1056), (2) Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Bundār b. Jibrīl al-Rāzī (d. after 409/1018–1019), and (3) Abū Saʿīd ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Sijzī (Naysābūr; d. after 403/1012–1013).

In line with the fourth/tenth-century traditionist habits, ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī boasted a high *isnād* to al-Julūdī, whom he met in person only thanks to his almost centenarian lifespan. Born in 353/964, ʿAbd al-Ghāfir heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* at the age of twelve, in 365/975–976,[46] three years before al-Julūdī's death. ʿAbd al-Ghāfir passed the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on to many later transmitters, some of whom read it to him on twenty or more occasions.[47]

Little is known about Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Bundār al-Rāzī. From his *nisba*, we may infer that he was a native of Rayy. He studied with Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. ʿAbbād (d. ?), the seller of dates, in Basra and transmitted *ḥadīth* in Hamadhān and possibly in Qazvin.[48] At an unknown date, Ibn Bundār arrived in Mecca for a lengthy pursuit of piety and devotion (*jiwār*). He may have remained in the holy precinct until the end of his life. Al-Dhahabī dates his death in the year 409 H,[49] probably based on the report, cited by Ibn ʿAṭiyya, according to which Ibn Bundār transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Ibn al-Dalāʾī in Mecca in 409.[50] If the transmission took place during the pilgrimage season, it may be dated to April 1019 CE; hence, Ibn Bundār would have died in April or early May of the same year.

Abū Saʿīd al-Sijzī is another little-known transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Julūdī. Al-Jayyānī, Ibn ʿAṭiyya (Almeria; b. 481/1088–1089, d. 541–542/1146–1148 or 546/1151–1152), and Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (502–575/1109–1179) report that Abū l-Qāsim Ḥātim b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī (Tripoli → Toledo; 378–469/988–1077) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Sijzī in Mecca in the year 403/

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[46] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxx, 181.

[47] Al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 149, no. 339; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xviii, 20.

[48] Al-Rāfiʿī, *Tadwīn* ii, 152; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxviii, 183.

[49] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xvii, 300. In *Tārīkh al-islām* (xxviii, 183), al-Dhahabī states that he does not know Ibn Bundār's death date.

[50] Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Fihris* 68.

1013.[51] Al-Khaṭīb mentions that al-Sijzī died as a pilgrim in Mecca[52] but does not specify if this happened in the year 403/1013 or later.

Al-Sijzī's audition from al-Julūdī is questionable. Ibn Khayr asserts that it took place in 369/979–980,[53] but Robson considered this date as problematic because most biographical reports place al-Julūdī's death in 368/979.[54] To solve the chronological problem, Robson gave prominence to Ibn al-Athīr's report that al-Julūdī died in 369/979–980. At first glance, this report makes al-Sijzī's meeting with al-Julūdī chronologically possible, but one must remain alert to the likelihood that Ibn al-Athīr put off al-Julūdī's death date by a year in order to remove the anachronism in Ibn Khayr's report. Al-Sijzī's nearly impossible audition from al-Julūdī is indicative of the issues inherent in the high *isnād*s, by which someone claims to have heard from an old *shaykh* towards the very end of his life.

1.2.2 The Cluster on the Authority of al-Kisāʾī

Al-Kisāʾī is cited by (1) Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ṣaqallī (Qayrawān; d. after 397/1006–1007) and (2) Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Nasawī (Nasā–Mecca; 306–396/919–1006).

Almost nothing is known about ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ṣaqallī. From his *nisba*, we infer that he was associated with Sicily, either by birth or migration. ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Dānī (Cordoba; b. 371/981–982; 444/1053) met al-Ṣaqallī in Qayrawān, probably in 397/1006–1007,[55] which allows us to regard this year as the *terminus post quem* for al-Ṣaqallī's death. Al-Ṣaqallī heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Kisāʾī in Naysābūr in 382/992–993,[56] that is, only about three years before al-Kisāʾī's death date. Thus, he came into possession of a high *isnād* to an informant who already had a remarkably high *isnād* to Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān. Al-Ṣaqallī also transmitted traditions from Muslim's *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*, on the authority of Abū Bakr al-Jawzaqī (Naysābūr; d. 388/998) → Makkī b. ʿAbdān → Muslim.[57]

Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nasawī was a Sufi *shaykh*, who spent a considerable part of his life in Mecca.[58] His *isnād* through al-Kisāʾī is documented by Ibn Khayr, Muḥammad b. Faraj b. al-Ṭallāʿ, and ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥajrī on the authority of Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ,[59] but it has a chronological issue that we must address in detail. The year of al-Kisāʾī's birth is unknown, but from his year of death, 385/996, we infer that he belonged to the same generation as al-Nasawī (306–396/919–1106). Fourth/tenth-century traditionists were fond of high *isnād*s, and transmission on the authority of contemporaries was an exceptional case, meticulously documented in the biographical dictionaries. One wonders why al-Nasawī heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Kisāʾī rather than directly from Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān, as did al-Kisāʾī the child. Al-Nasawī may have resorted to an intermediary because his birth at the end of 306/mid 919 was too close to Ibn Sufyān's death on 10 Dhū al-Ḥijja 308/22 April 921 to allow him to attend Ibn Sufyān's *ḥadīth*-transmission sessions. One must recall, however, that al-Kisāʾī was brought to Ibn Sufyān as so small a child that he would sleep through the *shaykh*'s sessions. Unlike al-Kisāʾī, who was a native of Naysābūr, al-Nasawī spent his childhood in Nasā, which may have prevented him from attending Ibn Sufyān's sessions. It will be recalled that Nasā is located about 200 km., or five days of travel, to the north of Naysābūr. The distance seems not too formidable to cross with a baby at the beginning of the fourth/tenth century, but given that al-Nasawī most likely needed to be breastfed, it is difficult to imagine his entire family traveling along with him for a few ritual attendances of al-Kisāʾī's lessons. Bringing a nursling to a *ḥadīth*-transmission session would also be an anomalous exception from the fourth/tenth-century scholarly practice in Naysābūr, where the average age of commencing *ḥadīth* study stood at 4.8–10.2 years.[60] Sending a relative or a servant to record Ibn Sufyān's sessions would be another possible scenario, but even in this case al-Nasawī's ritual presence to commence the audition would have been a desideratum at the beginning of the fourth/tenth century.

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[51] Al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd* i, 65; Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Fihris* 68; Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, *Fahrasa* 137.

[52] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xiii, 140.

[53] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 137.

[54] Robson, "Transmission" 50.

[55] For the Qayrawāni *isnād* through al-Ṣaqallī, see al-Dānī, *Sunan* i, 180, 191. About the dates of al-Dānī's *riḥla*, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* iv, 1604; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxx, 98.

[56] Al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd* i, 65; cf. Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 137.

[57] Al-Dānī, *Jāmiʿ* 56, cf. Muslim, *Kunā* i, 595, no. 2429.

[58] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* vi, 140; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* v, 350–353; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxvii, 329.

Strikingly, the biographical sources do not record al-Nasawī as someone who either transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* or met al-Kisāʾī, which raises the possibility that his presence in the *isnād*s of Ibn Khayr, Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ, and al-Ḥajrī is an error. A similar conclusion suggests itself from my study of sixteen of al-Nasawī's *shaykh*s (see Appendix 10). The birthdates of twelve of these *shaykh*s, which are known or may be inferred from circumstantial data, divide into two groups. First, six *shaykh*s were born in the 270s (883–893 CE), while one, al-Ṭabarānī, was born in 260/873. Second, five *shaykh*s were born after the year 290/902–903, mostly after 297/910, including al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (321–405/933–1014).[61] Like al-Kisāʾī, the representatives of the second group are members of the same generation as al-Nasawī. This observation suggests that the compilers of biographical dictionaries mixed up two different transmitters who had similar names and lived sufficiently close to one another as to trigger onomastic confusion.

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[59] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 138; Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ, *Aqḍiya* 149; Robson, "Transmission" 55. In the cited edition of Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ's work, the *isnād* is Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Nasawī *ʿan* Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Sufyān, the latter being a conflation of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kisāʾī and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Sufyān.

[60] Bulliet, "Age structure" 109.

In our case, Ibn Khayr, Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ, and al-Ḥajrī may have mistaken Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Nasawī for his namesake Abū Masʿūd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī (Rayy—Gorgan; b. 362/972–973, d. 449/1057).[62] From his residence in Gorgan, where he settled in 389/998–999, al-Bajalī traveled across Iran and Transoxiana. Al-Bajalī was easy to confuse with al-Nasawī for several reasons. Both men shared Aḥmad b. Muḥammad as their personal and father's name. Like al-Nasawī, al-Bajalī transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Kisāʾī,[63] and a single tradition of his transmission is preserved by Abū l-Futūḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭāʾī (Hamadhān; b. 475/1082–1083, d. 555/1160) in his collection of forty homiletic traditions.[64] Al-Bajalī shares with al-Nasawī two *shaykh*s, namely, Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Khuzayma and Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Shādhān, which increases the likelihood that he and al-Nasawī were erroneously subsumed under a common onomastic denominator. On the strength of this evidence, one may think that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bajalī not Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nasawī was the original transmitter in the *isnād*s of Ibn Khayr, Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ, and al-Ḥajrī. I will return to this problematic *isnād* in my entry about Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, who allegedly transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Nasawī → al-Kisāʾī.[65]

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[61] I included in this group Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Khuzayma (d. 387/997). His birthdate is unknown, but he heard from his famous grandfather, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Khuzayma (d. 311/924). Assuming that Muḥammad b. Isḥāq was his grandson's first *shaykh*, one may infer that the audition took place during Abū Ṭāhir's early childhood; hence, he would have been born in the first decade of the fourth century H (913–923 CE).

[62] Al-Sahmī, *Tārīkh* 85, no. 126; al-Sarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 93–94; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* i, 285; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxx, 221–222; idem, *Siyar* xviii, 62–63; idem, *ʿIbar* ii, 294.

[63] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* v, 67; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxvii, 109.

[64] Al-Ṭāʾī, *al-Arbaʿūn* 32.

[65] See pp. 261–263 below.

1.3 *The Third Generation of Transmitters after Ibn Sufyān al-Naysābūrī*

1.3.1 The Cluster on the Authority of ʿAbd al-Ghāfir b. Muḥammad al-Fārisī

This cluster includes (1) Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭabarī (Naysābūr—Mecca; b. 418/1027–1028, d. 498/1105), (2) Abū l-Layth/Abū l-Fatḥ Naṣr b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Qāsim b. Abī Ḥātim b. al-Ashʿath al-Shāshī al-Tunkatī (Naysābūr—al-Andalus; b. 406/1015–1016, d. 486/1093), and (3) Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Furāwī (Naysābūr—Mecca; b. ca. 441/1049–1050, d. 530/1136).[66]

One of the most cited transmitters of Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ, Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī was born seven years before al-Fārisī's death. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ explains that al-Furāwī heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by way of Abū Saʿīd al-Baḥīrī's (Naysābūr; b. 419/1028–1029, d. 501/1108) reading over (*qirāʾa*) to al-Fārisī just before his death in 448/1056.[67] It is almost certain that al-Furāwī possessed a copy, written by a third person, likely al-Baḥīrī, together with al-Fārisī's license (*ijāza*) to transmit it as if he personally wrote it down under al-Fārisī's dictation. Al-Furāwī was famous for his high *isnād*s. According to al-Dhahabī, traditions with only six intermediate links to the Prophet (*aḥādīth sudāsiyya*) were transmitted on the authority of al-Furāwī—a feat that may have been achieved only at the expense of the *isnād* quality.

Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī and Abū l-Layth/Abū l-Fatḥ al-Tunkatī are said to have heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* directly from al-Fārisī, which is certainly possible given their birth dates. Al-Ṭabarī was Shāfiʿi in law and Ashʿari in theology. He heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Fārisī between 439/1047–1048, when he arrived in Naysābūr from his native Āmul, and again in 448/1056, the year of al-Fārisī's death. He then transmitted the collection in Mecca in the last thirty years of his life.[68]

A native of the city of Tunkat in Transoxiana, Naṣr b. al-Ḥasan al-Tunkatī frequented Naysābūr since his youth, as a merchant. Here he heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Fārisī and later transmitted it in Iraq, Egypt, and al-Andalus.[69] Al-Tunkatī died in Naysābūr, leaving behind an inheritance of 130 000 dinars.[70]

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[66] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xix, 615–619.

[67] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 107.

[68] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxiv, 276–277. In the *Siyar* (xix, 203), al-Dhahabī asserts that al-Ṭabarī heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Fārisī already in 439/1047–1048.

[69] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* i, 483–484; al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 466, no. 1090; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lxii, 30–32.

[70] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam* xvii, 9.

1.3.2 The Cluster on the Authority of Abū l-ʿAbbās b. Bundār al-Rāzī

This cluster of transmission is represented by (1) Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Anas b. Dalhāth al-ʿUdhrī, also known as Ibn al-Dalāʾī (Almeria—Mecca; 393–478/1003–1085) and (2) Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. al-Walīd b. Saʿd b. Bakr al-Anṣārī (Egypt—al-Andalus; b. 360/970–971, d. 448/1056).

Ibn al-Dalāʾī spent his life in Almeria, but he traveled to Mecca with his parents in 408/1018 and stayed there until 416/1024.[71] During this period, he heard from Ibn Bundār. Assuming that Ibn Bundār died in 409/1018–1019 or shortly thereafter, Ibn al-Dalāʾī's audition from him should be dated to the beginning of his sojourn in the holy precinct. This possibility finds support in Ibn al-Dalāʾī statement to his student, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Nafzī, that he heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn Bundār in Mecca in 409/1018–1019.[72]

ʿAbdallāh b. al-Walīd al-Anṣārī was a native of Carmona. He began his study in Cordoba. At the age of twenty-four, he traveled to the eastern Islamic lands, and after completing his pilgrimage to Mecca settled in Egypt. It was in Mecca that he heard from Abū l-ʿAbbās b. Bundār al-Rāzī.[73] ʿAbdallāh b. Walīd's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is documented by Ibn Khayr,[74] although none of ʿAbdallāh's biographers mentions it explicitly.[75]

1.3.3 The Cluster on the Authority of Abū Saʿīd al-Sijzī

This cluster includes (1) Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd b. Lubbāj al-Shantajālī (Cordoba—Mecca; d. 436/1045) and (2) Abū l-Qāsim Ḥātim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥātim al-Tamīmī (Tripoli → Toledo; 378–469/988–1077).

Abū Muḥammad al-Shantajālī was active in Cordoba. He spent in Mecca forty years (391–430/1001–1040), during which he heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū Saʿīd al-Sijzī.[76] If al-Sijzī arrived in Mecca for the first time in 403/1013, when Abū l-Qāsim al-Tamīmī is said to have heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from him, this may be as well the year of al-Shantajālī's meeting with al-Sijzī. One notes that whereas Ibn Bashkuwāl states that al-Shantajālī "heard" (*samiʿa*) the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Sijzī, al-Dhahabī and al-Fāsī use the verb "took" (*akhadha*),[77] which suggests that they were unsure about al-Shantajālī's audition from al-Sijzī. Conceivably, he obtained an *ijāza* to transmit Muslim's collection after a brief interview with al-Sijzī.

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[71] Al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd* i, 64. According to Ibn Bashkuwāl (*Ṣila* i, 69, no. 141), Ibn al-Dalāʾī arrived in Mecca in Ramaḍān 408/January–February 1018. Ibn Bashkuwāl does not mention the month of Ibn al-Dalāʾī's departure from the holy city, but I assume that he set out on his way back to al-Andalus after the pilgrimage season of 416/February 1026.

[72] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 136–137.

[73] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 267, no. 605.

[74] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 136.

[75] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 267, no. 605; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xvii, 658; idem, *ʿIbar* ii, 292; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara* i, 451; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* v, 205.

[76] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 263–265, no. 597.

Ḥātim b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī hailed from Syrian Tripoli but apparently spent most of his life in al-Andalus and North Africa.[78] He received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Sijzī in Mecca in the year 403/1013.[79] Because of his nonagenarian age, al-Tamīmī became popular among the seekers of high *isnād*s.

1.3.4 The Cluster on the Authority of ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaqallī

The obscure ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ṣaqallī is cited by (1) Abū l-Qāsim al-Tamīmī and (2) Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Mālikī al-Dānī (Dénia; b. 371/981–982; d. 444/1053).

Abū l-Qāsim al-Tamīmī is a well-attested transmitter of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Sijzī (see above). His transmission on the authority of al-Ṣaqallī is recorded by al-Jayyānī[80] but not by his other biographers.[81]

The famous expert in Quranic readings ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Dānī is mentioned as a transmitter of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Ṣaqallī in one of al-Ḥajrī's *isnād*s.[82] As we have seen, around the year 397/1006–1007 al-Dānī heard from al-Ṣaqallī in Qayrawān. In his collection of apocalyptic *ḥadīth*, al-Dānī cites thirty-six traditions on the authority of al-Ṣaqallī, based on the *isnād* al-Kisāʾī → Ibn Sufyān → Muslim, also present in the extant version of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[83] The degree to which these traditions differ from al-Julūdī's transmission on the authority of Ibn Sufyān suggests that al-Kisāʾī transmitted these traditions independently of al-Julūdī. Thus, al-Dānī has preserved a unique specimen of al-Kisāʾī's presently lost transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

1.3.5 Other Transmissions

Abū Muḥammad Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib Ḥammūsh b. Muḥammad b. Mukhtār (Cordoba; 355–437/966–1045)[84] is known as a transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Nasawī. Our witnesses to his transmission are the *isnād*s cited by Ibn Khayr, Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ, and al-Ḥajrī on the authority of Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ.[85] Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib's biographers remember him as a man of letters, grammarian, and gifted Quran reciter, but they do not mention explicitly his transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Except for al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, they do not record among his informants a person by the name of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. How are we to explain these contradictory data? Under the second generation above, I suggested that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nasawī was mistaken for Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bajalī, based on four arguments. First, al-Nasawī and his alleged informant with the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Kisāʾī, are contemporaries, which minimizes the possibility of the former citing the latter; second, both share the name Aḥmad and the patronymic Ibn Muḥammad, which made it easy to confuse their names; third, in the biographical dictionaries, al-Bajalī is documented as a transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Kisāʾī, whereas al-Nasawī is never mentioned in this capacity; and, fourth, a single transmission from al-Bajalī's corpus on the authority of al-Kisāʾī is preserved in a later source. Does the biographical information about Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib align with my hypothesis? May Makkī have transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Bajalī, not al-Nasawī?

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[77] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxix, 427; al-Fāsī, *ʿIqd* v, 170.

[78] Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Fihris* 68; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 154–157, no. 354; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxi, 283–284.

[79] Al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd* i, 65.

[80] Ibid. i, 65.

[81] See, for instance, the extensive biographical notes by Ibn Bashkuwāl (*Ṣila* i, 154–157, no. 354) and al-Dhahabī; *Tārīkh al-islām* xxx, 283–285.

[82] Robson, "Transmission" 56.

[83] Pavlovitch, "Rare witness" 30–44.

[84] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Tartīb* viii, 13–14; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 597–599; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*

Al-Bajalī spent his life in Transoxiana and Iran. By contrast, Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib traveled in pursuit of knowledge to Egypt and al-Andalus but not further to the east. Nonetheless, the two men may have met in Mecca, either in 377/988, when Makkī made his first pilgrimage, or a decade later, during Makkī's sojourn in the holy city (387–390/997–1000). The latter possibility may be supported by indirect evidence. The list of al-Bajalī's *shaykh*s includes Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Firās (Mecca; b. ca. 305/917–918, d. 404–405/1013–1015), who was also a *shaykh* of Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib.[86] Because of Aḥmad b. Firās's advanced age, many seekers of high *isnād*s would have taken advantage of the pilgrimage season to obtain *ijāza*s from him. The influx of visitors undoubtedly increased towards the end of his almost centenarian life, and one may think that Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib and al-Bajalī met with him at the end of the 380s rather than ten years earlier. Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib would have used this opportunity to get al-Bajalī's *ijāza* to transmit on his authority al-Kisāʾī's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

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vi, 2712–2714, no. 1156; al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh* iii, 313–315, no. 767; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* v, 274–277; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxix, 452–455; idem, *Siyar* xvii, 591–593; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāya* ii, 270–271, no. 3645.

[85] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 138; Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ, *Aqḍiya* 149; Robson, "Transmission" 55.

[86] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xvii, 181–183.

The proposed solution is confronted by an issue that I already tackled with regard to al-Nasawī and al-Kisāʾī. Just as it is difficult to imagine that al-Nasawī would transmit on the authority of his contemporary al-Kisāʾī, Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib's suggested transmission on the authority of al-Bajalī, who was only seven years younger than Makkī, makes little sense. Makkī is more likely to have transmitted from the older al-Nasawī, as Ibn Khayyir, Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ, and al-Ḥajrī have it in their *isnād*s. This brings us back to al-Nasawī's problematic transmission on the authority of al-Kisāʾī → Ibn Sufyān. Two alternative solutions may be proposed to solve this conundrum. First, al-Nasawī could not meet with Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān, because he was born two years before Ibrāhīm's death. For unknown reasons, al-Nasawī, who was a Sufi, opted to hear the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from his contemporary grammarian and littérateur al-Kisāʾī rather than from his senior Sufi, al-Julūdī, whose transmission in al-Nasawī's lifetime was far more widespread than al-Kisāʾī's transmission. Second, al-Nasawī received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān by formally attending his sessions at an age of one to two years, whereas al-Bajalī received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Kisāʾī. Because both al-Nasawī and al-Bajalī had identical personal and father's names, later transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* mistook one of them for the other and began to present al-Nasawī as a transmitter from al-Kisāʾī. In the latter case, there would have existed two separate *isnād*s: (1) al-Nasawī → Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān and (2) al-Bajalī → al-Kisāʾī → Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān. At present, we do not possess decisive evidence that could help us settle on one of the two scenarios.

1.4 *The Fourth Generation of Transmitters after Ibn Sufyān al-Naysābūrī*

1.4.1 The Cluster on the Authority of Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Anas b. Dalhāth al-ʿUdhrī, Ibn al-Dalāʾī

a. Al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, Abū ʿAlī al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī (Cordoba; 427–498/1035–1105).[87] Al-Jayyānī was a collector of traditions and evaluator of transmitters, praised for his extensive knowledge of grammar, literature, and genealogy. Al-Jayyānī's profound interest in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Bukhārī and Muslim found expression in his collection *Taqyīd al-muhmal wa-tamyīz al-mushkal*, in which he cataloged and evaluated the transmitters in their *isnād*s. In the introduction to the collection, al-Jayyānī states that he heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn al-Dalāʾī in 470/1077–1078 in Valencia.[88] Another copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was handed down to him (*mun-*

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[87] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 141–143; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xix, 148–151.

[88] Al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd* i, 64.

āwala min yadⁱ-hi ilā yadī) by Ḥātim b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī transmitting on the authority of Abū Saʿīd al-Sijzī and ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ṣaqallī.[89]

b. Al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Fīrruh b. Ḥayyūn al-Ṣadafī, Abū ʿAlī, also known as Ibn Sukkara (Zaragoza → Murcia; b. ca. 445/1053–1054, d. 514/-1120).[90] According to al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, Ibn Sukkara heard from Ibn al-Dalāʾī in Almeria and Valencia. Incidentally, he also met (*laqiya*) in Mecca al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, who is another important transmitter of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ibn Sukkara was a prominent collector of traditions, excellent memorizer, and skilled *ḥadīth* critic and *rijāl* expert. He fell in the battle of Cutanda on 18 Rabīʿ i 514/17 June 1120.

c. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Zughayba, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Kilābī (Almeria; b. 450/1058–1059, d. 528/ 1134). Ibn Zughayba's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* reached al-Ḍabbī[91] and the presently unknown author of *Kitāb al-imtāʿ wa-l-intifāʿ*.[92]

d. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Ḥusayn, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Tamīmī (al-Andalus; b. 428–429/1036–1038, d. 7 Jumādā i 505/11 November 1111).[93] Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ reports that Abū ʿAbdallāh, who was one of his prominent *shaykh*s, traveled to Almeria in 480/1087–1088, where he obtained an *ijāza* from Ibn al-Dalāʾī.[94] This chronology is untenable, as the biographical sources unanimously point to 478/1085 as Ibn al-Dalāʾī's date of death. Abū ʿAbdallāh's actual source may have been Abū ʿAlī al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī, on whose authority he transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ.[95]

e. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Nafzī al-Māliqī (Malaga—Cordoba; b. 437/1045–1046, d. 525/1130–1131). Al-Nafzī was a man of letters (*adīb*) and a Quran reciter.[96] Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ and Ibn Bashkuwāl document al-Nafzī's transmission of *ḥadīth* on the authority of Ibn al-Dalāʾī. Unlike them, Ibn al-Jazarī records that al-Nafzī transmitted from "Ibn Abī ʿAbbās b. Dalhāth," that is, Ibn al-Dalāʾī's son. Strikingly, al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, who was al-Nafzī's student, does not record Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* among the works that he received from him. True to his scholarly profile, al-Nafzī collected and transmitted mostly works in grammar and *adab*.[97] Thus, Ibn Khayr's *isnād*[98] remains our only witness to al-Nafzī's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

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[89] Ibid. 64–65.

[90] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ghunya* 129–131; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 143–144; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya* i, 331, no. 657; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxv, 367–369; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* xiii, 43–44.

[91] Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya* i, 139, no. 206.

[92] Robson, "Transmission" 53.

[93] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ghunya* 27–29; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 572, no. 1327; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxv, 113; idem, *Siyar* xix, 266.

[94] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ghunya* 27.

[95] Ibid. 35; idem, *Mashāriq* i, 11.

[96] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ghunya* 59; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 549, no. 1274; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāya* ii, 131–132.

f. Sufyān b. al-ʿĀṣ, Abū Baḥr al-Asadī (Cordoba; b. 440/1048–1049; d. 520/1126).[99] Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* being read to Abū Baḥr in Cordoba in 507/1113–1114.[100] Abū Baḥr possessed a written copy (*nuskha*) of the collection, which included explanatory remarks in its margins.[101]

g. Sulaymān b. Abī l-Qāsim Najāḥ, Abū Dāwūd (Dénia—Valencia; b. 413/-1022–1023, d. 496/1103).[102] Son of a *mawlā* of the Umayyad caliph in al-Andalus, Hishām al-Mu'ayyad bi-l-Lāh (r. 366–399/976–1009), Sulaymān was an expert of note in Quranic sciences, but, except for Ibn Ḥajar's *isnād*,[103] he is not explicitly associated with the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

1.4.2 The Cluster on the Authority of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭabarī

a. ʿAbbād b. Sarḥān b. Musallim b. Sayyid al-Nās, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Maʿāfirī (al-Andalus [Xàtiva]; b. 464/1071–1072, d. ca. 543/1148–1149).[104] He heard unspecified material from al-Ṭabarī in Mecca. It should have included Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which Ibn Sarḥān handed down (*nāwala*) to Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī.[105] Ibn Bashkuwāl has noted Ibn Sarḥān's incompetence as a *ḥadīth* scholar.

b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad, Abū Muḥammad al-Khushanī al-Mursī (Murcia; b. 447/1055–1056, d. 520/1126 or 526/1131–1132).[106] Al-Khushanī's *isnād* on the authority of al-Ṭabarī is cited by al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ.[107]

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[97] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ghunya* 60–61.

[98] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 136.

[99] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 225–226, no. 526; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xix, 515–516; al-Yāfiʿī, *Mir'āt* iii, 171.

[100] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ghunya* 37; idem, *Mashāriq* i, 11.

[101] Al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 72.

[102] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 200; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxiv, 234–236.

[103] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 28.

[104] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 428–429; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvii, 147.

[105] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 136.

[106] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ghunya* 153–154; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 284, no. 646; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya* ii, 436–437, no. 896; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 144–146; idem, *Siyar* xix, 602–603. According to Ibn Bashkuwāl, al-Khushanī died on 03 Ramaḍān 520/22 September 1126. Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ and al-Ḍabbī give only the year 526/1131–1132. Al-Dhahabī, citing Ibn Bashkuwāl (!), records al-Khushanī's death on 03 Ramaḍān 526/18 July 1132, by which he harmonizes the chronologies of al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ and Ibn Bashkuwāl. The year 526 may be an error, which was likely caused by the similar consonantal skeletons of the words *sana* (year) and *sitta* (six).

[107] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Mashāriq* i, 11; idem, *Ghunya* 37.

c. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ghashilyān, Abū l-Ḥakam al-Anṣārī (Zaragoza; d. 541/1147).[108] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's biographers do not document his meeting with al-Ṭabarī nor do they mention that he traveled to Mecca. They only record ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's possession of *ijāza*s from "the scholars of the orient" (*ʿulamāʾ al-mashriq*), a blanket authorization that likely included the transmission of al-Ṭabarī's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. By a similar *ijāza*, Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on Ibn Ghashilyān's authority.[109]

d. Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf b. Tammām b. ʿAbdallāh b. Tammām b. ʿAṭiyya, Abū Bakr al-Muḥāribī (Granada; b. 441/1049–1150, d. 518/1124). According to his son ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. ʿAṭiyya, Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān heard Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī in Mecca, during the pilgrimage season of 470/1078.[110] After completing the formal procedure of audition, Ghālib received an *ijāza* from al-Ṭabarī to transmit the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on his authority.[111]

e. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿArabī, Abū Bakr al-Maʿāfirī al-Ishbīlī (Seville; 468–543/1075–1148).[112] Ibn al-ʿArabī met al-Ṭabarī in Mecca during the pilgrimage season of 489/1096. Here he should have read to al-Ṭabarī Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and received his *ijāza* to transmit it.

f. Mūsā b. Sayyid b. Ibrāhīm, Abū Bakr al-Umawī (al-Andalus; died after 534/1140). This is a little-known traditionist, who heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Ṭabarī during the pilgrimage in Mecca on an unspecified date.[113] Ibn Khayr read the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Mūsā b. Sayyid in al-Jazīrat al-Khaḍrāʾ (present-day Algeciras in Spain) in Dhū l-Qaʿda 534/June–July 1140, which is the *terminus post quem* for Mūsā's death.[114]

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[108] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 336, no. 753; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvii, 75–76.
[109] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 136.
[110] Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Fihris* 67–68.
[111] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 433.
[112] Ibid. ii, 558–559, no. 1297; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvii, 159–163.
[113] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* ii, 178, no. 460; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 361.
[114] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 136.

1.4.3 The Cluster on the Authority of Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Furāwī

a. ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, Abū l-Maḥāsin al-Ṭabasī (Naysābūr; d. 537/1142).[115] Al-Ṭabasī was an expert in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which he reportedly read over to Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī eighteen times. The exceptionally short gap between the death dates of al-Ṭabasī and al-Furāwī (d. 530/1136) suggests that either they were contemporaries or al-Ṭabasī died at a much younger age than his nonagenarian teacher.[116] Al-Ṭabasī left a record of al-Furāwī's version, which Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ collated with his other transmissions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[117]

b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh, Abū l-Qāsim Ibn ʿAsākir (Damascus; 499–571/1105–1176). The famous traditionist and *rijāl* expert from Damascus is said to have undertaken his second scholarly journey with the aim of hearing from Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī, who was famous for his high *isnād* and vast knowledge of traditions.[118] Since this four-year journey began in 529/1134–1135,[119] Ibn ʿAsākir must have met al-Furāwī in the last two years of his life and obtained his *ijāza* to transmit the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on his authority.

c. Manṣūr b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, Abū l-Fatḥ/Abū l-Qāsim al-Furāwī (Naysābūr; b. 522–608/1128–1212). Abū l-Fatḥ's student Ibn Nuqṭa (d. 629/1231), the Ḥanbali traditionist and biographer, has preserved first-hand information about his teacher.[120] At the age of four years and five months, Manṣūr "read over" to his great-grandfather extensive parts of Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ* from ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṭabasī's original record (*aṣl*). Manṣūr's tender age at the time of the reading indicates that he transmitted from Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī by way of *ijāza*.

d. Al-Muʾayyad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Abī Ṣāliḥ, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (Naysābūr; b. 524/1129–1130, d. 617/1220).[121] Al-Muʾayyad heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī in 530/1136, at the age of six, a few months before al-Furāwī's death.[122] Al-Mu'ayyad's age at the time of audition implies transmission by *ijāza*, but he may have relied on an intermediary. Al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834) cites an *isnād*, which, instead of the established route al-Mu'ayyad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī → al-Furāwī, takes an unusual detour through al-Mu'ayyad's father, Muḥammad (see Appendix 1, Diagram 4).[123] It is not to be excluded that, in line with the sixth/twelfth-century habits, Muḥammad took his infant son to al-Furāwī's lessons, and obtained for him an *ijāza* after a certain period of listening by attendance.

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[115] Al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 359, no. 1187; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iv, 48; Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* ii, 640; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 440–441.

[116] The latter possibility is implied in al-Ṣarīfīnī's description of al-Ṭabasī as "an incisive and respectful youth" (*shābb sadīd ṣāʾin*).

[117] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 110.

[118] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xix, 618; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 140, no. 1413.

[119] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xl, 71.

[120] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* ii, 813–815, no. 606; cf. al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xliii, 312–313; idem, *Siyar* xxi, 494–496.

[121] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* v, 245–246, no. 752; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xliv, 383–385; idem, *Siyar* xxii, 104–107.

At an advanced age, al-Ṭūsī issued an unrestricted blanket license (*ijāza ʿāmma muṭlaqa*), authorizing anyone alive at the time of its issuance to transmit all of his transmissions.[124] Since this *ijāza* was used by Sharaf al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī, who was born in 613/1217, al-Ṭūsī must have issued it before this year. In any case, the *ijāza* was responsible for al-Ṭūsī's enormous popularity as a transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Another contributing factor was al-Ṭūsī's longevity: Having lived ninety-three lunar years, he "connected grandparents with grandchildren" (*alḥaqa al-aḥfād bi-l-ajdād*).[125] Al-Ṭūsī died only a few months before the beginning of the Mongol conquest of Iran,[126] a lamentable event that wreaked havoc on the intellectual life in the Iranian cities, including Naysābūr.

e. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ṣadaqa, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥarrānī (Damascus; 487–584/1094–1188).[127] Ibn Ṣadaqa was a merchant by vocation. He heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī at the age of forty-one years in 528/1133–1134, two years before al-Furāwī's death. Given his business engagements, it is doubtful that Ibn Ṣadaqa had plenty of time to attend al-Furāwī's lectures and carefully write down his transmissions. He likely obtained al-Furāwī's *ijāza* to transmit the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, for which he subsequently became known in Damascus. The absence of an entry on Ibn Ṣadaqa in Ibn ʿAsākir's monumental *Tārīkh Dimashq* suggests that he was not a professional *ḥadīth* transmitter. The key to understanding his popularity is his almost centenarian age. As it often happened in his time, the old Ibn Ṣadaqa would have been discovered by *ḥadīth* students who were eager to possess an exceptionally high *isnād* to Muslim.[128]

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[122] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 108.
[123] Al-Shawkānī, *Itḥāf* 169.
[124] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* ii, 417, no. 2525.
[125] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 108.
[126] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xliv, 385.
[127] Ibid. xli, 197.

1.4.4 The Cluster on the Authority of Abū l-Layth/Abū l-Fatḥ al-Tunkatī

a. Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Abī l-Ashʿath, Abū l-Qāsim al-Samarqandī (Damascus → Baghdad; 454–536/1062–1142).[129] In the biographical literature, Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad is not associated with al-Tunkatī or with the transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. A reseller of rare books (*dallāl fī bayʿ al-kutub*), according to one report he sold an exquisite leather-bound volume (*mujallada laṭīfa*) with the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Bukhārī and Muslim for twenty dinars. He likely possessed manuscripts of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, including one with an *isnād* on the authority of al-Tunkatī, which bore his *ijāza* for further transmission. Al-Samarqandī's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is attested only by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. According to him, al-Samarqandī received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by way of reading over to al-Tunkatī,[130] which suggests that he got an *ijāza* to transmit the work in keeping with the ritual of reading over to the *shaykh* either personally or by attending a reading session conducted by a third person and presided by the *shaykh*.

b. Muḥammad b. Ṭarkhān b. Yaltakīn b. Mubāriz b. Bajkam, Abū Bakr (Baghdad; b. 446/1054–1055, d. 513/1119).[131] Like al-Samarqandī, Ibn Bajkam's biographers do not record his audition from al-Tunkatī nor do they associate him explicitly with the transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. In this capacity, Ibn Bajkam is mentioned only in Ibn Khayr's *Fahrasa*.[132] From the appellation *al-ẓāhid* that Ibn Bajkam's students occasionally associate with him, one infers that he was an ascetic.[133]

c. Sufyān b. al-ʿĀṣ, Abū Baḥr al-Asadī. Sufyān is mentioned by al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ as his informant with the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Tunkatī and Ibn al-Dalāʾī.[134]

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[128] On this phenomenon, see Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 154–165.

[129] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* viii, 357–359; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam* xviii, 20–22; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 406–408.

[130] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 114.

[131] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xix, 423; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* iii, 169–170.

[132] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 135, no. 152.

[133] E.g., Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 161, no. 162; 197, no. 220; 208, no. 234.

[134] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ghunya* 37.

1.4.5 The Cluster on the Authority of ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Shantajālī

a. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb b. Muḥsin, Abū Muḥammad (Cordoba; b. 433/1041–1042, d. 520/1126).[135] Active in Cordoba, Ibn ʿAttāb was described by Ibn Bashkuwāl as "the last great *shaykh* of al-Andalus." His transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Shantajālī reached Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī.[136]

b. Hishām b. Aḥmad b. Hishām, Abū l-Walīd al-Kinānī (Toledo; b. 408/1017–1018; d. 489/1096).[137] Abū l-Walīd was a polymath, whose expertise ranged from philology and rhetoric to jurisprudence and mathematics. He was accused of Muʿtazilism, which led prominent *ḥadīth* transmitters to turn away from his traditions.[138] Probably for this reason, al-Kinānī's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was documented only by al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ through his *shaykh* Abū Baḥr al-Asadī.[139]

c. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hawzanī (Seville; 392–460/1002–1068).[140] As a transmitter of Ibn Sufyān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ʿUmar al-Hawzanī is known only from al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's *isnād* on the authority of al-Shantajālī.[141] It is unclear when al-Hawzanī met his informant. During al-Hawzanī's stay in Cordoba (ca. 408–422/ca. 1018–1031), al-Shantajālī was in Mecca. By the time al-Hawzanī visited Mecca around 445/1053–1054, al-Shantajālī had been back in Cordoba. Al-Hawzanī is remembered as a confidant of the ruthless ʿAbbādid ruler of Seville, al-Muʿtaḍid bi-l-Lāh, Abū ʿAmr ʿAbbād b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād (r. 433–460/1042–1069). The relationship between the two men took a bad turn after al-Hawzanī moved to Seville in 468/1075–1076 on al-Muʿtaḍid's order. Al-Hawzanī's surging political influence worried the ʿAbbādid tyrant, who settled the conflict with his usual cruelty. On 14 Rabīʿ ii 460/21 February 1068, he summoned al-Hawzanī to his palace, where he cold-bloodedly killed him by his hand.[142] Given al-Hawzanī's involvement in politics and the absence of source witnesses to his audition from al-Shantajālī, it is likely that he had al-Shantajālī's *ijāza* to transmit Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

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[135] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 332–333.

[136] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 138.

[137] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 617–618; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxiii, 327–328.

[138] Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* v, 381.

[139] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ghunya* 37.

[140] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Tartīb* viii, 156–157; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra* pt. 2, i, 81–83; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 381, no. 863; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxx, 488–489.

[141] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 88; idem, *Mashāriq* i, 11.

[142] Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra* pt. 2, i, 82–83.

1.4.6 The Cluster on the Authority of Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib

a. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb was discussed in the cluster through al-Shantajālī above. Ibn ʿAttāb's transmission on the authority of Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib → al-Nasawī is recorded by Ibn Khayr.[143] Given that Ibn ʿAttāb was born only four years before Makkī's death, his transmission by *ijāza* comes as no surprise.[144]

b. Muḥammad b. Faraj, Abū ʿAbdallāh Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ (Cordoba; 404–497/1014–1104).[145] Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is documented by al-Ḥajrī.[146]

1.4.7 Other Transmissions

a. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb. We encountered Ibn ʿAttāb's transmissions on the authority of al-Shantajālī and Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib. His transmission through Ḥātim b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī is recorded by al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ,[147] Ibn Khayr,[148] and al-Ḥajrī.[149] As one of al-Tamīmī's closest students, Ibn ʿAttāb heard many of his transmissions directly; for the rest he had an *ijāza*.[150] It is unknown to which group belonged the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

b. Al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī. We met al-Jayyānī as a collector and transmitter of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Ibn al-Dalāʾī. He also received the collection from Ḥātim b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, by way of handing over (*munāwala*).[151] Al-Jayyānī's transmission from Ḥātim b. Muḥammad is documented by al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ,[152] Ibn ʿAṭiyya,[153] and Ibn Khayr.[154]

c. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Saʿīd b. Wahb, Abū ʿAbdallāh b. al-Murābiṭ al-Mālikī (Almeria; d. 485/1092).[155] Muḥammad b. Khalaf transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Dānī.[156] Al-Dhahabī notes that al-Dānī issued an *ijāza* to Muḥammad b. Khalaf, which presumably applied to his transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

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[143] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 138.

[144] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xix, 514.

[145] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 534–535, no. 1239; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxiv, 267–269.

[146] Robson, "Transmission" 55.

[147] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Mashāriq* i, 11.

[148] Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, *Fahrasa* 138.

[149] Robson, "Transmission" 53–54.

[150] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 332, no. 747.

[151] Al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd* i, 64–65.

[152] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Mashāriq* i, 11; idem, *Ghunya* 36.

[153] Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Fihris* 68.

[154] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 137.

[155] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 527–528, no. 1224; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxx, 156.

[156] Robson, "Transmission" 56.

d. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Bashīr al-Maʿāfirī al-Ṣayrafī (al-Andalus; d. 481/1088).[157] Al-Maʿāfirī recorded Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from ʿAbdallāh b. al-Walīd b. Saʿd in Egypt. It reached Ibn Khayr through Yūnus b. Muḥammad al-Qurṭubī (447–532/1055–1138).[158]

1.5 *The Fifth Generation of Transmitters after Ibn Sufyān al-Naysābūrī*

In al-Andalus, this is the generation of the major collectors of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, including:

a. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Abī Bakr Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghālib b. ʿAṭiyya, Abū Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī (Almeria; b. 481/1088–1089, d. 541–542/1146–1148 or 546/1151–1152).
b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. Dhī l-Nūn, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥajrī al-Mālikī (Almeria, Murcia, Ceuta; 505–591/1112–1195).[159]
c. ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā b. ʿIyāḍ b. ʿAmrūn al-Yaḥṣubī, the Qāḍī (Ceuta—al-Andalus; 476–544/1088–1149).
d. Muḥammad b. Khayr b. ʿUmar b. Khalīfa, Abū Bakr al-Umawī al-Ishbīlī (Seville; 502–575/1109–1179).

Each of these collectors received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* through several channels. Some of the transmissions took the form of auditions (*samāʿ*) from the *shaykh*, while the others were based on the student's reading over (*qirāʾa*) to the *shaykh*, followed by an issuance of license (*ijāza*) to the student to transmit the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of the *shaykh* and his past informants. Sometimes *samāʿ* and *qirāʾa* would be combined, as is the case with al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's transmission on the authority of Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tamīmī.[160] On three occasions, Ibn Khayr received from his informants al-Julūdī's transmission on the authority of Ibn Sufyān by handing over (*munāwala*).[161]

Apart from fourth-generation informants, the above four collectors transmit on the authority of a group of informants from the fifth generation after Ibn Sufyān. In this case, the four collectors count not in the fifth but in the sixth generation after Ibn Sufyān. This shared belonging to two successive generations is due to the lowness (*nuzūl*) of the latter *isnād*s relative to the higher

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[157] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 526, no. 1219; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxx, 69.
[158] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 136.
[159] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* ii, 278–281, no. 809; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlii, 64–67.
[160] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā. *Mashāriq* i, 11.
[161] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 136.

*isnād*s in which Ibn ʿAṭiyya, al-Ḥajrī, al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, and Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī are in the position of a fifth generation.

a. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Masarra b. Faraj b. Khalaf b. ʿUzayr, Abū Marwān al-Yaḥṣubī (Cordoba; d. 552/1157).[162] ʿAbd al-Malik passed on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to al-Ḥajrī.[163]

b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bārī, Abū Jaʿfar al-Biṭrawjī (Cordoba; d. 542/1147).[164] Al-Biṭrawjī's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is recorded by al-Ḥajrī.[165]

c. Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf b. Tammām b. ʿAbdallāh b. Tammām b. ʿAṭiyya, Abū Bakr al-Muḥāribī al-Gharnāṭī.[166] Ghālib is Ibn ʿAṭiyya's father. He is a fourth-generation transmitter in the *isnād* on the authority of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī and a fifth-generation transmitter in the *isnād* through al-Jayyānī → Ibn al-Dalāʾī. Ibn ʿAṭiyya's *isnād* is our only witness that Ghālib had the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Jayyānī. No such information is preserved by Ibn Bashkuwāl, Ghālib's principal biographer, who otherwise carefully documented his audition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Ṭabarī in Mecca.

d. Hishām b. Aḥmad b. Hishām, Abū l-Walīd al-Hilālī, known as Ibn Baqwā or Ibn Baqra (Almeria—Granada; b. 444/1052, d. 530/1135–1136)[167] is found in al-Ḥajrī's *isnād*.[168]

e. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad, Abū Jaʿfar al-Khushanī (Murcia; d. 494/1101) is an outstanding case. The only biographical note about him is found in al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's *Ghunya*: Together with his son ʿAbdallāh, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh is said to have served as the mufti of their quarter of residence.[169] Apart from this, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh appears only in al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's *isnād* to ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan al-Hawzanī, but not as the Qāḍī's direct informant as are the other representatives of the fifth generation listed here. The Qāḍī relies on an intermediary transmitter, namely, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's son, ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Jaʿfar.[170] Thus, when transmitting on the authority of his father, ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad ranks in the sixth generation of transmitters after Ibn Sufyān, and when transmitting on the authority of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, he ranks in the fourth generation (see above). Accordingly, al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ alternates between the fifth and the seventh generations. I will return to this exceptional case under the entry ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Khushanī in the sixth generation below.[171]

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[162] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 348, no. 778; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxviii, 89–90.

[163] Robson, "Transmission" 53–54.

[164] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 84, no. 179; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvii, 99–101.

[165] Robson, "Transmission" 55.

[166] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 432–433, no. 986; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xix, 586–587; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* vi, 95–96.

[167] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 619–620, no. 1440; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 190–191.

[168] Robson, "Transmission" 56.

[169] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ghunya* 154; repeated by Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 533, no. 1236.

[170] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Mashāriq* i, 11; idem, *Muqaddima* 88.

f. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿArabī. We met Ibn al-ʿArabī as a fourth-generation transmitter with respect to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, but he is part of the fifth generation as well, because of his presence in the lower *isnād* through Muḥammad b. Ṭarkhān b. Bajkam. Ibn al-ʿArabī read over the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Ibn Bajkam sometime between Ibn al-ʿArabī's arrival in Baghdad ca. 485/1092–1093 and his setting out for a pilgrimage in 489/1096.[172]

g. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sayyid b. Maʿmar, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Madhḥijī (Malaga; b. ca. 447/1055–1056, d. 537/1143).[173] Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ is recorded by al-Ḥajrī.[174] Al-Madhḥijī's biographers are unanimous that his informants included Abū ʿAlī al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī. Although they do not specify the type of material that al-Madhḥijī received from al-Jayyānī, one may think that it included Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

h. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṭāhir al-Qaysī, Abū Bakr al-Ishbīlī (Seville; b. 449/1057–1058, d. 542/1147).[175] Muḥammad b. Aḥmad was a close student of al-Jayyānī and transmitted many traditions on his authority. His transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is recorded by Ibn Khayr.[176]

i. Sufyān b. al-ʿĀṣ, Abū Baḥr al-Asadī. A prominent *shaykh* of al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, Sufyān is a fourth-generation transmitter in the *isnād*s on the authority of Ibn Dalhāth al-ʿUdhrī and al-Tunkatī (see above). He is a fifth-generation transmitter when reporting on the authority of Hishām b. Aḥmad al-Kinānī.[177]

j. Yaḥyā b. Khalaf b. al-Nafīs, Abū Bakr Ibn al-Khallūf al-Ḥimyarī (Granada; 466–541/1073–1147).[178] Ibn al-Khallūf is known to have heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in

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[171] See pp. 281–282 below.

[172] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 558, no. 1297.

[173] Ibid. ii, 556, no. 1290; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya* i, 124, no. 196; Ibn al-Abbār, *Muʿjam* 137–138, no. 122; Ibn ʿAskar, *Aʿlām* 81–82; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 453.

[174] Robson, "Transmission" 55.

[175] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 557–558, no. 1296; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvii, 117.

[176] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 137.

[177] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ghunya* 37.

[178] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* iv, 170–171, no. 500; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvii, 94–95.

Mecca from al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī. He also heard from Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ, his alleged informant with the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in *Kitāb al-Imtāʿ wa-l-intifāʿ*,[179] but the biographers do not specify what type of material he received from Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ.

k. Yūnus b. Muḥammad b. Mughīth b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Qurṭubī (Cordoba; b. 447–532/1055–1138).[180] An expert in jurisprudence, *ḥadīth*, grammar, and genealogy, Yūnus transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Ibn Khayr.[181]

In the East, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (Iraq—Damascus; 577–643/1181–1245) is the most important collector of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the fifth generation after Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān. He received the collection from no fewer than five different sources, including al-Muʾayyad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī and Manṣūr b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Furāwī, who are the chief eastern collectors with the highest *isnād*s in the fourth generation after Ibn Sufyān. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ also used Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī's copy recorded by his student ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabasī.[182] In this way, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ possessed an exceptionally high *isnād* to Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī, although without the obligatory reading to the *shaykh* or audition from him, followed by an *ijāza* to transmit on his authority. Apart from Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was transmitted by the following fifth-generation eastern *shaykh*s:

a. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. Khalaf b. Abī l-Ḥasan, Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Dimyāṭī (Egypt; 613–705/1217–1306).[183] ʿAbd al-Muʾmin was born in Egypt four years before the death of his informant, al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī (Naysābūr; d. 617/1220). ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's tender age prevented him from crossing the formidable distance from Dimyāṭ to Naysābūr (3097 km; 78 days of travel) to hear directly from al-Ṭūsī, but he took advantage of al-Ṭūsī's blanket license (*ijāza ʿāmma*) to transmit on his authority. By citing directly al-Ṭūsī, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Dimyāṭī possessed an exceptionally high *isnād* to Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī (d. 530/1136).[184] Neither al-Dimyāṭī nor al-Ṭūsī had audition from their respective informants; both relied on *ijāza*s to transmit written copies of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

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[179] Robson, "Transmission" 55.

[180] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 649–650, no. 1518; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 306–307.

[181] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 136.

[182] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 110.

[183] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 102–104; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* ii, 417–418, no. 2525.

[184] As many of his contemporary *ḥadīth* transmitters, al-Dimyāṭī was fond of high *isnād*s. He composed a short treatise with such *isnād*s that put him only one generation apart from Muslim and al-Nasāʾī, now published as *Juzʾ fī-hi muṣāfaḥat al-imām Muslim wa-l-imām al-Nasāʾī*.

Without mentioning al-Ṭūsī's *ijāza*, al-Fāsī states that al-Dimyāṭī heard Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ṣāliḥ b. Shujāʿ al-Mudlijī (Mecca; 564–651/1169–1253).[185] Elsewhere, al-Fāsī records that al-Dimyāṭī heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* "not once" from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Jabbāb (Egypt; b. 561/1165–1166, d. 648/1250).[186] Based on these reports, one may think that either al-Dimyāṭī had the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from three sources, or that his actual *samāʿ* was from Ṣāliḥ b. Shujāʿ and Ibn al-Jabbāb, but he associated it with al-Mu'ayyad al-Ṭūsī because of the lofty *isnād* he could obtain by invoking his global *ijāza*.

b. Abū Bakr b. Ḥirz Allāh b. Ḥajjāj al-Tūnisī al-Qafṣī (Qafṣa—Mecca, d. after 604/1207–1208). Abū Bakr al-Qafṣī is mentioned only in the *isnād* of the late collector al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834).[187] I could not find biographical information about him, but, taking into account that he transmits on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ṣadaqa al-Ḥarrānī, his floruit may be dated with reasonable certainty to the first half of the seventh/thirteenth century. From his *nisba*, we learn that he hailed from the city of Qafṣa (Gafsa) in Tunisia. The extent of his travels in pursuit of knowledge is unknown. In 604/1207–1208, he transmitted *ḥadīth* in Mecca,[188] which suggests that, by that time, he had become a *shaykh* of considerable renown.

c. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dā'im b. Niʿma b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Nāblusī, (Damascus; b. 575/1179–1180, d. 668/1270).[189] Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dā'im was a Ḥanbali preacher and traditionist. Owing to his ninety-three-year lifespan, Ibn ʿAbd al-Dā'im had an audition from Muḥammad b. Ṣadaqa al-Ḥarrānī (d. 584/1188). Most likely, this was "listening by attendance," at the end of which Aḥmad received al-Ḥarrānī's *ijāza* to transmit Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ibn ʿAbd al-Dā'im's longevity, together with his high *isnād* to Ibn Ṣadaqa al-Ḥarrānī, made him a popular transmitter with students flocking to hear Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from him (see Appendix 1, Diagram 5).

d. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Bundār, Tāj al-Dīn Ibn al-Shīrāzī (Damascus; b. Ṣafar 571 or 572/1175 or 1176; d. 642/1244).[190]

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[185] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 104.

[186] Ibid. ii, 170, no. 764. Al-Dhahabī specifies that the number of readings was two; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvii, 378.

[187] Al-Shawkānī, *Itḥāf al-akābir* 168.

[188] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* ii, 295, no. 844.

[189] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlix, 254–257.

[190] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 182, no. 782; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvii, 109.

Ibn al-Shīrāzī transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Ibn Ṣadaqa al-Ḥarrānī. Given that Ibn al-Shīrāzī was twelve or thirteen years old at the time of Ibn Ṣadaqa's death, it is likely that he transmitted by *ijāza*.

e. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Sakhāwī (Egypt—Damascus; b. 558–559/1162–1164, d. 643/1245)[191] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Manṣūr al-Furāwī by an *ijāza*.[192]

f. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn al-Bukhārī al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī (Jerusalem; 595–690/1199–1291)[193] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī.[194] Ibn al-Bukhārī's biographers do not remember a meeting between the two men nor anyone obtaining an *ijāza* from al-Ṭūsī on behalf of Ibn al-Bukhārī, which suggests that, like ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Dimyāṭī, Ibn al-Bukhārī transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* based on al-Ṭūsī's famous blanket *ijāza*.

g. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Hudhayl, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Muqriʾ (Valencia; b. 470–471/1077–1079, d. 564/1169)[195] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Sulaymān b. Najāḥ → Ibn al-Dalāʾī.[196] ʿAlī b. Muḥammad is chiefly known as an expert in the Quran readings. He studied with Sulaymān b. Najāḥ, his stepfather, for twenty years, during which he heard all his transmissions. They likely included Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, although ʿAlī b. Muḥammad's biographers do not mention explicitly this collection among his transmissions on the authority of Sulaymān b. Najāḥ. However, they record that ʿAlī heard Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāriq b. Yaʿīsh.[197]

h. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Maʿālī, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī (Damascus; b. 577/1181–1182; d. 654/1256).[198] During his mercantile trips to Naysābūr, al-Ṣūrī heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī.

i. ʿAtīq b. Abī l-Faḍl b. Salāma b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Thābit, Abū Bakr al-Salmānī (Damascus; b. 553/1158–1159, d. 643/1246)[199] heard a part of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn ʿAsākir.[200]

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[191] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvii, 192–196; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* xx, 64–66.

[192] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 176, no. 1467.

[193] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* li, 522–526; idem, *Muʿjam* 357, no. 513; Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl* iv, 241–250; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 124–125, no. 1392.

[194] Al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 74–75.

[195] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* iii, 201–204, no. 510; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxix, 200–204.

[196] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 28.

[197] See no. 115 under "Truncated transmissions" below.

[198] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlviii, 173.

[199] Ibid. xlvii, 183–184.

[200] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 28; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 102, no. 1365.

j. Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, Abū ʿAlī al-Bakrī (Damascus; b. 574/1178–1179, d. 656/1258)[201] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī.[202] ʿUmar b. al-Ḥājib (Damascus; d. 630/1233) described Abū ʿAlī as knowledgeable, eloquent, and handsome, yet vainglorious, foolish, and careless.[203]

k. Al-Ḥasan b. Sālim b. ʿAlī b. Sallām al-Ṭarābulusī al-Dimashqī (active Damascus; b. 565/1169–1170, d. 642/1245)[204] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Ibn Ṣadaqa al-Ḥarrānī.[205]

l. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Azhar b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Taqī al-Dīn Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣarīfīnī (Baghdad, Damascus; b. 581 or 582/1185 or 1186, d. 641/1243)[206] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī.[207] Al-Suyūṭī, who saw al-Ṣarīfīnī's copy (*nuskha*) of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, noted that it did not include chapter headings.[208]

m. Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar b. Muḍar b. Muḥammad b. Fāris b. Ibrāhīm, Abū Isḥāq, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn al-Burhān al-Wāsiṭī (Wāsiṭ—Damascus—Egypt—the Yemen; b. 593/1196–1197, d. 664/1266).[209] At an early age, Ibn al-Burhān heard (*samiʿa*) the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Manṣūr al-Furāwī. During his travels as a merchant, Ibn al-Burhān transmitted the collection in Damascus, Egypt, and the Yemen. Al-Nawawī heard from him the entire *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the mosque of Damascus.[210]

n. Al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, Abū l-ʿIzz Ibn Khaṭīb al-Qirāfa (Damascus → Egypt; d. 643/1246)[211] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī.[212]

o. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faḍl, Abū ʿAbdallāh Sharaf al-Dīn al-Mursī (Murcia; 570–655/1174–1257).[213] Al-Mursī traveled as far as Khurāsān, where he heard from Manṣūr al-Furāwī and al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī. His transmission is recorded by Ibn Ḥajar.[214]

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[201] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlviii, 234–236; idem, *Siyar* xxiii, 326–328; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 340–341; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* vii, 474.

[202] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 28.

[203] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlviii, 235.

[204] Ibid. xlvii, 115–116.

[205] Robson, "Transmission" 52.

[206] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvii, 71–72; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* vii, 363–364.

[207] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 28.

[208] Al-Suyūṭī, *Dībāj* i, 33.

[209] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlix, 170–171; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 241–242, no. 862.

[210] Al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* i, 6.

[211] Ibn al-Mustawfī, *Tārīkh*, i, 390–393; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvii, 223–224.

[212] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 28.

[213] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlviii, 211–214; *Siyar* xxiii, 312–318.

p. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, Tāj al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan al-Qurṭubī (Damascus; 575–643/1179–1245)[215] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Ibn Ṣadaqa al-Ḥarrānī. Since he was born nine years before Ibn Ṣadaqa's death in 584/1188, al-Qurṭubī most likely relied on an *ijāza*.

q. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd b. Ṭarīf b. Raslān, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAsqalānī (Egypt—Damascus; b. after 570/1174–1175, d. 650/1252)[216] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Manṣūr b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Furāwī.[217]

r. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd b. Muslim b. al-Kumayt, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥarrānī (Damascus; b. 565/1169–1170; d. ?)[218] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī.[219]

s. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr b. Manṣūr b. Abī Saʿd, Majd al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Ibn al-Ṣaffār al-Isfarāyīnī al-Ṣūfī (Isfarāyīn → Damascus; 587–648/1191–1250).[220] He transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī.[221]

t. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Abū l-Barakāt Ibn al-Barādhiʿī al-Qurashī (Damascus; b. ca. 560/1164–1165, d. 647/1249)[222] heard parts of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn ʿAsākir.[223]

u. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Muʿammar b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥassān, Abū Ḥafṣ Ibn Ṭabarzad al-Baghdādī (Baghdad; 516–607/1123–1210).[224] Ibn Ṭabarzad's transmission has reached Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ.[225]

v. Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Ghālib, Zayn al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Andalusī al-Māliqī (Malaga—Damascus; b. 577–578/1181–1183, d. 640/1242)[226] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī.[227]

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[214] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 27.

[215] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvii, 202–203; idem, *Siyar* xxiii, 217–218; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 98, no. 49.

[216] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvii, 452; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 322–323, no. 349.

[217] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 28.

[218] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 208, no. 177.

[219] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 28.

[220] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvii, 403–404; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 407–408, no. 470.

[221] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 28.

[222] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvii, 366–367; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 226, no. 1543.

[223] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 28.

[224] Ibn al-Najjār, *Dhayl Tārīkh Baghdād* xx, 118–121; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xliii, 259–262.

[225] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 114.

[226] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvi, 458–459; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik* vii, 212, no. 69.

[227] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 28.

w. Zaynab bt. ʿUmar b. Kindī b. Saʿīd b. ʿAlī, Umm Muḥammad (Damascus; b. ca. 609/1212–1213; d. 699/1300).[228] Zaynab's *isnād*, which is cited by al-Shawkānī, passes through al-Mu'ayyad al-Ṭūsī.[229] Zaynab had an *ijāza* from al-Mu'ayyad, who died when she was about eight years old. From al-Dhahabī's formulation (*fa-ajāza la-hā al-Mu'ayyad al-Ṭūsī*), one gains the impression that this was a personal *ijāza*. It is almost certain, however, that, living in Damascus, Zaynab bt. ʿUmar never traveled to Naysābūr to see al-Mu'ayyad al-Ṭūsī's, but relied, instead, on his famous blanket *ijāza* as did Sharaf al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī.

1.6 *The Sixth Generation of Transmitters after Ibn Sufyān al-Naysābūrī*

In al-Andalus, the sixth generation of transmitters includes Ibn ʿAṭiyya, al-Ḥajrī, al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, and Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī. Also found in the fifth generation after Ibn Sufyān, these four collectors represent the pinnacle of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s transmission in al-Andalus. After the sixth/twelfth century, Andalusian Muslims encountered formidable political and military challenges, as a result of which the realm of Islam in the Iberian Peninsula constantly shrunk. *Ḥadīth* transmission in al-Andalus lost vigor and was overtaken by Syrian and Egyptian scholars.

In the Muslim East, the great Damascene commentator of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (631–676/1233–1277), belongs to the sixth generation after Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān. Counterintuitively, al-Nawawī relied on a single line of transmission through Abū Isḥāq al-Wāsiṭī → Manṣūr b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Furāwī → Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī → ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī → Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Julūdī → Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān → Muslim. Al-Nawawī certainly knew other *isnād*s but gave out only this one because of its double excellence. On the one hand, it allowed him to bridge the four centuries between himself and Muslim by only six long-lived transmitters. On the other hand, all of them are Naysābūris.[230] Such *isnād*s, which share a common property at each register of transmission, are known as "serial" (*musalsal*). If accompanied by other less-exquisite *isnād*s, al-Nawawī's *musalsal isnād* could only lose some of its brilliance.

An outstanding representative of the sixth generation in the Muslim East is Mūsā b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib b. Abī ʿAbdallāh b. Abī l-Barakāt b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Ṭālib, Abū l-Fatḥ al-Mūsawī (Egypt; 628–715/1231–1316).[231] Mūsā b. ʿAlī used fourteen transmissions to compile what may be termed a critical edition of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[232] He had the complete versions of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ṣarīfīnī, al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAsqalānī, Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Ḥarrānī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaffār, ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ṣalāḥ, and Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī al-Māliqī. In addition, Mūsā b. ʿAlī received partial transmissions from the following collectors (for biographical details, see the fifth generation above):

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[228] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* lii, 406–407.

[229] Al-Shawkānī, *Itḥāf* 169–170.

[230] Al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* i, 6–7.

[231] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 277–281, no. 1633.

- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Shīrāzī: the entire *Ṣaḥīḥ*, except for the section ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2485 (151) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 2565–2566 to ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2653 (16) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 2744.1.[233]
- ʿAtīq b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Salmānī: from him Mūsā b. ʿAlī heard (1) from ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 136 (217) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 125.1 to ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 201 (345) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 191; (2) from ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 679 (308) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 675 to ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 788 (224) = Ta'ṣīl, 787; (3) the section from ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1471 (1) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 1494 to ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2218 (97) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 2282.2; (4) from ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2370 (152) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 2446 to ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2484 (150) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 2564.2; and (5) from ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2584 (63) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 2667.1 to ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2912 (66) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 3024.4.[234]
- Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Ṣūrī: the entire *Ṣaḥīḥ*, except for the section from its beginning (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 8 [1] = Ta'ṣīl, no. 1) to ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 56 (97) = Ta'ṣīl, nos. 1–48.[235]
- ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Abū l-Barakāt al-Barādhiʿī: from him Mūsā b. ʿAlī heard (1) Sections 19–21 from Ibn ʿAsākir's sectioning; (2) from ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1966 (18) = Ta'ṣīl, 2020.2 to ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2484 (149) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 2564.1; (3) Sections 38–41 from Ibn ʿAsākir's sectioning of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[236]

1.6.1 Other Transmissions:

a. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Khushanī (Murcia; b. 447/1055–1056, d. 520/1126 or 526/1131–1132) is a sixth-generation transmitter only when transmitting on the authority of his father, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Khushanī → ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan al-Hawzanī. Apart from this *isnād*, ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Jaʿfar figures in the cluster on the authority of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, where he occupies a fourth-generation position.

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232 Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 27–28; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 277–281, no. 1633.
233 Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 278, no. 1633.
234 Ibid. iii, 278–281, no. 1633.
235 Ibid. iii, 277–278, no. 1633.
236 Ibid. iii, 281, no. 1633.

One struggles to explain ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Jaʿfar's exceptionally low *isnād* through his father. Strikingly, ʿAbdallāh was born thirteen years before al-Hawzanī's gruesome death in 460/1068, which suggests that the two men could have met directly, without the need of an intermediary. A cause for mild onomastic concern is al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's mention of Abū ʿAbdallāh as the teknonym of ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad's father, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh,[237] who is otherwise remembered as Abū Jaʿfar.[238]

b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-Hādī, Abū Muḥammad al-Maqdisī al-Ṣāliḥī al-Ḥanbalī (Damascus, Egypt; b. ca. 657/1259, d. 749/1349)[239] had an *ijāza* to transmit on the authority of al-Raḍī b. Burhān, who died seven years after al-Ṣāliḥī's birth. He also heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʾim al-Nābulusī,[240] who died when al-Ṣāliḥī was eleven years old.

c. Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad al-Shirājī. This obscure transmitter appears in al-Shawkānī's *isnād* through Abū Bakr b. Ḥirz Allāh al-Tūnisī.[241] The *nisba* al-Shirājī refers to Shirāj al-Ḥarra, a valley near Medina.[242] Exiguous as it is, this information aligns with reports that al-Shirājī's informant, Abū Bakr b. Ḥirz Allāh, was active for some time in Mecca, where al-Shirājī could have heard from him Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

d. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn, Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Baʿlbakī al-Ṣūfī (Baalbek—Damascus; b. shortly after 690/1291, d. 777/1375)[243] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Zaynab bt. ʿUmar b. Kindī on the authority of al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī. This *isnād* is cited by al-Shawkānī.[244]

e. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Wānī al-Ṣūfī (Egypt; b. ca. 635/1237–1238, d. 727/1326).[245] Ibn Ḥajar has recorded al-Wānī's transmission from Muḥammad al-Mursī (d. 655/1257).[246] Apart from it, al-Wānī transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī (d. 656/1258). Al-Wānī possessed such exceptionally high *isnād*s because of his longevity; according to his biographers, he lived ninety-two lunar years.

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[237] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ghunya* 154.
[238] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Mashāriq* i, 11; idem, *Muqaddima* 88.
[239] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 508, no. 1230; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* ii, 342, no. 2348.
[240] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 27.
[241] Al-Shawkānī, *Itḥāf* 168.
[242] Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* iii, 331.
[243] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 92.
[244] Al-Shawkānī, *Itḥāf* 170.
[245] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 163–164, no. 1447; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* iii, 90, no. 197.
[246] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 27.

f. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥaydara b. ʿAlī b. ʿAqīl b. al-Qammāḥ, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Shāfiʿī (Egypt; 656–741/1258–1340). Ibn al-Qammāḥ's *isnād* on the authority of al-Raḍī b. al-Burhān has been recorded by Ibn Ḥajar and al-Suyūṭī.[247] Ibn al-Qammāḥ was born eight years before Ibn al-Burhān's death in 664/1266, which makes his direct audition unlikely. Al-Fāsī states that Ibn al-Qammāḥ heard from Ibn al-Burhān the *Ṣaḥīḥ* except for a significant part of the Introduction and the last two chapters, which he transmitted by an *ijāza*.[248] Ibn Ḥajar was alert to problems with Ibn al-Qammāḥ's transmission. He caustically remarks that his *shaykh* Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (Egypt; 724–805/1324–1403) had taken pride in having heard Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn al-Qammāḥ until it turned out that this audition covered nothing but a small portion of the collection. Disgraced, al-Bulqīnī returned to the usual transmission path on the authority of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Ṣāliḥī.[249] This episode throws into relief the limits of some collectors' claims that they "heard" from informants who predeceased them by many decades, as is the case with the *isnād* al-Bulqīnī → Ibn al-Qammāḥ but also Ibn al-Qammāḥ → al-Raḍī b. Burhān.

g. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿUmar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Qudāma, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī (Jerusalem; 684–780/1285–1379).[250] His transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Ibn al-Bukhārī is documented by al-Suyūṭī.[251] Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUmar was born six years before Ibn al-Bukhārī's death. Ibn Ḥajar records that he had an exclusive audition (*tafarrada bi-l-samāʿ*) from Ibn al-Bukhārī,[252] whereas al-Suyūṭī specifies that he was the last who heard from Ibn al-Bukhārī.[253] Al-Fāsī points out that many of Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUmar's auditions from Ibn al-Bukhārī were discovered only after Muḥammad's death.[254] One suspects that, even if Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUmar heard from Ibn al-Bukhārī, this was one of the widespread cases of *samāʿ ḥuḍūr*^{an}.

h. Maḥmūd b. Khalīfa b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf, Shams al-Dīn al-Manbijī (Damascus; b. 687/1288–1289, d. 767/1365).[255] Maḥmūd is present in al-

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[247] Loc. cit.; al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 70.
[248] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 46, no. 2; cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 70.
[249] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* iii, 304, no. 815.
[250] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 47–54, no. 4.
[251] Al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 74–75.
[252] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ* i, 186.
[253] Al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 73.
[254] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 52.
[255] Ibid. iii, 267–268, no. 1616; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* iv, 323–324, no. 884.

Shawkānī's *isnād* as a transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of ʿAbd al-Mu'min b. Khalaf al-Dimyāṭī and Zaynab bt. ʿUmar b. Kindī.[256]

i. Al-Qāsim b. Fīrruh b. Khalaf, Abū Muḥammad al-Shāṭibī (al-Andalus [Xàtiva] → Egypt; 538–590/1144–1194).[257] A native of the eastern Andalusian city of Xàtiva, Ibn Fīrruh left his homeland after the local authorities wanted to appoint him a preacher in the mosque (*khaṭīb*).[258] He moved to Egypt in 572/1176–1177, where he became known as a Quran reciter, exegete, grammarian, and interpreter of dreams. He transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Muqriʾ and passed it on to Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Sakhāwī (Syria; b. 558–559/1162–1164, d. 643/1245).[259] To my knowledge, this is the only branch of the Andalusian transmission to have survived in the east.

j. ʿUthmān b. Mūsā b. al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī is a sixth-generation transmitter when reporting on the authority Ibn Ṭabarzad al-Baghdādī. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's other *isnād*s to Ibn Sufyān are higher than that through Ibn al-Ṭabarzad, putting him in the position of a fifth-generation transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

1.7 *The Seventh Generation of Transmitters after Ibn Sufyān al-Naysābūrī*

a. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Furāt, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī (Egypt; b. 759/1357–1358; d. 851/1448)[260] is cited by al-Shawkānī on the authority of Muḥammad b. Khalīfa al-Manbijī (d. 767/1365).[261] Ibn al-Furāt was a famous historian, known for his penchant for *ijāzāt* from *shaykh*s whom he could have never met due to the age difference.[262]

b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak b. Ḥammād b. Turkī b. ʿAbdallāh, Abū l-Faraj al-Ghazzī, also known as Ibn al-Shaykha (Egypt; b. 714/1314–1315, d. 799/1397).[263] Ibn al-Shaykha's *isnād* on the authority of ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Wānī has been documented by Ibn Ḥajar.[264] Ibn al-Shaykha probably had an *ijāza* to transmit on the authority of al-Wānī, who died when Ibn al-Shaykha was about thirteen years old. It strikes one that an expert in the transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* such as al-Fāsī has an extensive entry on Ibn al-Shaykha in which al-Wānī is not recorded as one of Ibn al-Shaykha's informants. According to al-Fāsī, Ibn al-Shaykha heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. Ghālī al-Dimyāṭī (d. 741/1340) and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Qammāḥ (d. 741/1340).[265] Both died late enough to have transmitted in person to Ibn al-Shaykha. Ibn Ḥajar does not record Ibn al-Shaykha's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of these two informants. He may have had reasons to think that Ibn al-Shaykha's audition from Ibn al-Qammāḥ was as unreliable as al-Bulqīnī's audition from Ibn al-Qammāḥ.[266] Regarding al-Dimyāṭī, it is to be noted that, among his biographers,[267] only al-Fāsī records that he transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. This record, however, is found in al-Fāsī's entry on Ibn al-Shaykha but not in the entry on al-Dimyāṭī. One gains the impression that the transmission line Ibn al-Shaykha → al-Dimyāṭī was Ibn al-Shaykha's bare assertion.

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[256] Al-Shawkānī, *Itḥāf* 169.
[257] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* iv, 71–73; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xli, 383–387.
[258] Abū Shāma, *Tarājim* 7.
[259] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 28.
[260] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'* iv, 186–188.
[261] Al-Shawkānī, *Itḥāf* 169.
[262] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'* iv, 187.
[263] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* ii, 324–325, no. 2283.
[264] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 27.

c. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Dhī l-Nūn b. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār b. Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm, Tāj al-Dīn al-Shāfiʿī al-Ṣuradī (Egypt; b. 707/1307–1308, d. 797/1395)[268] transmitted to Ibn Ḥajar a part of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and issued him an *ijāza* for the remaining part.[269] It may be thought that the division between *samāʿ* and *ijāza* in this case reflects the fact that in 725/1324–1325 al-Ṣuradī heard the collection from al-Wānī "with a certain gap" (*bi-fawt muʿayyan*).[270]

d. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ b. Yaḥyā, Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Maqdisī al-Shāfiʿī al-Ṣūfī (Egypt; 725–804/1325–1401).[271] Ibn Ḥajar heard parts of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan and received his *ijāza* to transmit on his authority the remaining parts of the collection. Aḥmad was lax in issuing licenses, even for material of uncertain origin.[272]

e. ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā occupies the seventh generation of Andalusian transmission when reporting on the authority of ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Khushanī through his father, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh.[273]

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[265] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 478, no. 1188.

[266] See p. 283 above.

[267] Biographical entries on Muḥammad b. Ghālī al-Dimyāṭī are found in Ibn al-Sallāmī, *Wafayāt* i, 352–353, no. 238; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 349–350, no. 389, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* i, 182–183; and Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* iv, 133, no. 351.

[268] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 89–90, no. 1348; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* ii, 421, no. 2533.

[269] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 27.

[270] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 90, no. 1348.

[271] Ibid. ii, 40–43, no. 615; Ibn Ḥajar, *Anbāʾ* ii, 209–210; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* i, 278–279.

[272] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* i, 278–279.

[273] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Mashāriq* i, 11.

f. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Abū ʿAlī al-Mahdawī (Egypt; d. 797/1395). According to al-Fāsī, al-Mahdawī heard from al-Wānī Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from the beginning of part nine according to Ibn ʿAsākir's sectioning to the end of the collection. Separately, he got the first seven parts from ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Ṣinhājī and the entire collection from Muḥammad b. Abī Qāsim al-Fāriqī.[274] Ibn Ḥajar heard from al-Mahdawī unspecified parts of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and received his *ijāza* for the remaining parts.[275] Ibn Ḥajar's variegated terminology seems to reflect the multiplicity of al-Wānī's sources, as observed by al-Fāsī. Note, however, that Ibn Ḥajar asserts that al-Mahdawī got the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū l-Ḥasan al-Wānī, without identifying alternative paths of transmission.

g. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAqīl, Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan al-Bālisī al-Shāfiʿī (Egypt; b. 730/1329–1230, d. 804/1401).[276] Ibn Ḥajar received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Bālisī in Egypt by way of reading over the work to him. Al-Bālisī had heard the collection from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Maqdisī during one of his sojourns in Cairo.[277]

h. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Abī l-Yumn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Fatḥ, Abū l-Ṭāhir Ibn al-Kuwayk al-Rabaʿī al-Tikrītī al-Shāfiʿī (Egypt; 737–821/1337–1418).[278] Ibn al-Kuwayk's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Maqdisī has reached Ibn Ḥajar and al-Suyūṭī.[279] Since he was about twelve years old at the time of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's death, Ibn al-Kuwayk most likely relied on Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's *ijāza*.

i. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Qimnī al-Ṣūfī (Egypt; b. 729/1328–1329, d. 806/1403–1404).[280] Al-Qimnī's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn al-Qammāḥ is documented by Ibn Ḥajar, who received it partially by way of reading over to the *shaykh* and partially through his *ijāza*.[281] Ibn Ḥajar's statement may be reflecting al-Fāsī's observation that al-Qimnī transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Ibn al-Qammāḥ with a gap, which in the present-day editions extends from ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 197 (333) = Taʾṣīl, no. 188 to ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 592

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[274] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 96, no. 46.
[275] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 27.
[276] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 315, no. 343; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* ix, 18–19.
[277] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 27.
[278] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 393–398, no. 456; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* ix, 111–112.
[279] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 27; al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 70–71.
[280] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* ix, 212–213.
[281] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 27.

(136) = Ta'ṣīl, no. 584.1.[282] The source from which al-Qimnī filled the gap in his transmission on the authority of Ibn al-Qammāḥ is unclear. Recall that Ibn Ḥajar was aware of problems with the transmission of Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī on the authority of Ibn al-Qammāḥ.[283] One wonders if he was trying to offset these problems by citing Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Maqdisī (see above) and Muḥammad al-Qimnī, both on the authority of Ibn al-Qammāḥ.

j. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. al-Jazarī, Shams al-Dīn al-Shāfiʿī (Damascus; 751–833/1350–1429).[284] Ibn al-Jazarī traveled as a merchant in Egypt, the Ḥijāz, and the Yemen. In this manner, he contributed to the emergence of the Yemeni branch in the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which ultimately reached al-Shawkānī.[285]

k. Muḥammad b. Muqbil b. ʿAbdallāh, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥalabī (b. 779/1377–1378, d. 871/1466–1467).[286] Muḥammad b. Muqbil is al-Suyūṭī's *shaykh* mentioned in *Anshāb al-kuthub*.[287] Ibn Muqbil was born only one year before the death of his informant, Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUmar al-Maqdisī, and not surprisingly relied on an *ijāza* rather than claiming an audition from him. Because of the exceptionally high *isnād* Muḥammad b. Muqbil → Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUmar → Ibn al-Bukhārī, al-Suyūṭī could boast only three intermediaries between himself and the great collector of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* al-Mu'ayyad al-Ṭūsī, who predeceased al-Suyūṭī by almost three centuries.

l. Muḥammad b. Yāsīn, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Jazūlī al-Mālikī (Egypt; b. 702–703/1302–1304, d. 794/1392) heard Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Mūsā b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī in 715/1316, the year of Mūsā's death,[288] and passed it on to Ibn Ḥajar by correspondence (*mukātaba*), issuing him a license to transmit the collection on his authority.[289] Al-Fāsī catalogued Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Qurashī (d. 716/1316) as al-Jazūlī's second informant with the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, but Ibn Ḥajar does not mention this *isnād*. Al-Jazūlī's *isnād*s are remarkably high; most likely in both cases he relied on *ijāza*s.

m. ʿUmar b. Raslān b. Naṣīr b. Ṣāliḥ, Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ al-Bulqīnī (Egypt; 724–805/1324–1403) transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Ibn al-

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[282] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 423–424, no. 490.
[283] See p. 283 above.
[284] Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* ix, 288–289.
[285] Al-Shawkānī, *Itḥāf* 170.
[286] Al-Suyūṭī, *Munjam* 217–220.
[287] Al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 74–75.
[288] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 466, no. 547.
[289] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 27.

Qammāḥ (d. 741/1340) and passed it on to his son Ṣāliḥ b. ʿUmar (791–868/1389–1464),[290] who transmitted it to Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (849–911/1445–1505).[291]

1.8 *The Eighth Generation of Transmitters after Ibn Sufyān al-Naysābūrī*

This generation includes the great Egyptian scholars Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, as well as three other transmitters:

a. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, Taqī al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Shumunī (Egypt; 801–872/1399–1468). Al-Suyūṭī has documented al-Shumunī's transmission on the authority of Ibn al-Kuwayk. Al-Suyūṭī heard from al-Shumunī parts from the beginning of the collection and got an *ijāza* to transmit the rest.[292]

b. Mūsā b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī, otherwise included in the sixth generation of transmitters after Ibn Sufyān, becomes an eighth generation transmitter when transmitting through the low *isnād* ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī → al-Qāsim b. Fīrruh al-Shāṭibī.[293]

c. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿUmar b. Raslān, ʿAlam al-Dīn Abū l-Tuqā al-Bulqīnī (Egypt; 791–868/1389–1464). Al-Suyūṭī heard from al-Bulqīnī a small part of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2220 (101) = Taʾṣīl, no. 2285 to ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2389 (14) = Taʾṣīl, no. 2467. As for the remaining part of the collection, al-Suyūṭī received Ṣāliḥ b. ʿUmar's *ijāza* to transmit it on his authority.[294]

1.9 *The Ninth and Tenth Generations of Transmitters*

The ninth generation includes al-Suyūṭī transmitting through the low *isnād*s on the authority of Aḥmad al-Shumunī and Ṣāliḥ al-Bulqīnī. Another low *isnād* through al-Qāsim b. Fīrruh al-Shāṭibī has Muḥammad b. Yāsīn al-Jazūlī in the position of a ninth-generation transmitter after Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān. In the same *isnād*, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī represents the tenth generation after Ibn Sufyān.

By the lifetime of Ibn Ḥajar and al-Suyūṭī, the transmission on the authority of Ibn Sufyān had attained textual stability. It may be considered largely identical to the present-day printed editions.

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[290] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* iii, 312–314.

[291] Al-Shawkānī, *Itḥāf* 168; al-Suyūṭī, *Munjam* 126–133.

[292] Al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 70–71. About al-Shumunī, see al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya* i, 375–381, no. 739.

[293] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 28.

[294] Al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 70.

1.10 *Truncated Transmissions on the Authority of Ibn Sufyān*

1. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥasan, Abū l-Aṣbagh al-Ḥaḍramī (Majorca → Cordoba; b. 447/1055–1056, d. 526/1131–1132)[295] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Ibn al-Dalāʾī.[296]
2. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-Hādī b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma, ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī (Syria [Karak]—Egypt; b. after 660/1261–1162; d. 707/1308)[297] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʾim al-Nāblusī (d. 668/1270). At the time of Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim's death, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was only a few years old; hence, his transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is most likely based on Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim's *ijāza*. Al-Dhahabī read over to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd excerpts from Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[298]
3. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Abī Ṭālib b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. al-Mukhalliṣ al-Baʿlbakī (Baalbek; 676–760/1278–1359) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Zaynab bt. ʿUmar b. Kindī, likely on the authority of Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī.[299]
4. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Nūr b. Munīr b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, Quṭb al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī (Egypt; 664–735/1266–1335)[300] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Surūr.[301]
5. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUfayr, Abū Muḥammad al-Umawī (Valencia; d. after 630/1232–1233) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī.[302]
6. ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān, Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Bijāʾī al-Tamīmī (North Africa [Bejaia]; d. 620/1223) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf, Ibn al-Fakhkhār (511–590/1117–1194).[303]

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[295] Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya* i, 500, no. 1092.

[296] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 355, no. 798.

[297] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* ii, 320, no. 2271.

[298] Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 271, no. 389.

[299] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* ii, 397, no. 2481; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 71.

[300] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 71–73, no. 1323.

[301] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* l, 241.

[302] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* ii, 295, no. 844; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvi, 68–69. Ibn al-Abbār's expression is ambiguous. According to him, ʿAbdallāh "heard from Abū l-Ḥasan al-Muʾayyad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik in the narration of Ibn (sic.) Muṣʿab al-Zuhrī and Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Furāwī." ʿAbdallāh cannot have met al-Furāwī, who predeceased him by at least 100 years; here Ibn al-Abbār surely means that al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī transmitted al-Furāwī's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Such is al-Dhahabī unambiguous interpretation of Ibn al-Abbār's report.

[303] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* ii, 307, no. 886.

7. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. Shibl b. Rāfiʿ b. Maḥmūd, Najm al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Ṣinhājī al-Miṣrī (Egypt; 658–724/1260–1324)[304] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Damascus from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʾim al-Nāblusī. ʿAbdallāh transmitted to Muhamad b. Aḥmad al-Mahdawī the first seven parts of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* according to Ibn ʿAsākir's sectioning.[305]
8. ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad, Abū Bakr b. Abī Isḥāq al-Shaḥḥādhī (Qazvin, b. 525/1130–1131, d. after 601/1205).[306] Abū Bakr al-Shaḥḥādhī had an *ijāza* to transmit the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī,[307] whose sessions he may have formally attended at a very early age.
9. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. Dhī l-Nūn, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥajrī (Almeria; 505–591/1112–1195)[308] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Zughayba.[309]
10. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, Abū Saʿd Ibn al-Ṣaffār al-Naysābūrī al-Shāfiʿī (Naysābūr; b. 508/1114–1115, d. 600/1204) transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī.[310]
11. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abī Saʿd, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Shāfiʿī (Baghdad → Aleppo; 557–629/1162–1231)[311] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Farrāʾ in 566/1170–1171.[312] Since ʿAbd al-Laṭīf was only nine years old, this was an instance of listening by attendance. The actual reading of the text was performed by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's father.[313]
12. ʿAbd al-Muʿizz b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faḍl b. Aḥmad b. Asʿad al-Harawī al-Ṣūfī (Khurāsān; 522–618/1128–1221). According to al-Fāsī, Zaynab bt. ʿUmar b. Kindī transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* on ʿAbd al-Muʿizz' authority.[314] Since Zaynab was about ten years old when ʿAbd al-Muʿizz was killed by the invading Mongols, she likely relied on an *ijāza* procured by a third

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[304] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 428–429, no. 1134.

[305] Ibid. i, 96, no. 46.

[306] Al-Rāfiʿī, *Tadwīn* iii, 314–315.

[307] Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 55; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* i, 193–194, no. 498.

[308] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* ii, 278–281, no. 809.

[309] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlii, 64.

[310] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* ii, 601–602, no. 393; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlii, 438.

[311] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xx, 320–323.

[312] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxix, 317.

[313] Ibid. xlv, 353.

[314] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 414, no. 1834.

party. None of the existing biographical sources mentions ʿAbd al-Muʿizz' source with the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Given that he was al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī's contemporary who lived in the same province, ʿAbd al-Muʿizz may have had, like al-Ṭūsī, an *ijāza* to transmit on the authority of Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī.

13. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. l-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Saʿdī (Naysābūr; b. 518/1124–1125, d. 598/1201) heard Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī.[315]
14. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad, Abū Bakr al-Ṣābūnī (Naysābūr; d. ca. 500/1106–1107) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī.[316]
15. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī l-Naḍr al-Ṭabarī, Abū l-Ḥasan/Abū l-Qāsim/Abū Muḥammad al-Makkī (Mecca; d. 701/1301–1302) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Mursī.[317]
16. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ghālib, Abū l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī al-Sharrāṭ (Cordoba; b. 511–512/1117–1119, d. 586/1190)[318] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to his daughter Fāṭima.[319] The biographers do not mention his source, but he may be identified, tentatively, as Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī, who was one of his *shaykh*s in *ḥadīth*.
17. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf b. Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf (al-Andalus; ?) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Toledo from ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Shantajālī.[320]
18. ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Abī Ṣāliḥ, Abū Bakr al-Jīlī al-Ḥanbalī (Baghdad; b. 528/1134–1135, d. 605/1209)[321] took the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Yūsuf b. Ādam al-Marāghī.[322]
19. ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, Abū l-Maḥāsin al-Ṭabasī (Naysābūr; d. 537/1142) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī.[323]
20. ʿAbd al-Sallām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, Abū l-Khayr al-Ikāfī (Naysābūr; b. 526/1131–1132, d. after 601/1204–1205). At the age of four, ʿAbd al-Sallām heard Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b.

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[315] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* ii, 450–451; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlii, 355.

[316] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxiv, 342.

[317] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 509.

[318] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* iii, 38–39, no. 96.

[319] Ibid. iv, 263, no. 731.

[320] Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya* i, 520, no. 1133.

[321] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* ii, 640–641, no. 438; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* lxiii, 119–120.

[322] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxviii, 374.

[323] Ibid. xxxvi, 440–441; idem, *Siyar* xix, 618.

al-Faḍl al-Furāwī.[324] Without a doubt, this was listening by attendance, which resulted in the issuance of an *ijāza* for the child to transmit further on the *shaykh*'s authority. ʿAbd al-Sallām was an ascetic (*zāhid*), whose tomb became a destination for devotional visits (*mazār*). His death date is unknown, but its *terminus post quem* is set by the report that the Andalusian scholar Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Humām al-Ishbīlī (d. 615/1218–1219) heard from ʿAbd al-Sallām in Naysābūr in 601/1204–1205.[325]

21. ʿAbd al-Sallām b. al-Faḍl, Abū l-Qāsim al-Jīlī al-Shāfiʿī (Baghdad—Basra; d. 534/1140) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Mecca from al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī.[326]
22. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Abī l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn, Amīn al-Dīn Abū l-Yumn b. ʿAsākir (Damascus → Mecca; b. 614/1217–1218, d. 686/1287) held an *ijāza* from al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī to transmit Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[327]
23. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faḍl b. ʿAlī, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim al-Shāfiʿī al-Ḥarastānī (Damascus; b. 520/1126–1127, d. 614/1218) had an *ijāza* to transmit Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī.[328] Al-Ḥarastānī's transmission on the authority of al-Furāwī is present in an *isnād* cited in *Kitāb al-Imtāʿ wa-l-intifāʿ*.[329]
24. Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus b. Abī l-Fakhr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Zayn al-Dīn al-Marāghī al-Shāfiʿī (Egypt → Mecca—Medina; b. 727/1326–1327, d. 816/1414)[330] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Maqdisī.
25. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. Abī l-Ghanāʾim b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Qazwīnī al-Ṣūfī (Damascus; 601–704/1205–1305). Al-Dhahabī heard Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim stating that his father, ʿAbd al-Munʿim, read over the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in his presence to ʿAbdallāh al-Shaḥḥādhī, who had an *ijāza* to transmit it on the authority of Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī.[331] Al-Shaḥḥādhī was born in 525/1130–1131, that is, five years before al-Furāwī's death. His death date is unknown, but it must have been after Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim's birth in 601/1205. From Aḥmad's expression that his father read over the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in his presence to al-Shaḥḥādhī, it is clear that at that time Aḥmad was a small child, perhaps

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[324] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* ii, 644.
[325] Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Tawḍīḥ* ix, 151.
[326] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 352–353.
[327] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 35, no. 1282.
[328] Ibid. iii, 36–37, no. 1283.
[329] Robson, "Transmission" 52.
[330] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 370–372, no. 1765; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* xi, 28–31.
[331] Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 55; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* i, 193–194, no. 498.

even a toddler. In any case, at the end of his purportedly centenarian life, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim possessed an impressively high *isnād* to al-Furāwī bridging 170 years by only a single intermediary.

26. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Muʿṭī, Ibn al-Imām al-Jazāʾirī (d. 666/1267) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Mursī.[332]
27. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Tanūkhī al-Qarāfī al-Ṣūfī (Egypt; 634–716/1237–1316)[333] is said to have transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dimashqī.[334] The biographical literature does not specify Aḥmad's source of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, but, according to al-Fāsī, he heard from al-Raḍī b. al-Burhān al-Wāsiṭī, who was one of the important collectors and disseminators of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the seventh/thirteenth century.
28. Aḥmad b. Hibat Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh, Sharaf al-Dīn b. ʿAsākir (Damascus; b. 614/1217–1218, d. 699/1300)[335] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī.
29. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Falāḥ b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥātim, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl al-Iskandarī (Damascus; 663–729/1265–1329)[336] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʾim al-Nāblusī.
30. Aḥmad b. Masʿūd b. Mufrij b. Ṣanʿūn b. Sufyān, Abū ʿAmr (al-Andalus [Shilb]; b. 400/1009–1010, d. 478/1085–1086) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Shantajālī.[337]
31. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad, Abū l-Faḍl Ibn al-Jabbāb al-Tamīmī al-Mālikī (Egypt; b. 561/1165–1166, d. 648/1250) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū l-Mufākhir Saʿīd al-Maʾmūnī (Naysābūr—Egypt; d. 576/1180–1181).[338]
32. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Muṭṭarif b. Saʿīd, Abū l-Qāsim (Cordoba; 521–611/1127–1214) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Thabāt (d. 541/1146).[339]
33. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāzim b. Ḥāmid b. Ḥasan al-Maqdisī (Jerusalem—Damascus; 655–737/1257–1337) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʾim al-Nāblusī.[340]

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[332] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 68, no. 648.

[333] Ibid. ii, 158–159, no. 748.

[334] Ibid. i, 157, no. 95.

[335] Ibid. ii, 198, no. 803; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* lii, 389–390.

[336] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 18, no. 588.

[337] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 70, no. 142.

[338] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 170, no. 764; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvii, 378.

[339] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* i, 92, no. 268; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xliv, 65.

[340] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 159–160, no. 749; al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 68.

34. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qarāfī, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās Ibn al-Nāṣiḥ al-Shāfiʿī (Egypt; b. ca. 734/1333, d. 804/1402)[341] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Maqdisī.
35. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma b. Miqdām b. Naṣr, Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī (Jerusalem—Damascus; b. 491/1097–1098, d. 558/1163) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Mecca from Razīn b. Muʿāwiya al-ʿAbdarī.[342]
36. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmayra, Abū Jaʿfar/Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Ḍabbī (Murcia; d. 599/1203)[343] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥajrī transmitting from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Zughayba.[344]
37. Aḥmad b. Yūnus b. Aḥmad b. Baraka, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-Ṭāhir al-Irbilī al-Ṣūfī (Cairo; b. 641/1243–1244, d. 693/1293) transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Ṣāliḥ al-Mudlijī.[345]
38. Aḥmad b. Zāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, Abū Bakr al-Ṭusī (Naysābūr—Isfahan; b. 417/1026–1027; d. 488/1095) was a Naysābūri merchant who visited Isfahan and transmitted there the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Kisāʾī → al-Julūdī → Ibn Sufyān.[346] Al-Kisāʾī died 102 or 103 lunar years before Aḥmad b. Zāhir, which suggests that Aḥmad based his transmission either on an unaccredited intermediary informant or an unacknowledged *wijāda*, that is, the discovery of a manuscript with al-Kisāʾī's transmission. The possibility of indirect transmission is signaled by al-Dhahabī, who uses the generic preposition *ʿan* (from) to describe al-Ṭūsī's transmission from al-Kisāʾī instead of the verb *samiʿa* (heard), which signifies direct audition. To complicate the issue, Ibn Nuqṭa cites Yaḥyā b. Manda's statement, in his presently lost *Tārīkh Iṣfahān*, that al-Ṭūsī "came to Isfahan, where he transmitted *ḥadīth*, and Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in his audition (!) from Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fārisī [al-Kisāʾī] was read over to him."[347] Is Yaḥyā b. Manda suggesting *talqīn*, whereby Aḥmad b. Zāhir connived at the association with him of a third-party manuscript? Fifteen

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[341] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 188–189, no. 790.

[342] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxviii, 246; idem, *ʿIbar* iii, 29.

[343] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* i, 83–84, no. 242.

[344] Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya* i, 139, no. 206.

[345] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* lii, 175.

[346] Ibid. xxxiii, 352.

[347] *Qadima Aṣbahān wa-ḥaddatha bi-hā; quriʾa ʿalay-hi Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim bi-samāʿi-hi min Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fārisī ʿan Abī Aḥmad al-Julūdī*; Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* i, 311, no. 159.

*isnād*s including al-Ṭūsī's transmission from al-Kisāʾī are preserved in al-Ṭalḥī's *al-Targhīb wa-l-tarhīb*.[348]

Assuming the historicity of al-Ṭūsī's audition from al-Kisāʾī, one may suspect an error in the dates of al-Ṭūsī's birth and death, which may have to be shifted twenty or thirty years earlier than recorded above. Such an error, however, is hardly likely, since ʿAbd al-Ghāfir b. Ismāʿīl al-Fārisī (451–529/1059–1135), who recorded these dates,[349] was thirty-seven years old at the time of al-Ṭūsī's death and must have had first-hand information about him. It strikes one that al-Ṭūsī's transmission of Ibn Sufyān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Isfahan is exceptional. In al-Ṭūsī's lifetime, the work was transmitted by the famous Isfahani traditionist ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Manda (b. 381–383/991–994, d. 470/1078), based on a high *isnād* through al-Jawzaqī (Naysābūr; d. 388/998) citing Makkī b. ʿAbdān and Abū Ḥāmid b. al-Sharqī, not Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān. One wonders if al-Ṭūsī's chain may have been brought into circulation as an even higher alternative to what seems to be the Manda family's singularity in the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Isfahan. Scholarly jealousy and rivalry over the socially advantageous transmission of Muslim's collection may explain Yaḥyā b. Manda's lukewarm description of al-Ṭūsī's sessions in Isfahan.

39. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥammūd, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Miknāsī al-Maliki (Fes; b. 496/1102–1103; d. 571/1175) transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. Ṭarkhān,[350] who is likely Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ṭarkhān b. Yaltakīn b. Mubāriz b. Bajkam.
40. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Hayṣam, Abū l-Ḥasan (Naysābūr; d. ca. 520/1126–1127) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī.[351]
41. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī (Damascus; 642–727/1244–1327)[352] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʾim al-Nāblusī.
42. ʿAlī b. al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ghayth Mufarraj b. Ḥātim b. al-Ḥasan, Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan al-Lakhmī al-Mālikī (Jerusalem → Egypt; 544–611/1150–1214) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muqātil b. ʿAzzūn.[353]

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[348] See p. 249, note 20.

[349] Al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 116, no. 252.

[350] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* iii, 245; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xl, 125; al-Fāsī, *ʿIqd* vi, 181–182, no. 2066.

[351] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxv, 450–451; cf. al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 397, no. 1347.

[352] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* iii, 96–97, no. 218; al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 395–396, no. 570.

[353] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xl, 298.

43. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan al-Shāṭibī (Damascus, b. 636/1238–1239, d. 721/1321)[354] received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd al-ʿAsqalānī, and Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Isfarāyīnī.
44. Dhākir b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr b. Ḥasnawayh, Abū Bakr (Isfahan; d. after 559/1163–1164) transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority Aḥmad al-Zāhir al-Ṭūsī.[355]
45. Dāwūd b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd, Abū Jaʿfar al-ʿAlawī (Naysābūr; d. 516/1122) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī.[356]
46. Fāṭima bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ghālib al-Sharrāṭ, Umm al-Fatḥ (Cordoba; d. 613/1216–1217) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from her father.[357]
47. Fāṭima bt. ʿAlī b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zaʿbal, Umm al-Khayr (Naysābūr; b. 435/1043–1044, d. 532/1137 or 533/1138) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī.[358]
48. Fāṭima bt. Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd b. al-Jawhar, Umm Muḥammad al-Baṭāʾiḥiyya (Baalbek; 625–711/1228–1311) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Sayyid al-Ḥaṣīrī (Bukhara → Naysābūr → Damascus; 546–636/1151–1238).[359] Al-Ḥaṣīrī was a merchant, who engaged in *ḥadīth* transmission in his middle age. In Naysābūr, he heard from Manṣūr b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Furāwī and al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī,[360] each of whom may have transmitted to him the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Al-Ḥaṣīrī spend the last part of his life in Damascus, where he led the local Ḥanafis and taught at Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūriyya.[361]
49. Fāṭima bt. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, Umm Aḥmad (Jerusalem—Damascus; b. ca. 660/

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[354] Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 394, no. 567; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 196–197, no. 1498; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* iii, 137–138.

[355] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* ii, 511, no. 322. The *terminus post quem* for Dhākir's death is deduced from Abū l-Munajjā's (Baghdad; b. 545–635/1151–1238) statement that he received a letter from Dhākir b. Aḥmad in 559/1163–1164; Abū l-Munajjā, *Mashyakha* 487.

[356] Al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 220, no. 684; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxv, 398–399.

[357] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* iv, 263, no. 731.

[358] Al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 420, no. 1432; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 290 f.

[359] Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, *Takmila* 127–128, no. 91; al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 424–425, no. 620; idem, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvi, 309.

[360] Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, *Takmila* 127; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xxiii, 54.

[361] Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, *Takmila* 127.

1261–1262, d. 732/1331).[362] At the age of four, she heard Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the reading of her father to Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʾim al-Nābulsī.

50. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Badr al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī al-Marrākushī (Damascus; 660–722/1262–1322)[363] heard Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʾim al-Nābulsī. Al-Dhahabī heard from al-Ḥasan a selection (*muntaqā*) of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.
51. Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Abū Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (Naysābūr, b. ca. 409/1018–1019, d. 491/1098) read over the *Ṣaḥīḥ* more than thirty times to Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī.[364]
52. Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Muẓaffar, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥaẓīrī al-Ṣūfī (Damascus; 640–724/1242–1324) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Raḍī b. al-Burhān Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar al-Wāsiṭī.[365]
53. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar, Abū ʿAlī al-Baṭlayūsī al-Anṣārī Ibn al-Farrāʾ (al-Andalus [Badajoz] → Baghdad; b. 488/1095–1096, d. 568/1172–1173).[366] Ibn al-Farrāʾ heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī.[367]
54. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Muḥassan, Abū Saʿd al-Qushayrī (Naysābūr; d. 600/1203–1204) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qāriʾ.[368]
55. Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmrūk, Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī al-Bakrī al-Ḥanafī (Damascus—Cairo; 574–656/1178–1258)[369] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī.
56. Hibat Allāh b. al-Qāsim b. ʿAṭāʾ b. Muḥammad, Abū Saʿd al-Mihrānī (Naysābūr; b. 431/1039–1040; d. 524/1130) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī.[370]
57. Hilāl b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Abū Muḥammad al-Baṣrawī al-ʿUtbī (Damascus; b. after 690/1291, d. 727/1327). Al-Dhahabī records that Hilāl

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[362] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 437–438, no. 1873; al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 431–432, no. 631.

[363] Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 170, no. 221.

[364] Al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 149, no. 339; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxx, 181; idem, *Siyar* xviii, 20.

[365] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 326, no. 982.

[366] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxix, 317–318.

[367] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* i, 463, no. 285; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* i, 210.

[368] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* i, 414, no. 234; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 234; xlii, 432.

[369] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 341–342, no. 1004.

[370] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 124–125.

b. Aḥmad heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from a group of students (*jamāʿa min aṣḥāb*) of ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Ṭabarzad.[371]

58. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Rāshid b. Namir b. Bishr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Jamal al-Dīn Abū Isḥāq al-Qurashī al-Dhahabī (Damascus; b. ca. 629/1231–1232, d. 718/1318)[372] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʾim al-Nāblusī.
59. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Abī l-Majd, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Isḥāq al-Amyūṭī al-Miṣrī al-Shāfiʿī (Egypt → Mecca; 715–790/1316–1388)[373] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Wānī and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Ṣinhājī.
60. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, Burhān al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Wānī (Damascus; b. 648/1250–1251, d. 735/1334).[374] From the list of Ibrāhīm al-Wānī's informants recorded by al-Dhahabī, one may infer that he transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʾim, al-Raḍī b. Burhān, and Zaynab bt. ʿUmar b. Kindī. Al-Dhahabī heard from Ibrāhīm a selection (*muntaqā*) of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.
61. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Thabāt, Abū Isḥāq (Cordoba; d. 541/1146) transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Abū ʿAlī al-Jayyānī, who was his father-in-law (*ṣihr*).[375]
62. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Ghāfir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī, Abū ʿAbdallāh (Naysābūr; 423–504/1032–1111)[376] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of his father, ʿAbd al-Ghāfir b. Muḥammad al-Fārisī.[377]
63. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣāliḥ, Abū Muḥammad al-Qāriʾ (Naysābūr; b. 439/1047–1048; d. 531/1137) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from ʿAbd al-Ghāfir b. Muḥammad al-Fārisī.[378]
64. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAmr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Jaʿfar, Abū Saʿīd al-Baḥīrī (Naysābūr; b. 419/1028–1029, d. 501/1108) read over the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to ʿAbd al-Ghāfir b. Muḥammad al-Fārisī twenty-odd times.[379]

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[371] Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 633, no. 947; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* iv, 404, no. 1111.

[372] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 235–237, no. 855.

[373] Ibid. ii, 254–257, no. 876.

[374] Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 120.

[375] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 100–101, no. 226.

[376] Al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 149, no. 340; Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* i, 412–413, no. 241; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxv, 89.

[377] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvii, 132.

[378] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* i, 414, no. 234; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 234.

[379] Al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 149, no. 339; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxv, 42; idem, *Siyar* xviii, 20; xix, 272.

65. Jahūr b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf, Abū l-Ḥazm al-Tujībī (al-Andalus [Morón de la Frontera], d. 526/1131–1132) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī during the pilgrimage.[380]
66. Manṣūr b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Muẓaffar, Abū l-Faḍl al-Makhzūmī al-Ṭabarī al-Ṣūfī (Ṭabaristān—Damascus; b. 515/1121–1122, d. 595/1199) pretended to have heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī, whose handwriting he could emulate.[381] Manṣūr's actual source may have been Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kushmīhanī (Marw; b. 493/1099–1100, d. 578/1182).[382]
67. Muʿāwiya b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muʿārik, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUqaylī (Cordoba; d. 469/1077).[383] According to al-Ḍabbī's short biographical note, whose surviving text is truncated, Muʿāwiya b. Muḥammad transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[384] Al-Ḍabbī does not identify his informant, but Ibn al-Jazarī lists Muʿāwiya among the Quran reciters (*qurrāʾ*), pointing out that he "read over to Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib."[385] Since Makkī is known as a transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, we may surmise that Muʿāwiya b. Muḥammad had Makkī's authorization to transmit Muslim's collection on his authority.
68. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Khalīl, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Tinnīsī al-Qaysī (Marrakesh; d. 570–571/1174–1176) transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Abū ʿAlī al-Jayyānī (Cordoba; 427–498/1035–1105) in Marrakesh in 570/1174–1175.[386] We do not know the date of al-Qaysī's birth, but he must have lived at least eighty years in order to meet his informant. It is highly likely that al-Qaysī transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* by al-Jayyānī's *ijāza*.
69. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā, Abū Bakr b. al-Jadd al-Fihrī (Seville, b. 496/1102–1103, d. 586/1190)[387] transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar, Abū l-Qāsim al-Hawzanī.[388]

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[380] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 131, no. 301; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 144.

[381] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlii, 209.

[382] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd*, ii, 812, no. 606.

[383] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxx, 305. Al-Dhahabī records Muʿāwiya b. Aḥmad's *nisba* as al-ʿUqayqī.

[384] Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya* i, 612, no. 1344.

[385] Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāya* ii, 265, no. 3626.

[386] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xix, 150; cf. Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* ii, 43; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxix, 400.

[387] Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* vi, 470–471.

[388] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* lxi, 249.

70. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ẓahīra b. Aḥmad b. ʿAṭiyya, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid al-Maqdisī al-Makkī al-Shāfiʿī (Mecca; 751–817/1350–1414)[389] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. al-Qawālīḥ.
71. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khalaf b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qurashī al-Mālikī (Egypt; b. after 620/1223–1224, d. 716/1316)[390] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Muḥammad b. Yāsīn al-Jazūlī.[391] According to al-Fāsī, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was the last who heard the collection on the authority of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Jabbāb (Egypt; b. 561/1165–1166, d. 648/1250).[392]
72. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sāma, Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī (Damascus—Cairo; 662–708/1264–1309)[393] read over the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Zaynab bt. ʿUmar b. Kindī.[394]
73. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Buḥtur, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh (Damascus; b. 654/1256–1257, d. 709/1310). Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr told al-Dhahabī that he had heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʾim al-Nābulsī, but, strikingly, al-Dhahabī does not state to have received the collection from Muḥammad.[395] Al-Dhahabī's reserved description suggests that Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr's statement may have evoked doubts. One notes the factual mismatch between the biographical reports about Muḥammad. Unlike al-Dhahabī, who mentions that Muḥammad died in 709/1310, Ibn Ḥajar sets Muḥammad's death in 736/1335,[396] whereas al-Fāsī records 739/1338–1339.[397] If one of the latter two dates is correct, Muḥammad would have died sixty-eight or seventy-one years after Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim, which diminishes the likelihood that the two men have ever come together. Neither Ibn Ḥajar nor al-Fāsī record Muḥammad among the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s transmitters or Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʾim's students.
74. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Muẓaffar al-Fāriqī (Egypt; d. 761/1359)[398] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Sayyida bt. al-Mārānī, most likely by *ijāza*.

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[389] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 233–236, no. 220.
[390] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* iii, 493, no. 1327.
[391] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 466, no. 547.
[392] Ibid. i, 253, no. 240.
[393] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* iii, 497–498, no. 1339; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* viii, 33.
[394] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* lii, 407.
[395] Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 596, no. 886.
[396] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* iv, 59, no. 165.
[397] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 301, no. 321.
[398] Ibid. i, 353–354, no. 395; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* iv, 148–149, no. 386.

75. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq b. ʿAlī b. Sālim b. Makkī, Taqī al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh (Egypt; b. 636/1238–1239; d. 725/1325) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Raḍī b. al-Burhān.[399]
76. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAyyāsh al-Ṣāliḥī (Damascus; d. 737/1336–1337) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by presence from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʾim al-Nāblusī.[400]
77. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Sālim, Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥarrānī al-Ḥanbalī, also known as Ibn al-Qazzāz (Damascus; b. 618/1221–1222, d. Mecca, 705/1306) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ṣāliḥ al-Mudlijī (d. 651/1253) on the authority of Saʿīd b. al-Ḥusayn al-Maʾmūnī.[401]
78. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAdl, Abū ʿAbdallāh (Toledo, d. 459/1066–1067)[402] read over the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Toledo to ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Shantajālī.[403]
79. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad, Abū Bakr al-Qaysī (Cairo; 614–686/1218–1287) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Mursī and read it over to Muṣṭafā b. Maḥmūd al-Anṣārī.[404]
80. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, Taqī al-Dīn Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Ḥasanī al-Fāsī al-Makkī al-Mālikī, the author of *Dhayl al-Taqyīd* (Fes—Mecca; 775–832/1373–1429). Al-Fāsī read over the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Mecca to Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ẓahīra, in Cairo to Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Suwaydāwī, and heard it in Mecca from Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Nāṣih al-Miṣrī and Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Marāghī.[405] He transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Taʿiz (Yemen).[406]
81. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Manẓūr, Abū Bakr or/and Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Qaysī (Seville; d. 464/1072)[407] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Shantajālī.[408]

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[399] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 82–84, no. 35.

[400] Ibid. i, 80, no. 32.

[401] Ibid. i, 59, no. 12. Al-Fāsī reports on the authority of al-Dhahabī, most likely from his *Muʿjam al-shuyūkh*; see al-Fāsī, *ʿIqd* i, 288. In its present form, al-Dhahabī's collection has an entry about Ibn al-Qazzāz that resembles al-Fāsī's citation but does not include the clause about his transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*; al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 477, no. 701.

[402] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 512, no. 1187; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxx, 474–475.

[403] Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya* i, 72–73, no. 18.

[404] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 100, no. 51.

[405] Ibid. i, 100–119.

[406] Ibid. i, 118.

[407] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 518, no. 1197; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxx, 302. According to al-Ḍabbī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad died in 469/1076–1077 at the age of seventy years and four months; *Bughya* i, 76, no. 28.

82. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Khālid b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, Badr al-Dīn al-Fāriqī (Egypt; b. 660/1261–1162, d. 741/1341)[409] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣāliḥī al-Ḥanbalī.
83. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥātim, Taqī al-Dīn Abū l-Fatḥ/Abū l-Baqā' al-Anṣārī (Egypt; 718–793/1318–1391)[410] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Wānī, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī al-Ṣinhājī, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Maqdisī.
84. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Tammām b. Ḥassān, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Tallī al-Ṣāliḥī al-Ḥanbalī (Damascus; 651–741/1254–1340)[411] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dā'im al-Nāblusī.
85. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yāsir, Abū Bakr al-Anṣārī al-Jayyānī Ibn Abī l-Yaqẓān (al-Andalus → Damascus; b. after 490/1096–1097, d. 563/1168) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī.[412]
86. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Abī l-Qāsim b. Manṣūr, Badr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh b. al-Qawālīḥ al-Ḥanafī (Damascus; 695–778/1296–1377).[413] At the age of four, Ibn al-Qawālīḥ heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by presence from Aḥmad b. Hibat Allāh b. ʿAsākir. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī documented Ibn al-Qawālīḥ's transmission on the authority of Zaynab bt. ʿUmar b. Kindī.[414] Insofar as Zaynab died when Ibn al-Qawālīḥ was about four years old, he must have had Zaynab's *ijāza* based on audition by presence. Ibn al-Qawālīḥ issued a general *ijāza* to all Egyptian scholars, about which Ibn Ḥajar had misgivings.
87. Muḥammad b. al-Faraj b. ʿAbd al-Walī, Abū ʿAbdallāh b. Abī l-Fatḥ al-Ṣawwāf (Toledo—Egypt; d. after 450/1058–1059) transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Bundār al-Rāzī.[415]
88. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, Jamal al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Fāsī al-Ḥanafī (Aleppo; b. after 580/1184–1185, d. 656/1258) read over the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Yūsuf b. Shaddād.[416]

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[408] Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya* i, 75–76, no. 28.

[409] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* iv, 315–316, no. 846; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 63–66, no. 17.

[410] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 127–128, no. 60.

[411] Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 457–458, no. 668; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 60–61, no. 14.

[412] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* ii, 139–140; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 326, no. 356; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxix, 178.

[413] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* iv, 80, no. 221; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 312–313, no. 336.

[414] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 29.

[415] Al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwa* 128, no. 132; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya* i, 159–160, no. 256; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxx, 510.

[416] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlviii, 287.

89. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿUmar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Qudāma, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Maqdisī al-Ṣāliḥī (Damascus; 663–748/1265–1348).[417] At the age of three, he heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by presence from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dā'im al-Nāblusī.
90. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Amīn al-Dīn Ibn al-Shammāʿ al-Shāfiʿī (Damascus → Mecca; b. 698/1298–1299; d. 783/1381).[418] Muḥammad heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Qarāfī, ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Shāṭibī, Muḥammad b. Naṣr Allāh b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Naḥḥās al-Miṣrī, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Rāshid al-Dhahabī, Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā b. Mūsā al-Zawāwī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. al-Qawwās al-Shāfiʿī,[419] and Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Falāḥ al-Iskandarī.
91. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAlī b. Surūr, Shams al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Maqdisī al-Ṣāliḥī al-Ḥanbalī (Jerusalem → Baghdad → Egypt; 603–676/1206–1277)[420] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn al-Ḥarastānī.[421]
92. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf, Abū ʿAbdallāh Ibn al-Fakhkhār al-Anṣārī (Malaga; 511–590/1117–1194)[422] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Abū Muḥammad al-Bijā'ī. His likely source was Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī, whom the biographers identify as Ibn al-Fakhkhār's most prominent teacher.
93. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ghadīr, Badr al-Dīn b. al-Qawwās al-Ṭā'ī (Damascus; 654–714/1256–1315)[423] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dā'im al-Nāblusī.
94. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kushmīhanī (Marw; b. 493/1099–1100, d. 578/1182) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī in 525/1130–1131 in the reading of ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṭabasī.[424]
95. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Manṣūr, Abū l-Ghanā'im Ibn al-Gharrā' (Basra → Jerusalem; b. 382/992–993, d. 462/1070) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Bundār al-Rāzī.[425]

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[417] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 155–156, no. 94.

[418] Ibid. i, 156–158, no. 95.

[419] Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn al-Qawwās in the Mosque of Damascus in 712/1313; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 399, no. 457.

[420] Al-Dhahabī, *ʿIbar* iii, 333; idem, *Tārīkh al-islām* l, 240–241; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* vii, 616.

[421] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* l, 241.

[422] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* ii, 69, no. 188; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xli, 388–389.

[423] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 398–399, no. 457.

[424] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* i, 261, no. 118.

[425] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxx, 77.

96. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, Rashīd al-Dīn al-ʿĀmirī (Damascus; d. 682/1284) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn al-Ḥarastānī.[426]
97. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Majd al-Dīn b. Manṣūr, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ṣaffār al-Isfarāyīnī (Damascus; 587–647/1191–1250)[427] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī.
98. Muḥammad b. Naṣr Allāh b. Ismāʿīl b. Naṣr, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Anṣārī, also known as Ibn al-Naḥḥās (Damascus; 639–719/1242–1319). Al-Dhahabī reports that at the end of his life Ibn al-Naḥḥās transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Hama.[428] According to other reports, Ibn al-Naḥḥās heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Raḍī b. al-Burhān.[429]
99. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, Abū Sālim al-Naṣībī (Damascus; b. 582/1186–1187, d. 652/1254) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Naysābūr from al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī (d. 617/1220).[430] Al-Naṣībī spent the last years of his life in Aleppo, where he engaged in esoteric linguistics and professed clairvoyance (*ʿilm al-ghayb*), divining the exact time of the Last Judgment's onset.[431]
100. Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Naṣr b. al-Sarī, Abū Bakr b. al-Zāghūnī (Baghdad; b. 468/1075–1076, d. 552/1157) transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Abū l-Layth/Abū l-Fatḥ al-Tunkatī.[432]
101. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Ilyās b. al-Khaḍir, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Rahāwī (Damascus; 653–724/1255–1324)[433] heard Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Egypt from al-Najīb ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim (Cairo; b. 587/1191–1192, d. 672/1273) and, incompletely, from al-Raḍī Ibn al-Burhān (d. 664/1266). Muḥammad b. ʿUmar's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, which is mentioned only by al-Dhahabī, may be an error. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf was known for his transmission of Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* but not Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[434]
102. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Makkī b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAṭiyya b. Aḥmad, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Umawī al-ʿUthmānī al-Shāfiʿī, also known as Ibn al-Muraḥḥal

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[426] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 183, no. 134; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* li, 128.

[427] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 407–408, no. 470.

[428] Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 579, no. 860.

[429] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 461, no. 540.

[430] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlviii, 134.

[431] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* iii, 176.

[432] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* i, 218–219; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxviii, 99–101.

[433] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 332, no. 364; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* iv, 103, no. 281; al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 550, no. 813.

[434] For a record of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's transmissions, see al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 77–78, no. 1330.

and Ibn al-Wakīl (Egypt—Syria; 665–716/1267–1317).[435] Al-Dhahabī heard Muḥammad b. ʿUmar read over parts of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in *Dār al-ḥadīth* in Damascus.[436] Although al-Dhahabī does not reveal Muḥammad b. ʿUmar's source, Muḥammad is known to have heard from al-Qāsim al-Irbilī, a Damascene transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* (see no. 109 below).

103. Muḥammad b. Wājib b. ʿUmar b. Wājib, Abū l-Ḥasan (Valencia, 446–519/1055–1125)[437] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* being read over to Ibn al-Dalāʾī in 463/1070–1071.[438]
104. Muqātil b. ʿAzzūn, Ibn al-ʿArīf al-Raqqī al-Miṣrī (Syria—Egypt; b. 501/1107–1108, d. 579/1183–1184) had an original copy (*aṣl*) recorded during a session of audition from Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mayūrqī (d. 523/1129).[439]
105. Mūsā b. Sayyid, Abū Bakr al-Umawī (Algeciras; d. after 534/1140) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Mecca from al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī.[440]
106. Musāʿid b. Aḥmad b. Musāʿid, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Zaʿūqa al-Aṣbaḥī (al-Andalus [Orihuela]; b. 468/1075–1076, d. 545/1150–1151) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* during the pilgrimage season of 494/1101 from al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī.[441]
107. Al-Muslim b. Muḥammad b. al-Muslim b. Makkī b. ʿAlān, Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Ghanāʾim al-Qaysī (Damascus; 594–680/1198–1282) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. al-Ḥarastānī.[442] He had *ijāza*s to transmit the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Aḥmad al-Ṣaffār, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥasan al-Saʿdī, ʿAbd al-Sallām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Ikāfī, Manṣūr b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Furāwī, and al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī.[443] Thus, al-Muslim appears to have been a major collector of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. He authorized al-Dhahabī to transmit all of his transmissions, including the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[444]
108. Muṣṭafā b. Maḥmūd b. Mūsā b. Maḥmūd, Abū ʿAbd al-Dāʾim al-Anṣārī (Egypt—Mecca; d. 645/1247) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū l-Mufākhir Saʿīd

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[435] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* iv, 116–123, no. 318.
[436] Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 552, no. 816.
[437] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 544, no. 1268.
[438] Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya* i, 180, no. 297.
[439] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xl, 298.
[440] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* ii, 178, no. 461; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 361.
[441] Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya* i, 636, no. 1393; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* ii, 206–207, no. 567; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvii, 234.
[442] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 291, no. 1649.
[443] Ibid. iii, 291, no. 1649.
[444] Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 617, no. 921.

al-Ma'mūnī (Naysābūr, Egypt; d. 576/1180–1181).[445] Because of the sixty-nine-year gap between the death dates of al-Anṣārī and al-Ma'mūnī, it is likely that al-Anṣārī only attended the lessons of al-Ma'mūnī as a child and received an *ijāza* to transmit on his authority.

109. Al-Qāsim b. Abī Bakr b. al-Qāsim b. Ghanīma, Abū Muḥammad al-Irbilī (Damascus; b. ca. 595/1198–1199, d. 680/1281).[446] In 610/1213–1214, al-Qāsim traveled with his father to Naysābūr, where he heard Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Mu'ayyad al-Ṭūsī. Al-Irbilī had an original copy (*aṣl*) on the authority of al-Mu'ayyad al-Ṭūsī, but, at an unspecified time, sent it back to Mu'ayyad because of a lacuna (*fawt*) in the text. He also lost al-Ṭūsī certificate (*thabat*) authorizing him to transmit the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[447] As a transmitter of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Irbilī was discovered towards the end of his life by Ibn Khallikān, who encouraged *ḥadīth* scholars to hear the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on al-Irbilī's authority. As a result, a group of six renowned scholars, including Ibn Taymiyya and al-Mizzī, attended al-Irbilī's lessons in 677/1278–1289.[448]
110. Razīn b. Muʿāwiya b. ʿAmmār al-ʿAbdarī, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Mālikī (Zaragoza; d. 525/1130)[449] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī.[450]
111. Saʿīd b. al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd b. Muḥammad, Abū Mufākhir al-Ma'mūnī (Naysābūr, Egypt; d. 576/1180–1181) transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Egypt on the authority of Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī.[451]
112. Ṣafiyya bt. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Maqdisī (Jerusalem; b. 660/1261–1262, d. 741/1341). Ṣafiyya is said to have heard Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dā'im al-Nāblusī (d. 668/1270), but, in view of the short period that separates her birth from his death, she most likely possessed an *ijāza*.[452] Al-Dhahabī heard Ṣafiyya's uterine brother ʿUbayd Allāh read to her parts of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Ibn ʿAbd al-Dā'im.[453]

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[445] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 292, no. 1650; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvii, 296–297.
[446] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* xxiv, 115–116; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 259, no. 1604; al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 423–424, no. 635; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* vii, 641.
[447] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* l, 361–362.
[448] Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 423, no. 635.
[449] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 184–185, no. 428; al-Fāsī, *ʿIqd* iv, 398–399, no. 1192.
[450] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 376; idem, *Siyar* xx, 205.
[451] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 377, no. 1055.
[452] Ibid. iii, 426, no. 1855; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* ii, 207, no. 1979.
[453] Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 245.

113. Ṣāliḥ b. Shujāʿ b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, Abū l-Baqāʾ al-Mudlijī al-Mālikī (Mecca → Cairo; 564–651/1169–1253) heard in Cairo the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū Mufākhir al-Maʾmūnī[454] and transmitted it to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. Khalaf.[455]
114. Sayyida bt. Mūsā b. ʿUthmān b. Dirbās al-Mārānī (Egypt; d. 695/1296)[456] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī by *ijāza*.[457]
115. Ṭāriq b. Mūsā b. Yaʿīsh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Hishām, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Makhzūmī (Valencia; d. 549/1154–1155). According to Ibn al-Abbār, Ṭāriq transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Hudhayl.[458] Ibn al-Abbār does not mention Ṭāriq's source, but he may have been al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, from whom Ṭāriq heard during his pilgrimage in Mecca. This possibility faces a mild chronological uncertainty. Ibn al-Abbār dates Tariq's pilgrimage to "before [the year] 520,"[459] while al-Ṭabarī died in 498/1105. Admittedly, 498 is before 520, but the two dates stand too far apart for one to grant that the latter chronology necessarily extends as far back as to include the former.[460] One may think of an error whereby a later copyist changed Ibn al-Abbār's expression from *"before 500" to "before 520," in which case Ibn al-Abbār would have guessed the date of Ṭāriq's pilgrimage from reports that he met al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī.
116. ʿUbāda b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Manṣūr b. Manṣūr b. Ibrāhīm b. Salāma, Zayn al-Dīn Abū Saʿd al-Ḥarrānī al-Ḥanbalī (Damascus; 671–739/1273–1339)[461] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Qāsim b. Abī Bakr al-Irbilī.[462] The age difference between the two traditionists suggests that ʿUbāda relied on al-Qāsim's *ijāza* to transmit the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.
117. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Qurashī al-Muʿīṭī (al-Andalus; d. ?) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Shantajālī in 433/1041–1042.[463]
118. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Saʿdawayh b. Wahmat, Abū l-Fityān al-Dihistānī al-Ruwāsī (active in Khurāsān, Iraq, the Ḥijāz, Syria, and Egypt; b. 428/

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[454] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlviii, 95–96.
[455] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 104.
[456] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* lii, 257–258.
[457] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 423, no. 1851.
[458] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* iii, 202.
[459] Ibid. i, 274.
[460] This issue was noted by al-Fāsī, *ʿIqd* v, 56.
[461] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 98, no. 1360; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* ii, 238–239, no. 2095.
[462] Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 254, no. 347.
[463] Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya* i, 459, no. 970.

1036–1037, d. 503/1109).[464] In Ṭūs, ʿUmar transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from an original copy (*aṣl*) that did not belong to him, a practice that other *ḥadīth* transmitters considered reprehensible.[465] ʿUmar's biographers do not identify his source of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, but, conceivably, he received it from ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī, who figures among his *shaykh*s.

119. ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥāmidī al-Khurāsānī al-Ṣūfī (Naysābūr; d. 516/1122) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī.[466] The sixty-eight-years gap between the death dates of al-Ḥāmidī and ʿAbd al-Ghāfir suggests a transmission by *ijāza*.

120. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. al-Jumayyil b. Muḥammad b. Faraj, Abū l-Faḍl/Abū l-Khaṭṭāb al-Kalbī, also known as Ibn Diḥya (Ceuta → Egypt; b. 544–548/1149–1154; d. 633/1235). Ibn Diḥya possessed a low *isnād* of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from several western transmitters, including Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, Ibn Maḍāʾ, and Ibn Zarqūn,[467] on whose authority he transmitted the versions of Ibn Māhān and Abū Ḥāmid b. al-Sharqī.[468] Later in his career, Ibn Diḥya traveled to Naysābūr, where he obtained the high *isnād* of Manṣūr al-Furāwī on the authority of his great-grandfather, Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī.[469] Ibn Diḥya alleged to have known the collection by heart, but when examined proved unable to recognize Muslim's traditions.[470] Ibn al-Najjār, who saw Ibn Diḥya, has an entry full of scathing reports about him. Expert traditionists were of a low opinion about Ibn Diḥya's auditions, many of which were "concoctions" and "lies."[471] Adding insult to injury, al-Marrākushī points out that ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan invented his genealogy through the Prophet's Companion Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī (Medina; d. ca. 50/670–671).[472]

121. ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Abī Bakr, Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ʿAmr al-Tawzarī al-Mālikī (Egypt—Mecca; 630–713/1233–1313)[473] read over the

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[464] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iii, 96–97; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* xlv, 276–279; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxv, 81–84; idem, *Siyar* xix, 317–320.

[465] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxv, 83.

[466] Al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 370–371, no. 1231; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxv, 403.

[467] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* iii, 164, no. 410.

[468] See pp. 337, 361 below.

[469] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvi, 158; idem, *Siyar* xxii, 390.

[470] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvi, 160; idem, *Siyar* xxii, 392.

[471] Ibn al-Najjār, *Dhayl* xx, 40–42; cf. al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa-l-takmila* v, 81; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvi, 160.

[472] Al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa-l-takmila* v, 78–79. For an overview of the disparaging reports about Ibn Diḥya, see al-ʿUtaybī, *Makāna* 229–235.

[473] Al-Fāsī, *ʿIqd* vi, 41–47, no. 1968; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* ii, 449–450, no. 2606; al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 347, no. 498.

Ṣaḥīḥ to al-Raḍī b. al-Burhān. Al-Tawzarī spent in Mecca the last twenty-three years of his life.[474]

122. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā b. Mūsā b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Zawāwī al-Mālikī (Damascus; d. after 712/1312–1213)[475] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Zaynab bt. ʿUmar b. Kindī, al-Raḍī b. al-Burhān, and Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʾim al-Nāblusī.
123. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Abū l-Ḥajjāj al-Lakhmī Ibn al-Nādir (Majorca → Alexandria; d. 523/1129) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* during his pilgrimages in Mecca from al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī.[476]
124. Yūsuf b. Ādam b. Muḥammad b. Ādam, Abū Yaʿqūb al-Marāghī (Damascus; b. 511/1117–1118, d. 569/1173) transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī and passed it on to ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Jīlī and Muḥammad b. Mashshiq. A Ḥanbali firebrand, Yūsuf was expelled from Damascus to Harran because of his political troublemaking.[477]
125. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, Abū l-Ḥajjāj al-Quḍāʿī al-Undī (Almeria; b. 457/1064–1065, d. 542/1147) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī on the authority of his father, ʿAbd al-Ghāfir b. Muḥammad al-Fārisī.[478]
126. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Yūsuf, Sayf al-Dīn Abū l-Maḥāsin al-Sarakhsī (Damascus; b. 639/1241–1242; d. 721/1321) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Raḍī b. Burhān.[479]
127. Yūsuf b. Rāfiʿ b. Tamīm b. ʿUtba b. Muḥammad b. Shaddād, Abū l-Maḥāsin al-Shāfiʿī (Aleppo; 539–632/1145–1234) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Yāsir al-Jayyānī on the authority of Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī.[480]
128. Zakī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿImrān, Abū Aḥmad al-Baylaqānī al-Shāfiʿī (Aden; b. 582/1186–1187, d. 676/1277–1278) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī.[481]

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[474] Al-Fāsī, *ʿIqd* vi, 46, no. 1968.

[475] Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 647, no. 971; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 319, no. 1700.

[476] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* iv, 203, no. 576.

[477] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxviii, 374.

[478] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* iv, 206–207, no. 583; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvii, 132–133.

[479] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 348, no. 1735; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* iv, 471, no. 1294; al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam* 659–660, no. 992.

[480] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 336–337, no. 1723.

[481] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* l, 224.

1.11 *Summary. The Regional Paths of Ibn Sufyān al-Naysābūrī's Version of the* Ṣaḥīḥ

In the nine generations after Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān, we observe a steady spread of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* along clear geographical lines. In the first generation, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* remained a Naysābūri phenomenon. Its transmission turns almost exclusively on Ibn Sufyān's Naysābūri student, Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Julūdī, who may conveniently be described by the term *madār* (pivot of transmission). Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kisāʾī may have been a historical transmitter as well, although his version was partly dependent on al-Julūdī's copy. Reports that Maslama b. al-Qāsim and Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-ʿAdl transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Ibn Sufyān cannot be verified as authentic. They probably sprung out of some late traditionists' desire to prove that the *Ṣaḥīḥ* had been massively transmitted already at the earliest stages of its circulation.

Despite its overwhelming popularity, al-Julūdī's transmission has problems of its own. As noted by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, al-Julūdī's record of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān had been lost, and al-Julūdī made a copy from several manuscripts, one of which was not based on an audition from Ibn Sufyān.[482] The origin of these copies and the way they compared to al-Julūdī's lost original are unknown. Another level of uncertainty is highlighted by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, who saw records of al-Julūdī's version that alternated between the expressions *ḥaddatha-nā Ibrāhīm* (Ibrāhīm [b. Sufyān] told us) and *akhbara-nā Ibrāhīm* (Ibrāhīm [b. Sufyān] reported to us).[483] The latter expression suggests *qirāʾa*; that is, al-Julūdī reading over of a record of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān and Ibrāhīm authorizing the record as correct. Such a reading over to the *shaykh* was considered not as good as an audition from the *shaykh*. The student might take his record from elsewhere, whereas the teacher might fail to notice errors in the tedious process of listening to the student's *qirāʾa*.

The interest in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* picked up in the second generation of transmitters, whose lifetime coincided with the efforts to endorse this work as the most authoritative *ḥadīth* collection along with al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Brown's observation that the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was canonized as part of a Naysābūri enterprise[484] finds support in the regional affiliation of the second-generation transmitters. ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī lived in Naysābūr. Al-Sijzī was a Naysābūri who spent some time transmitting the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Mecca. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nasawī hailed from the city of Nasā, about 300 kilometers to the north of Naysābūr. He must have spent some time in this famous scholarly center, before ultimately settling in Mecca. Ibn Bundār al-Rāzī was likely a native of Rayy. We possess limited information about his scholarly journeys, but, given that he transmits on the authority of the Naysābūri al-Julūdī, his travel to Naysābūr seems very likely. Among these five men, only ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ṣaqallī seems to have been unrelated to Northeastern Iran. Like Ibn Bundār al-Rāzī, ʿAbd al-Malik took the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from a Naysābūri transmitter, al-Kisāʾī, which suggests that at some juncture of his life ʿAbd al-Malik visited Naysābūr.

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[482] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxvi, 404; idem, *Siyar* xvi, 302.

[483] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 110–111.

[484] Brown, *Canonization* 124–128, 154–181.

The annual pilgrimage to Mecca followed by a sojourn in the holy city for several years had been the chief way of spreading Muslim's collection from Northeastern Iran to the western parts of the caliphate. This tendency is prominent in the third generation of transmitters. Of four transmitters who were active in Mecca, two are shared with Naysābūr and another two with al-Andalus. Unlike the first two generations, in which no Andalusian transmitters are attested, in the third generation their number reaches six, two of whom are shared with Mecca and one is shared with each of Naysābūr and Tripoli. Al-Tunkatī was a merchant from Samarqand, who, during his travels, carried along the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Naysābūr to Egypt and al-Andalus. In the third generation, we observe the widest geographical spread of transmission, covering Iran, Arabia, North Africa, and al-Andalus. This distribution and the increasing number of transmitters (nine transmitters in the third generation against five in the second generation), including such who were active in two or more centers of learning, points to an intensive process of adoption and dissemination of Muslim's collection during the second half of the fourth/tenth and throughout the fifth/eleventh century.

Turning to the truncated transmissions, we observe that, save for a few exceptions, in the first two generations above Ibn Sufyān the same transmitters appear as do in the main *isnād*s. Al-Julūdī and al-Kisāʾī, on the one hand, and ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī, Abū Saʿīd al-Sijzī, Ibn Bundār al-Rāzī, and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nasawī, on the other hand, are respectively the most prominent representatives of the first and the second generations after Ibn Sufyān. Not a single truncated *isnād* invokes the names of Maslama b. al-Qāsim and Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-ʿAdl, whose transmission on the authority of al-Julūdī is mentioned in two isolated *isnād*s in the main group, both of which, I argued above, cannot be proven as authentic. Now the group of truncated *isnād*s adds support to my argument that neither Maslama nor Muḥammad b. Yazīd were historical transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* through al-Julūdī → Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān. The group of truncated *isnād*s has only one new name: Aḥmad b Zāhir al-Ṭūsī, a transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Kisāʾī → Ibn Sufyān. Since al-Ṭūsī died 102 or 103 lunar years after his alleged informant, one can hardly accept that the two men had ever met; al-Ṭūsī either relied on an unacknowledged intermediary (another transmitter or a discovered document), or else his transmission on the authority of al-Kisāʾī is spurious.

A secondary reason for the lack of *isnād* diversity in the first two generations after Ibn Sufyān is that, insofar as the truncated transmissions seldom reach these generations, I reconstructed their chains by collating them with the chains in the main group. In the process, I presumed that the compilers of biographical dictionaries who mention the truncated *isnād*s without tracing them all the way back to the original source implicitly follow the usual paths. The possibility of error is slim. Had the biographers known alternative ways of transmission, they would not have hesitated to record them in order to substantiate an early massive transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Be that as it may, the truncated *isnād*s add weight to our conclusion that, in the first two generations after Ibn Sufyān, his version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was transmitted exclusively in Naysābūr and Northeastern Iran.

Like the main *isnād*s, the truncated chains bear witness to a significant change in the transmission pattern in the third generation after Ibn Sufyān. While retaining the main third-generation transmitters, including Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī, Ibn al-Dalāʾī, Abū l-Layth al-Tunkatī, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Shantajālī, and Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, the truncated transmissions add a swarm of new names, on two outstanding occasions. First, there are eleven new transmitters on the authority of ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī, ten of whom are Naysābūris, and one is attested as active in the wider area of Khurāsān and Egypt. Together with the main *isnād*s, in which ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī plays a prominent role as well, this evidence indicates that he was the single most important transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Iran in the second generation after Ibn Sufyān. Second, a less outstanding, though not necessarily less important, position in the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is held by Ibn Bundār al-Rāzī. One immediately notes that one of his students, Muḥammad b. al-Faraj al-Ṣawwāf, was active in al-Andalus and Egypt, another one, Muḥammad al-Gharrāʾ, taught in Jerusalem, whereas Ibn al-Dalāʾī was an Andalusian who spent eight years in Mecca (see Appendix 1, Diagram 10). This observation adds substance to our conclusion from the main group that the *Ṣaḥīḥ* found its way to the western parts of the Muslim world in the lifetime of the third generation after Ibn Sufyān. Just as in the main group, so too in the group of truncated chains the third generation of transmitters is the first to include Andalusians. Out of five Andalusians, three are shared with Mecca and one is shared with each of Egypt and Naysābūr. Clearly, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* traveled from Northeastern Iran to North Africa and al-Andalus by way of the annual pilgrimage and *jiwār* in Mecca, which made possible the contacts between *ḥadīth* scholars from the outermost provinces of the Muslim world.

In the fourth generation after Ibn Sufyān, the representatives of al-Andalus preponderate with twenty-one out of the twenty-eight transmitters constituting the main group. Naysābūr is represented by three transmitters, while Damascus and Baghdad have three and one transmitters each, one of whom is shared between the two centers. This geographical distribution not only shows the shift of focus in the preservation and transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to the western Islamic lands but also suggests that major centers of learning in the heartland of Islam, such as Baghdad and Damascus, somewhat belatedly caught up with the canonization tendency. The Baghdadi transmitters were active during the Saljūq period (447–530/1055–1135), which followed the dominance of the Būyids over Iraq (334–447/945–1055). Conceivably, the Shiʿi Būyid rulers of Baghdad looked askance at the circulation of Sunni *ḥadīth* collections, which were later received amicably by the Saljūq Sunni elite. Political circumstances may be thought responsible for the slow spread of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Damascus. Until the later part of the fifth/eleventh century, the city lived through a period of turmoil and cultural decline under the Shiʿi Fāṭimid dynasty, who ruled it with varying success from Egypt.[485] Only after the end of the Fāṭimid era in 468/1076 and the advent of the Saljūqs, could Damascene Sunni scholars devote themselves to collecting and teaching Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

These observations find strong support in the group of truncated *isnād*s. The fourth generation includes thirty-nine transmitters, twenty of whom are Andalusians (one is shared with each of Baghdad, Egypt, and Naysābūr). Among the remaining transmitters, ten are Naysābūris (one is shared with Egypt), four are Damascene (one is shared with Baghdad), three are Baghdadis (one is shared with each of al-Andalus and Damascus), and one comes from each of Isfahan, Khurāsān, Marw, and Qazvin. Clearly, al-Andalus became a center of learning in which the transmission of Muslim's collection throve along with the efflorescence of *ḥadīth* scholarship in general, while Damascus and Baghdad began to catch up. The two third-generation pivots on which the fourth-generation Andalusian transmission turns are al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī (six Andalusian truncated transmissions converge on him) and ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Shantajālī (cited by five Andalusians). Al-Ṭabarī was a Naysābūri who settled in Mecca, whereas the Andalusian al-Shantajālī sojourned in the holy city for forty years. The two cases dovetail nicely, showing how the pilgrimage contributed to the spread of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* westwards. Abū l-Layth al-Tunkatī was pivotal for the fourth-generation Baghdadi transmitters (see Appendix 1, Diagram 8).

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[485] Elisséeff, Dimas͟hḳ 281–282.

The group of the fourth-generation truncated transmissions includes ten Naysābūris against only three in the main group. This is however only a seeming incongruity, as it comes mainly on account of eight truncated transmissions on the authority of Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Furāwī. Adding to this number eight truncated transmissions through al-Furāwī by representatives of centers of learning other than Naysābūr (see Appendix 1, Diagram 5), we may conclude that, just like ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī in the second generation, al-Furāwī was the single most prominent transmitter of the East in the third generation after Ibn Sufyān. His version was preserved by both prominent transmitters as his great-grandson Manṣūr al-Furāwī, and a swarm of less well-known ones, whose transmissions became extinct over time.

The fifth generation is represented by the major collectors, Ibn ʿAṭiyya, al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, and Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī in al-Andalus, and Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī in Damascus. Al-Andalus (eighteen transmitters and collectors) and Greater Syria (eighteen transmitters and collectors) stand out as the most important centers of scholarly engagement with the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. One notes that Damascus has six shared transmitters, including three with Egypt, one with each of al-Andalus, Baghdad, Isfarāyīn, and one (al-Raḍī b. al-Burhān) with Egypt, Wāsiṭ, and the Yemen, which suggests that, in the sixth/twelfth and the seventh/thirteenth centuries, Syria had become an influential center of *ḥadīth* transmission and scholarship. This is not surprising given the importance that *ḥadīth* transmission in Damascus was accorded by the Zangid and the Ayyūbid dynasties, which reigned over the city between 549–571/1154–1176 and 571–658/1176–1260 respectively. In 566/1170, the Sultan Nūr al-Dīn Zangī (r. 541–569/1146–1174) established the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūriyya; in 630/1232, the emir of Damascus al-Ashraf Mūsā built Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiyya.[486] These two and other similar institutions in Damascus and its suburb Ṣāliḥiyya were exclusively devoted to the transmission of *ḥadīth*, and their curriculum undoubtedly included Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. With five transmitters, four of whom are shared with external centers of learning, Egypt began to play a discernible role in the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Iran and Iraq lost their scholarly prestige, due to the Mongol conquest (616–656/1219–1258) and the ensuing political upheaval and cultural decline.

Similarly to the previous generations, the fifth-generation truncated transmissions confirm the observations gained from the main body of transmissions. Greater Syria is represented by eighteen transmitters. Egypt has eight truncated transmissions. Three transmitters were active locally, whereas the other six are shared with Damascus (two transmissions), Mecca (two transmissions), Jerusalem and Baghdad (one transmission), and Damascus, Wāsiṭ, and the Yemen (one transmission). It is clear that, while forming its scholarly identity, Egypt still relied on itinerant *ḥadīth* transmitters for the local circulation of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The decline of Naysābūr as a scholarly center is indicated by the striking absence of local truncated transmissions. There are no Naysābūri transmitters on the authority of al-Mu'ayyad al-Ṭūsī, the great Naysābūri scholar of the fourth generation, who is otherwise cited by scores of Damascene and Egyptian transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* (see Appendix 1, Diagram 7). No Naysābūri transmissions are attested on the authority of the fourth-generation Manṣūr b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Furāwī.

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[486] Goldziher, *Studien* 186–187. On Dār al-ḥadīth al-nūriyya and the Zangid and Ayyūbid patronage of *ḥadīth* transmission in Damascus, see Dickinson, "Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ" 483–484.

The six fifth-generation Andalusians in the group of truncated transmissions are three times fewer than the eighteen Andalusians in the main group. This incongruity is due to the outstanding role played by al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, Ibn ʿAṭiyya, Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, and al-Ḥajrī as both fifth- and sixth-generation collectors in al-Andalus. The fame of these four men guaranteed the preservation of their *isnād*s by the later transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Moreover, Ibn Khayr's manuscript is among the earliest surviving manuscripts of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Apart from this, the fifth generation is the last one before the twilight of the Andalusian transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which understandably increased its attractiveness to the later collectors throughout the Muslim world, who kept passing it on from one generation to the next.

In the fifth generation, female transmitters begin to appear, represented by the Damascene Zaynab bt. ʿUmar b. Kindī, the Egyptian Sayyida bt. al-Mārānī, and the Baalbeki Fāṭima bt. Ibrāhīm al-Baṭā'iḥiyya.[487] These women lived three centuries after the revival of female *ḥadīth* transmission that Asma Sayeed observed beginning in the second half of the fourth/tenth century,[488] but one must note that their case is not exceptional. Umm Khayr Fāṭima bt. ʿAlī b. Muẓaffar (Naysābūr; b. 435/1043–1144, d. 532–533/1137–1138) is recorded as a transmitter on the authority of ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī, in the third generation after Ibn Sufyān. What is more, my survey of the transmitters of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is far from exhaustive. A more comprehensive study will certainly add to the list the names of many female transmitters who flourished during the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries.

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[487] Fāṭima al-Baṭā'iḥiyya (625–711/1228–1311) is not included in the *isnād* diagrams because the source of her informant, Maḥmūd al-Ḥaṣīrī (Bukhara → Naysābūr → Damascus; 546–636/1151–1238), is uncertain.

[488] Sayeed, *Women and transmission of religious knowledge* 108–112.

Except for Abū Bakr al-Shirājī, who was active near Medina, the main group of the sixth-generation transmitters comprises scholars who were active in Greater Syria, Egypt, and al-Andalus. Four out of six sixth-generation Andalusians (al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, Ibn ʿAṭiyya, Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, and al-Ḥajrī) are also present in the fifth generation and one (ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Khushanī) is present in the fourth generation. This is because of some low *isnād*s that they cite along with the high *isnād*s placing them in the earlier generations. Al-Ḥajrī was active in Almeria and Murcia, but he settled in Ceuta at the end of his scholarly career. His biography suggests that towards the end of the sixth/twelfth century progressing Reconquista had driven Andalusian scholars towards North Africa.

The sixth generation of truncated transmissions adds important nuances to the conclusions suggested by the main group. Greater Syria is represented by an impressive swarm of twenty-nine transmitters, followed by Egypt with fourteen transmitters. Clearly, Syria and Egypt had become the two most important centers of learning and *ḥadīth* transmission in the seventh/thirteenth century. The significance of Syria is highlighted by the fact that most Syrian and Egyptian transmissions in the sixth generation turn on three fifth-generation Syrian scholars, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʾim al-Nāblusī, al-Raḍī b. Burhān, and Zaynab bt. ʿUmar b. Kindī. One notes that Jerusalem, which played some role in the third and the fifth generations with one and two transmitters respectively, now comes to prominence with four transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Our data indicate an important change in Egypt. Unlike the fifth generation, in which Egypt shares most of its transmitters with other centers of learning, in the sixth generation only four out of fourteen Egyptians are shared. This proportion attests to the establishment of a strong local tradition in the transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Al-Andalus is represented by only four transmitters. The already noted migration of *ḥadīth* scholarship from al-Andalus to North Africa is witnessed by the presence of two North Africans in the sixth generation of truncated transmissions.

All seventh-generation transmitters in the main group, except for the Damascene Ibn al-Jazarī and the Andalusian al-Ḥajrī, were active in Egypt. The reason for this Egyptian shift is twofold. On the one hand, the seventh generation comprises chiefly the informants of Ibn Ḥajar, who is an Egyptian authority. On the other hand, in the eighth/fourteenth century, Egypt had become the most important center of learning in Islam, sporadically contested by Damascus. Iran and Iraq were still living through a period of political instability, whereas the transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in al-Andalus was largely closed by the generation of al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ and Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī. For similar reasons, Egypt retained its centrality in the transmission and preservation of Ibn Sufyān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the lifetime of the eighth and ninth generations after him. Iran regained its political and cultural significance, but since 1501 it was dominated by the Shiʿi Safavid dynasty (1501–1722), which had no interest in reviving the Sunni *ḥadīth* tradition.

The seventh generation of truncated transmissions exhibits tendencies similar to that in the main group. Egypt has four representatives (one is shared with Mecca), whereas the number of Syrians slides to two (one is shared with Mecca). Al-Andalus has two representatives and North Africa has one, all present in sixth-generation high *isnād*s. Compared with the previous generations, Mecca is overrepresented by four transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, but this number reflects my reliance on al-Fāsī's biographical dictionary *Dhayl al-Taqyīd* for the extraction of names rather than a surge in the Meccan interest in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Al-Fāsī (775–832/1373–1429) was active in Mecca, which naturally became an incentive to record as many Meccan transmitters of Muslim's collection as he could find. Apart from this, al-Fāsī's dictionary is the only source covering the seventh generation. Al-Dhahabī's *Tārīkh al-islām* ends in the year 700/1300, which undermines the representation of Syrian and, partially, Egyptian transmitters. Although such unevenness may be offset by the inclusion of additional biographical dictionaries, this may hardly change the results of our analysis. By the seventh generation, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* had long since spread in all parts of the Muslim world as a textual corpus fixed in hundreds of manuscripts.

Our study of the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is indicative of the understanding of generation (*ṭabaqa*) by Muslim *ḥadīth* transmitters.[489] Measured by the earliest birth date and the latest death date within one generation, the average span of a single *ṭabaqa* increased from about one hundred years in the first two generations after Ibn Sufyān to 175 years in the third generation, and, ultimately, to over two hundred years in the following generations.[490] This process may be explained by the widening embrace of the high *isnād*, which pushes

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[489] From a sociological standpoint, Senturk has proposed to translate *ṭabaqa* as "layer." Unlike the term "generation," which connotes manifold cultural and social features, the term "layer" indicates someone's position in a diachronic network; Senturk, *Narrative structure* 127–128. As noted by Senturk, the understanding of *ṭabaqa* includes non-temporal features, such as scientific branch, legal affiliation, dogmatic orientation, and so on; ibid. 129.

[490] This observation goes against Senturk's conclusion that the "intense rivalry over the shortest chains" had reached its peak between 900–1000 CE, whereupon the high *isnād* began to lose its appeal to Muslim traditionists; *Narrative structure* 22–23. Our *isnād* diagrams (see Appendix 1, Diagrams 3–4, 11, 13) show that high *isnād*s abound well after the year 1000 CE. Admittedly, Senturk deals with the transmission of *ḥadīth* in general, whereas I focus exclusively on the transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Nonetheless, in both cases the transmission ritual was identical. The students habitually flocked to very old *shaykh*s for the highness of their chains.

TABLE 1 The regional paths of transmission of Ibn Sufyān al-Naysābūrī's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* (main transmissions)

	First generation (ca. 288–385/ ca. 901–996)	**Second generation (ca. 350–448/ca. 961–1056)**	**Third generation (355–530/966–1136)**
Aleppo			
Al-Andalus			2 al-Andalus + 2 shared with Mecca 1 shared with Egypt 1 shared with Tripoli
Baalbek			
Baghdad			
Damascus			
Egypt			1 shared with al-Andalus
Isfarāyīn			
Jerusalem			
Mecca		1 Mecca + 1 shared with Nasā	2 shared with al-Andalus 2 shared with Naysābūr
Medina			
Nasā		1 shared with Mecca	
Naysābūr	2 Naysābūr (excluding Maslama b. al-Qāsim and Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. al-ʿAdl)	2 Naysābūr	2 shared with Mecca 1 shared with al-Andalus
North Africa			
Qayrawān		1 Qayrawān	
Tripoli (east)			1 shared with al-Andalus
Wāsiṭ			
The Yemen			

Fourth generation (392–617/1002–1220)	**Fifth generation (444–705/1052–1306)**	**Sixth generation (577–780/1181–1379; w/o al-Khushanī)**	**Seventh generation (702–821/1302–1467; w/o al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ)**
			1 Aleppo
21 al-Andalus	17 al-Andalus + 1 shared with Damascus	5 al-Andalus + 1 shared with Egypt	1 al-Andalus
		1 shared with Damascus	
1 Baghdad + 1 shared with Damascus	1 Baghdad + 1 shared with Damascus		
2 Damascus + 1 shared with Baghdad	10 Damascus + 3 shared with Egypt 1 shared with al-Andalus 1 shared with Baghdad 1 shared with Egypt, Wāsiṭ, and Yemen 1 shared with Isfarāyīn	3 Damascus + 1 sheared with Baalbek 1 shared with Egypt	1 Damascus
	1 Egypt + 3 shared with Damascus 1 shared with Damascus, Wāsiṭ, and Yemen	3 Egypt + 1 shared with al-Andalus 1 shared with Damascus	10 Egypt
	1 shared with Damascus		
	1 Jerusalem	1 Jerusalem	
	1 shared with North Africa		
		1 Medina	
3 Naysābūr			
	1 shared with Mecca		
	1 shared with Damascus, Egypt, and Yemen		
	1 shared with Damascus, Egypt, and Wāsiṭ		

TABLE 2 The regional paths of transmission through Ibn Sufyān al-Naysābūrī (truncated transmissions)

	First generation	Second generation	Third generation	Fourth generation
Aleppo				
Al-Andalus			3 shared with Mecca 1 shared with Egypt 1 shared with Naysābūr	17 al-Andalus + 1 shared with Baghdad 1 shared with Egypt 1 shared with Naysābūr
Baalbek				
Baghdad				1 Baghdad + 1 shared with al-Andalus 1 shared with Damascus
Damascus				3 Damascus + 1 shared with Baghdad
Egypt			1 shared with al-Andalus 1 shared with Khurāsān	1 shared with al-Andalus 1 shared with Naysābūr
Fes				
Isfahan				1 Isfahan
Jerusalem			1 Jerusalem	
Karak				
Khurāsān				1 Khurāsān
Marw				1 Marw
Mecca			3 shared with al-Andalus 3 shared with Naysābūr	
Nasā		1 Nasā		
Naysābūr	2 Naysābūr	3 Naysābūr	10 Naysābūr + 3 shared with Mecca 1 shared with al-Andalus	9 Naysābūr + 1 shared with Egypt
North Africa				
Qazvin				1 Qazvin
Rayy		1		
Wāsiṭ				
Yemen				

Fifth generation	Sixth generation	Seventh generation
1 Aleppo + 1 shared with Baghdad		
6 al-Andalus	4 al-Andalus	2 al-Andalus
	1 Baalbek	
2 Baghdad + 1 shared with Aleppo + 1 shared with Egypt and Jerusalem		
9 Damascus + 2 shared with Egypt 1 shared with Mecca 1 shared with Egypt, Jerusalem, Wāsiṭ, and Yemen	21 Damascus + 2 shared with Jerusalem 1 shared with Egypt	1 Damascus + 1 shared with Mecca
3 Egypt + 2 shared with Damascus 2 shared with Mecca 1 shared with Baghdad and Jerusalem 1 shared with Damascus, Wāsiṭ, and Yemen	10 Egypt + 1 shared with Damascus 1 shared with Jerusalem 1 shared with Karak 1 shared with Mecca	3 Egypt + 1 shared with Mecca
1 Fes		
1 Jerusalem + 1 shared with Baghdad, Damascus, and Egypt	1 Jerusalem 2 shared with Damascus 1 shared with Egypt	
	1 shared with Egypt	
2 shared with Egypt 1 shared with Damascus	1 Mecca + 1 shared with Egypt	2 Mecca + 1 shared with Damascus 1 shared with Egypt
	2 North Africa	1 North Africa
1 shared with Damascus, Egypt, and Yemen		
1 Yemen 1 shared with Damascus, Egypt, and Wāsiṭ		

the upper boundary of each generation well into the lifetime of the next generation. At the same time, some low *isnād*s, such as the suspect chain ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Khushanī (b. 447/1055–1056, d. 520/1126 or 526/1131–1132) → his father, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khushanī (d. 494/1101) → ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan al-Hawzanī (392–460/1002–1068), shift the beginning of a *ṭabaqa* as far back as to coincide with the beginning of the preceding one. As units of time, these long-duration *ṭabaqāt* reflect the sacred chronology of the Muslim traditionists. What mattered to them was only the closeness from the hallowed figure of the Prophet measured by the number of intervening generations of reporters about his words and deeds.

2 The Transmission through Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Qalānisī

Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qalānisī's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* became known exclusively in al-Andalus.[491] Our biographical sources are silent about the chronology of his life, the places of his birth and scholarly activity, and the names of his *shaykh*s. Taking Muslim's earliest possible death date as a point of departure, we may posit that al-Qalānisī was born before 259/872–873. Since high *isnād*s in which small children report from senile *shaykh*s were not as widespread in the third/ninth century as they were to become in the fourth/tenth century onward, we may further surmise that al-Qalānisī was born at least fifteen years before Muslim's death; that is, around 245/859. To meet Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ashqar (b. ca. 275/888–889? d. 359/970), the next higher transmitter of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Qalānisī must have lived into the 290s/902–913. Insofar as both Muslim and Aḥmad al-Ashqar were active in Naysābūr, al-Qalānisī would have been of Naysābūri extraction, or, at the very least, would have spent a considerable part of his scholarly life in that city. His *nisba*, al-Qalānisī, a relative adjective of *qalansuwa* (cloth cap),[492] suggests that he earned his living as a maker or seller of cloth caps.

Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Shāfiʿī al-Ashqar (Naysābūr; b. ca. 275/888–889, d. 359/970) is slightly better known than al-Qalānisī.[493] Al-Ashqar's date of birth is not recorded, but from the death date of his oldest known *shaykh*, Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Sawwār al-Naysābūrī (d. 288/901), one may estimate al-Ashqar's birth date around 273/886–887. Shāfiʿī in law, al-Ashqar was a renowned speculative theologian (*shaykh ahl al-kalām*) in Naysābūr. His opinions on particular issues of theology, about which we know nothing, and his rationalistic methodology in general, may have been the reason for the narrow spread of his transmission. Many Partisans of Tradition, who shied away from theological deliberations, would have eschewed al-Ashqar's transmissions as ideologically unacceptable.

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[491] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 109–110.

[492] For the translation of the *nisba* al-Qalānisī, see Cohen, "Economic background" 56.

[493] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f38a; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* v, 190; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 109; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxvi, 189–190.

Al-Ashqar passed Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* on to a single transmitter, Abū l-ʿAlāʾ ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Māhān (d. 387/997). Known by the *nisbas* al-Fārisī and al-Baghdādī, Ibn Māhān may have been a Persian who moved to Baghdad or an offspring of Persian parent(s) who lived in Baghdad. As a merchant and scholar,[494] he traveled to Khurāsān, Iraq, Syria, as well as to Egypt, where he spent the last years of his life.[495] During his travels, he collected and transmitted compendia with legal, biographical, and historical traditions. Ibn ʿAsākir had seen Ibn Māhān's transcript of the presently lost *Tārīkh al-Yaman* by ʿUbayd b. Muḥammad al-Kashwarī (Ṣanʿāʾ; d. 288/901).[496]

Ibn Māhān transmitted Muslim's collection in Egypt,[497] but the chronology of this event is opaque. Citing an unpublished manuscript of al-Qalānisī's transmission, whose present whereabouts are unknown, the editor of al-Māzarī's *al-Muʿlim bi-fawāʾid Muslim*, Muḥammad al-Shādhilī al-Nayfar (1911–1997), states that Ibn Māhān heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Ashqar in Naysābūr in 353/964–965.[498] Ibn Bashkuwāl (Cordoba; 494–578/1101–1183) reports that Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥadhdhāʾ, who played a major role in the transmission of al-Qalānisī's version in al-Andalus, heard it from Ibn Māhān in Egypt in the year 372/982–983.[499] This year may therefore be considered the *terminus ante quem* for the onset of Ibn Māhān's Egyptian transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and it aligns with al-Nayfar's citation. On the other hand, the above years seem to contradict data in Ibn al-Najjār's (Baghdad; 578–643/1183–1245) biographical entry on Ibn Māhān. Ibn al-Najjār lists the centers of learning that Ibn Māhān entered in pursuit of knowledge, to wit, Damascus, Antioch, and Jerusalem in Syria, Tinnīs in Egypt, Basra in Iraq, and Naysābūr in Iran.

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[494] That Ibn Māhān was a merchant is indicated by Abū Nuʿaym's statement that he visited Isfahan for commerce (*mutājara*) after the year 370/980–981; *Tārīkh* ii, 99, no. 1209.

[495] Ibn al-Najjār, *Dhayl* xvi, 222–223.

[496] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* xi, 18; xxxviii, 436; xlix, 5; lix, 419, and especially xl, 125.

[497] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxvii, 160; idem, *Siyar* xvi, 536.

[498] Al-Māzarī, *Muʿlim* i, 180.

[499] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 479, no. 1103.

Immediately thereafter, Ibn al-Najjār states that in Ramaḍān 385/September–October 995 Ibn Māhān visited Isfahan, where he transmitted traditions on the authority of *shaykh*s from various cities, including Naysābūr.[500] Then, Ibn al-Najjār goes on, Ibn Māhān settled in Egypt until his death two years later, and he transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Aḥmad al-Ashqar. The order of events in Ibn al-Najjār's narration implies that it was shortly before Ibn Māhān's final settlement in Egypt that he visited Iran in 385/995, where he supposedly discovered al-Ashqar's *riwāya* of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. If so, direct contact between Ibn Māhān and al-Ashqar, who had died twenty-six years earlier, must be excluded.

Conceivably, Ibn Māhān received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from an undisclosed intermediary, or, alternatively, during his sojourn in Naysābūr he came across a written record of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Both possibilities find some support in the terminology by which later transmitters and biographers describe the manner of communication between Ibn Māhān and al-Ashqar. According to al-Jayyānī, Ibn ʿAṭiyya, and Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, Ibn Māhān stated, *ḥaddatha-nā al-Ashqar* (al-Ashqar told us).[501] In this case, the plural accusative pronoun *-nā* refers to a group of auditors, and possibly to the indirect reception of the work if an *ijāza* was involved or if the multiple auditors were successive, not contemporary.[502] Indirect transmission is suggested by Ibn ʿAṭiyya's use only of the preposition *ʿan* (from) to describe the communication between Ibn Māhān and al-Ashqar.[503] When deployed on its own, this preposition signals uncertainty about the way someone received a *ḥadīth* from his alleged source, including a possible obfuscation of transmission (*tadlīs*). Furthermore, Ibn Māhān's biographers describe his transmission on the authority al-Ashqar in Egypt with expressions such as "narrated from" (*rawā ʿan*) or "told from" (*ḥaddatha ʿan*), to the exclusion of "heard from" (*samiʿa ʿan*), which would signal a direct audition from al-Ashqar. One must bear in mind that Ibn al-Najjār, Ibn Bashkuwāl, al-Dhahabī, Ibn al-ʿImād, and other compilers of biographical dictionaries deployed transmission-related terminology with fastidious care for semantic nuances. Equivocal expressions like "related from" imply hesitation about the way Ibn Māhān received al-Ashqar's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

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[500] Ibn al-Najjār, *Dhayl* xvi, 223.

[501] Al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd* i, 65–66; Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Fihris* 122; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 138.

[502] About this possibility, see the examples in al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* ii, 245–264. *Ḥaddatha-nā* might be used in cases of *ijāza*, and it did not guarantee that the transmitter heard the tradition from his alleged informant; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb* ii, 6. Some traditionists did not distinguish between *ḥaddatha-nā* and *ḥaddatha-nī*; al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* ii, 234–239.

[503] Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Fihris* 85, 130.

Interestingly, the Egyptian authority ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Saʿīd al-Azdī (b. 332–333/943–945, d. 409/1018), who must have witnessed the transmission of Ibn Māhān's version in Egypt, is recorded only to "have seen [the collection of] Muslim in Ibn Māhān's copy."[504] He criticized Ibn Māhān for using the wrong name in one of the *isnād*s[505] while following an arrangement, which, at least once, differed from al-Julūdī's arrangement.[506] ʿAbd al-Ghanī is not documented to have heard Ibn Māhān transmit the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, nor is he known as a transmitter on Ibn Māhān's authority.[507] The absence of witnesses to a meeting between ʿAbd al-Ghanī and Ibn Māhān reinforces the hypothesis that Ibn Māhān introduced his copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Egypt shortly before his death and suggests that it gained currency only afterward. ʿAbd al-Ghanī's criticism of Ibn Māhān, in which he treats al-Julūdī's copy as the superior specimen, indicates that at the time of its introduction Ibn Māhān's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was looked upon as an innovation.

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥadhdhāʾ alleged to have heard "trustworthy Egyptians" saying that, writing from Baghdad, al-Dāraquṭnī (Baghdad; 306–385/918–995) highly recommended to scholars in Egypt Ibn Māhān's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[508] Ibn al-Ḥadhdhāʾ would have hardly cited such an authoritative endorsement of Ibn Māhān's status if he were introducing in al-Andalus an established transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. More likely, he was mustering support for a recently discovered transmission in need of expert approval, in the form of al-Dāraquṭnī unsolicited recommendation of Ibn Māhān to his Egyptian colleagues. Despite al-Dāraquṭnī's acclaim of Ibn Māhān, no Egyptian scholar adopted his transmission. Moreover, Ibn Māhān did not attract the biographers' attention before two centuries had elapsed after his death. To the best of my knowledge, Ibn al-Najjār's follow-up to al-Khaṭīb al Baghdadi's *Tārīkh Baghdād* is the earliest biographical collection to include an entry about Ibn Māhān. Strikingly, al-Khaṭīb, who was born only five years after Ibn Māhān's death, does not list him in his exhaustive catalog of Baghdadi *ḥadīth* transmitters. To sum up, Ibn Māhān is a little-known Baghdadi traditionist who discovered Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Iran and transmitted it in Egypt. Although an Egyptian phenomenon, his transmission left no traces in Egypt and spread only in Muslim Spain.

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[504] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Muqaddima* 264.

[505] Ibn Māhān cited Muslim → Ibn Abī l-Wazīr instead of Muslim → Ismāʿīl b. Abī Uways, although Muslim does not transmit on the authority of the former; ʿIyāḍ b. Musa, *Mashāriq* i, 68.

[506] In ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2130 (127)–2130 (…) = Taʾṣīl, no. 2186–2186.1, Ibn Māhān wrongly put 2130 (…) = 2186.1 before 2130 (127) = 2186.1; ʿIyāḍ b. Musa, *Mashāriq* ii, 377.

[507] In his surviving *al-Awhām allatī fī Madkhal al-Ḥākim* (67–68, 88, 140), ʿAbd al-Ghanī uses the *isnād* ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. al-Ward (Egypt; d. 351/962) → ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Khaffāf (Naysābūr → Egypt; d. 294/907) → Muslim.

[508] Al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd* i, 66; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 139; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 110; Ibn al-Najjār, *Dhayl* xvi, 223–224.

Ibn Māhān's transmission had three missing parts at its end. In the present edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, these omissions extend from ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2770 (56) = Taʾṣīl, no. 2872 to the collection's end, that is, ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 3033 = Taʾṣīl, no. 3145.[509] Instead of al-Ashqar, Ibn Māhān reported these parts on the authority of al-Julūdī. How he received the text from al-Julūdī is unknown.

Because of the role that Ibn Māhān played in the discovery and transmission of al-Qalānisī's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim traditionists usually identify it by the name of Ibn Māhān, not al-Qalānisī.[510] For this reason, I take Ibn Māhān as a point of departure for the following count of the generations of transmitters of al-Qalānisī's version.

2.1 *The First Generation of Transmitters after Ibn Māhān*

1. Aḥmad b. Fatḥ b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, Abū l-Qāsim al-Maʿāfirī, also known as Ibn al-Rassān (Cordoba; b. 319/931–932, d. 403/1012).[511] Ibn al-Rassān was a merchant, who died hiding from his creditors.
2. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Tamīmī, also known as Ibn al-Ḥadhdhāʾ (Cordoba; 347–416/958–1025). According to Ibn Bashkuwāl, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā heard Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn Māhān in Egypt in 372/982–983.[512] This chronology is questionable insofar as Ibn Māhān apparently began to transmit the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Egypt only in 385/995–996;[513] hence, Ibn al-Ḥadhdhāʾ either met Ibn Māhān later, towards the very end of his life, or received Ibn Māhān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* through an intermediary. The latter possibility finds support in al-Jayyānī's statement that Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā possessed an original record (*aṣl*) that "he had copied from Abū l-ʿAlāʾ b. Māhān's book."[514] This description, which does not refer to an audition, suggests that Ibn al-Ḥadhdhāʾ never met Ibn Māhān or that he met him briefly to read over to him a record of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and receive an *ijāza* for its further transmission. Uncertainty and eagerness to endorse Ibn Māhān's transmission found expression in Ibn

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[509] Al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd* i, 66; Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Fihris* 84–85; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 109.

[510] See, for instance, Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Fihris* 122; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 138.

[511] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 31, no. 43; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxviii, 74–75.

[512] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 479, no. 1103.

[513] See pp. 323–326 above.

[514] Al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd* i, 65.

al-Ḥadhdhā'’s unusual report in which the Baghdadi al-Dāraquṭnī enthusiastically recommends Ibn Māhān to the Egyptian scholars.[515]

3. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Lakhmī al-Bājī, Ibn Sharīʿa (Seville; 356–433/967–1041).[516] Ibn Sharīʿa was a prominent Māliki jurisprudent and a representative of an influential scholarly family in Seville. Although his biographers do not record his transmission of Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*, he is the point of convergence of four *isnād*s carrying this work (see Appendix 1, Diagram 11). The *isnād*s of Ibn ʿAṭiyya and Ibn Khayr[517] indicate that Muḥammad b. Aḥmad and his father, Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (b. 332/943–944, d. 396/1005), heard Ibn Māhān reading the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Egypt at an unspecified date.

   If known, the date of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad’s sojourn in Egypt could help us answer the question of when Ibn Māhān transmitted al-Qalānisī’s version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* for the first time. Unfortunately, the biographies of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad and his father are unforthcoming with relevant information. Ibn Bashkuwāl only states that Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh, the father, “had been late to travel” (*raḥala muta'akhkhir*^{an}),[518] which may be interpreted in many ways, including that he and his son met Ibn Māhān shortly before his death when, as suggested by Ibn al-Najjār, he began to transmit the *Ṣaḥīḥ* for the first time.

4. Al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, Abū l-Ḥakam al-Kinānī al-Ḥijārī (Guadalajara; b. 340/951–952, d. 423/1031–1032)[519] appears only once, in Ibn ʿAṭiyya’s *isnād* on the authority of Ibn Buryāl → al-Mundhir.[520] Neither Ibn Bashkuwāl nor al-Dhahabī mention al-Mundhir as a transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ibn Bashkuwāl documented al-Mundhir’s visit to Egypt at an unknown date[521] but not his meeting with Ibn Māhān.

5. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, Abū Zakariyyā' al-Ashʿarī, also known as Ibn al-Jayyānī (Cordoba; d. 390/1000)[522] heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn Māhān

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[515] See p. 325 above.

[516] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Tartīb* viii, 46; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 495, no. 1144; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya* i, 72, no. 15; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxix, 387–388.

[517] Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Fihris* 122; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 138.

[518] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 17, no. 15.

[519] Ibid. ii, 590, no. 1373; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, xxix, 117–118.

[520] Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Fihris* 130.

[521] Ibn Bashkuwāl (*Ṣila* ii, 590, no. 1373) reports that al-Mundhir began his scholarly career early (*qadīm al-ṭalab lil-ʿilm*), without specifying if this statement applies to his travel to the East.

[522] Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Tārīkh* ii, 195, no. 1603; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxvii, 208–209.

in Egypt, at an unspecified time. Ibn al-Faraḍī places Egypt at the end of his list of the destinations of Ibn al-Jayyānī's scholarly travel, which, if following a chronological order, may signal that Ibn al-Jayyānī met with Ibn Māhān towards the end of the latter's life. Strikingly, Ibn al-Jayyānī died only three years after Ibn Māhān, which strongly suggests that the two men belonged to the same generation. In order to transmit from a contemporary, Ibn al-Jayyānī should have regarded Ibn Māhān's chain through al-Qalānisī as an unparalleled and thitherto unknown path of transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

2.2 *The Second Generation of Transmitters after Ibn Māhān*

2.2.1 The Cluster on the Authority of Ibn al-Rassān Aḥmad b. Fatḥ al-Maʿāfirī

a. ʿAbdallāh b. Yūsuf b. Nāmī b. Yūsuf, Abū Muḥammad (Cordoba; b. 348/959–960, d. 435/1044).[523] ʿAbdallāh's *isnād* through Ibn Māhān is amply cited in the works of Ibn Ḥazm. Towards the end of his life, Ibn Nāmī became muddle-headed (*ikhṭalata*).[524]

b. Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb b. Muḥsin, Abū ʿAbdallāh (Cordoba; 383–462/994–1069) was a prominent jurist and *ḥadīth* transmitter in Cordoba.[525] His biographers do not document either his transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* or his audition from his alleged informant Ibn al-Rassān. Our only witness to these aspects of Muḥammad's scholarly activity is Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī's *isnād*.[526]

c. Yūsuf b. ʿAbdallāh, Abū ʿUmar, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (Cordoba; 368–463/978–1070), the famous Māliki traditionist and jurisprudent. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of two first-generation transmitters, Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf and Ibn al-Rassān.

2.2.2 The Cluster on the Authority of Ibn Sharīʿa Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bājī

a. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Abū l-Aṣbagh/Abū Muḥammad al-Bājī (Seville) was Ibn Sharīʿa's nephew.[527] His dates of birth and death are unknown.

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[523] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 262, no. 594.

[524] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxix, 419.

[525] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Tartīb* viii, 131–134; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 515–517, no. 1194; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxi, 74–76; idem, *Siyar* xviii, 328–330.

[526] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 139.

[527] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* iii, 89, no. 217.

b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Abū Muḥammad al-Bājī (Seville; d. 478/1085–1086) was Ibn Sharīʿa's grandson.[528]

c. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Abū ʿUmar al-Bājī (Seville) was Ibn Sharīʿa's nephew.[529] His dates of birth and death are unknown.

d. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Bājī (Seville) was Ibn Sharīʿa's nephew.[530] Nothing is known about his dates of birth and death.

e. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hawzanī (Seville; 392–460/1002–1068). Al-Hawzanī also transmitted Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. As we have seen, al-Hawzanī's biographers never mention explicitly his transmission of Muslim's collection, and we do not know how and when he met al-Shantajālī, his stated purveyor of Ibn Sufyān's version. The same applies to al-Hawzanī's transmission of Ibn Māhān's version on the authority of Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Bājī. Conceivably, in both cases al-Hawzanī relied on *ijāza*s, which he may have obtained after short meetings with al-Shantajālī and Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Bājī whereby both authorized him to transmit the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on their authority.

To sum up, four out of five *isnād*s on the authority of Ibn Sharīʿa pass through little-known transmitters from his family circle. *Isnād* diagram 11 shows that these lines of transmission were discovered by Ibn Sharīʿa's great-nephew, ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Aḥmad (d. 531/1137), who is therefore the chief guarantor of the authenticity of these attributions. It is to be noted that ʿAbd al-Malik's fondness of jurisprudence exceeded his skill in *ḥadīth* transmission,[531] which may suggest that his *isnād*s, including those on the authority of his relatives, were not at the highest level of reliability. The fifth *isnād* through Ibn Sharīʿa includes the well-known collector ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan al-Hawzanī, who most likely relied on an unacknowledged *ijāza*.

2.2.3 Other Transmissions

a. ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Aṣbagh, Abū Bakr al-Anṣārī, Ibn Buryāl (Guadalajara, Almeria; b. 416/1025–1026, d. 502/1109)[532] was a

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[528] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 275, no. 626; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxii, 225–226.

[529] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* i, 29, no. 72.

[530] Ibid. i, 329, no. 1163.

[531] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 347–348, no. 776.

[532] Ibid. i, 366–367, no. 825; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxv, 62.

muʿammar who transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥijārī.

b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥadhdhāʾ, Abū ʿUmar al-Tamīmī (Cordoba—Saragossa—Almeria—Toledo; 380–467/990–1074)[533] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of his father, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥadhdhāʾ.

2.3 *The Third Generation of Transmitters after Ibn Māhān*

2.3.1 The Cluster on the Authority of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī al-Bājī

a. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Abū Marwān al-Bājī (Seville; b. 447/1055–1056; d. 532/1138).[534] Ibn Bashkuwāl records that he preferred juristic competence (*dirāya*) to *ḥadīth* narration (*riwāya*).[535]

b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jābir b. Ṣāliḥ, Abū ʿUmar al-Azdī (Seville; b. 447/1055–1056, d. 535–536/1140–1142).[536] Cited only by the late collectors Ibn Ḥajar and al-Suyūṭī, Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is not recorded by his biographers. Strikingly, Ibn Bashkuwāl, who is said to have been one of the main transmitters on the authority of Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh, does not have an entry about him in his *Kitāb al-Ṣila*.

2.3.2 The Cluster on the Authority of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥadhdhāʾ

a. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb b. Muḥsin, Abū Muḥammad (Cordoba; b. 433/1041–1042, d. 520/1126).[537] A major collector of traditions, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān received Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* through several channels. His transmission of al-Julūdī's version is on the authority of al-Shantajālī, Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, and Ḥātim b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī. Ibn ʿAttāb transmitted Ibn Māhān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of his father, Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb, and Aḥmad b. al-Ḥadhdhāʾ. Ibn ʿAttāb's transmission passed on to al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ and Ibn Khayr by way of *ijāza*.[538]

b. Al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, Abū ʿAlī al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī (Cordoba; 427–498/1035–1105). Like ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan al-Hawzanī and Ibn ʿAttāb, Abū ʿAlī al-Ghassānī had an access to the versions of both Ibn

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[533] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 65–66, no. 133; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxi, 219–220.
[534] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 283–284.
[535] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 347–348, no. 776.
[536] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* i, 45–46, no. 131; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 401–402.
[537] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 332–333, no. 747.
[538] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Mashāriq* i, 11; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 139.

Sufyān and Ibn Māhān. In the Ibn Māhān cluster, he transmits the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥadhdhāʾ and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr.

2.3.3 The Cluster on the Authority of ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan al-Hawzanī

a. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad, Abū Jaʿfar al-Khushanī (Murcia; d. 494/1101).[539] Ibn Bashkuwāl records Abū Jaʿfar al-Khushanī's audition from ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan al-Hawzanī but does not specify the works that he received from him. From al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's *isnād*, we learn that Abū Jaʿfar al-Khushanī transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Hawzanī to al-Khushanī's son, ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad, who passed it on to al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ. Except for al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, no other transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* uses this *isnād*, the reason for which may be its lowness compared with the *isnād* on the authority of al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar al-Hawzanī.

b. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar, Abū l-Qāsim al-Hawzanī (Seville; b. 435/1043–1044, d. 512/1119)[540] is ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan al-Hawzanī's son.

2.3.4 Other Transmissions

a. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Abī Bakr Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghālib b. ʿAṭiyya, Abū Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī (Almeria; b. 481/1088–1089, d. 541–542/1146–1148 or 546/1151–1152). Thanks to the high *isnād* Ibn Buryāl (d. 502/1109) → al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥijārī (d. 433/1041–1042), Ibn ʿAṭiyya is a third-generation transmitter with respect to Ibn Māhān (d. 387/997). Ibn ʿAṭiyya boasted that in this manner he equaled (*sāwā*) his teacher Abū ʿAlī al-Ghassānī, who is a third-generation transmitter when citing Abū ʿUmar b. al-Ḥadhdhāʾ → his father → Ibn Māhān.[541]

b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥazm (Cordoba; 384–456/994–1064). Ibn Ḥazm transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Ibn Nāmī.

2.4 *The Fourth Generation of Transmitters after Ibn Māhān*

2.4.1 The cluster on the authority of al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Jayyānī

a. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Abī Bakr Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghālib b. ʿAṭiyya, Abū Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī.

b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Abū Bakr al-Lakhmī (Cordoba; d. 536/1142).[542] Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik's transmission is documented by al-Ḥajrī.[543]

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[539] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ghunya* 154; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 533, no. 1236.

[540] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 137–138, no. 318; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxv, 332.

[541] Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Fihris* 130.

[542] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 555–556; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 424.

[543] Robson, "Transmission" 57.

c. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṭāhir, Abū Bakr al-Qaysī (Seville; b. 449/1057–1058; d. 542/1147).[544] Apart from the Ibn Māhān cluster, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad is found in the fifth generation of transmitters of Ibn Sufyān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

d. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad, Abū ʿAbdallāh Ibn Iḥdā ʿAshra (Almeria; b. 456/1063–1064, d. 532/1138).[545] A Ẓāhiri *ḥadīth* transmitter and jurisprudent, Ibn Iḥdā ʿAshra was known for his piety and solemn temper. Ibn Iḥdā ʿAshra compiled a book in which he combined the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. His transmission of Ibn Māhān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is documented by al-Ḥajrī.[546]

e. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Ḥusayn, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Tamīmī (al-Andalus; b. 428–429/1036–1038, d. 7 Jumādā i 505/11 November 1111).[547] Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā transmitted the versions of both Ibn Sufyān and Ibn Māhān.

2.4.2 The Cluster on the Authority of Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jābir al-Azdī

a. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. Dhī l-Nūn, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥajrī al-Mālikī (Almeria—Murcia—Ceuta; 505–591/1112–1195).[548] Al-Ḥajrī was a native of Almeria, but upon the fall of the city to the crusaders in 542/1147, he immigrated to Murcia, from where he moved to Malaga and Fes and eventually settled in Ceuta. A paragon of piety and righteousness, al-Ḥajrī is associated with miracles (*karāmāt*). Al-Ḥajrī's biographers remember his transmission of Ibn Sufyān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Zughayba (Almeria; b. 450/1058–1059, d. 528/1134).[549] Regarding Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Azdī, al-Ḥajrī's informant in the cluster through Ibn Māhān, Ibn al-Abbār reports, "he (scil. al-Ḥajrī) met in Seville […] Abū ʿUmar b. Ṣāliḥ (scil. al-Azdī)" and goes on to state that the former transmitted a lot on the latter's authority, without specifically mentioning the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ibn al-Abbār recalls that he read over the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to al-Ḥajrī in six days, while al-Dhahabī records the names of two other scholars who completed the same task in seven days.[550]

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[544] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 557–558, no. 1296; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 117.

[545] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 551, no. 1280; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya* i, 88, no. 87; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 292–293.

[546] Robson, "Transmission" 57.

[547] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ghunya* 27–29; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 572, no. 1327; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxv, 113; idem, *Siyar* xix, 266.

[548] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* ii, 278–281, no. 809; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlii, 64–67.

[549] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 549, no. 1275; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvi, 170–171; xlii, 64.

[550] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xxi, 253. Ibn al-Abbār's statement is not part of the extant text of the *Takmila*.

b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Ḥurayth b. ʿĀṣim b. Maḍāʾ, Abū Jaʿfar/Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Lakhmī (Cordoba—Marrakesh; 511–592/1118–1196).[551] Al-Marrākushī lists Abū ʿUmar Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Azdī among the *shaykh*s on whose authority Ibn Maḍāʾ transmitted by *ijāza*.[552] According to al-Suyūṭī, Ibn Maḍāʾ read the entire *Ṣaḥīḥ* to al-Azdī,[553] whereupon he was conceivably authorized to transmit it on the authority of that *shaykh*. Ibn Maḍāʾ is known to have issued blanket *ijāza*s covering all his transmissions as well as *ijāza*s to a wide audience of auditors to transmit a specific work of his.[554]

2.4.3 Other Transmissions

a. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Abī Bakr Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghālib b. ʿAṭiyya, Abū Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī. When transmitting on the authority of al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar al-Hawzanī → his father → Ibn Sharīʿa → Ibn Māhān, Ibn ʿAṭiyya is a fourth-generation transmitter on the authority of Ibn Māhān.

b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Khushanī al-Mursī, Abū Muḥammad (Murcia; b. 447/1055–1056, d. 520/1126 or 526/1131–1132). His strikingly low *isnād* on the authority of his father, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Khushanī → ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan al-Hawzanī came to our attention in the sixth generation of transmitters on the authority of Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān. Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ read over to al-Khushanī Ibn Māhān's entire transmission in Murcia in 508/1114–1115.[555]

2.5 *The Fifth Generation of Transmitters after Ibn Māhān*

Apart from al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, Ibn ʿAṭiyya, Ibn Khayr, and al-Ḥajrī, who are well known, the fifth generation of transmitters after Ibn Māhān includes two traditionists.

a. Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥawṭ Allāh, Abū Sulaymān al-Anṣārī al-Undī (Onda → Malaga; b. 552/1157–1158, d. 621/1224).[556]

b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Mūsā b. Yūsuf b. Masdī, Abū Bakr al-Azdī al-Muhallabī (Granada → Mecca; b. 598/1201–1202, d. 663/1265).[557] Ibn Masdī is accused of obfuscating *ijāza*s (*kāna yudallisu l-ijāza*).[558] His transmission of Ibn Māhān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* reached Ibn Ḥajar and al-Suyūṭī.[559] Ibn Masdī cites Aḥmad b. Maḍā' as his informant with this version, but there are reasons to suspect the accuracy of this attribution. Ibn Maḍā' is never listed among Ibn Masdī's *shaykh*s, while Ibn Masdī is known to have received traditions from Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Ḥawṭ Allāh (see above). Conceivably, Ibn Masdī took Ibn Māhān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn Ḥawṭ Allāh and presented it as his own transmission on the authority of the older Ibn Maḍā' thereby attaining a high *isnād* to Ibn Māhān. To that end, Ibn Masdī would have taken advantage of Ibn Maḍā''s blanket *ijāza*s.

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[551] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* i, 79–80, no. 234; al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa-l-takmila* ii, 395–404, no. 291; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlii, 82–83.

[552] Al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa-l-takmila* i, 397.

[553] Al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 72.

[554] Al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa-l-takmila* i, 399.

[555] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Mashāriq* i, 10–11.

[556] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlv, 58–59.

[557] Ibid. xlix, 156–158; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* i, 482–484, no. 568.

2.6 *Truncated Transmissions in the Cluster through Ibn Māhān*

1. ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Khuzayma al-Shāfiʿī al-Karābīsī, Abū l-Ḥasan (Naysābūr? b. ca. 350/961–962, d. ?). ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Ḥusayn occupies a unique position as the only transmitter, apart from Ibn Māhān, who is said to have heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū Bakr al-Ashqar.[560] ʿAbd al-Malik's only biographer, al-Ṣarīfīnī, describes him as "known and trustworthy," but this assessment is virtually all that al-Ṣarīfīnī is able to tell us about ʿAbd al-Malik, who flourished more than 150 years before his birth. ʿAbd al-Malik's *nisba* indicates that he was Shāfiʿī in law; he is further described as *al-wakīl*, which, in this case, would point to the lawyer's occupation.[561] From the death dates of his *shaykh*s, Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Salīṭī (d. 364/974), Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Sarrāj (d. 366/976), and Bishr b. Aḥmad al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 370/981), it may be estimated that ʿAbd al-Malik was born around the year 350/961–962. His only student recorded by al-Ṣarīfīnī is one Abū l-Qāsim b. Abī Muḥammad al-Qurashī, who may be the ʿAlīd Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (Naysābūr; d. 488/1095).[562] Assuming that Zayd b. al-Ḥasan heard from ʿAbd al-Malik al-Karābīsī at the beginning of his scholarly career, that is, at the age of twelve, and lived seventy-five years thereafter, we may set 425/1033–1034 as the tentative *terminus post quem* for al-Karābīsī's death.

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[558] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlix, 157.
[559] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 29; al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 72.
[560] Al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 329, no. 1080.
[561] Cohen, "Economic background" 34, 61.
[562] Al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 229, no. 722.

Taking into account al-Karābīsī's belonging to the Shāfiʿī school, one is tempted to relate him to the Baghdadi Shāfiʿī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Yazīd al-Karābīsī, who may have been among those whom Muslim oppugned at the Introduction's end. This hypothesis, however, is not borne out by the onomastic evidence: ʿAbd al-Malik's name includes "b. Khuzayma" where one expects "b. Yazīd."

If my hypothesis about ʿAbd al-Malik's birthdate is correct, he would have heard from al-Ashqar at an age not exceeding nine lunar years. Such an early age of audition, strongly suggests that ʿAbd al-Malik possessed a written copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* with a license to transmit it on the authority of al-Ashqar, which he may have issued after several sessions of formal attendance by ʿAbd al-Malik in the company of his father or a servant, or without his presence altogether. Surprisingly, ʿAbd al-Malik's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* did not survive in later transmissions. One wonders if during his visit to Naysābūr Ibn Māhān met with ʿAbd al-Malik, who was his younger contemporary.

2. Aḥmad b. Masʿūd b. Mufrij b. Ṣanʿūn b. Sufyān, Abū ʿAmr (al-Andalus [Shilb]; b. 400/1009–1010, d. 478/1085–1086) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Bājī (see below).[563]
3. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Abū l-ʿAbbās (?). According to Ibn al-Abbār, he was the son of Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Khawlānī (Seville; d. ca. 500/1106–1107) and read over the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to his father in Rabīʿ ii, 494/February–March, 1101.[564] This chronological specification is unusual. As Muḥammad b. Khalaf's son, Aḥmad had constant access to his father and could read over the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to him on more than a single occasion. Since Aḥmad's reading took place only a few years before Muḥammad b. Khalaf's death, the chronology here highlights the highness of Aḥmad's *isnād*. Such statements, however, are characteristic of the biographies of scholars who are not their teachers' relatives but met them once towards the end of their life and lived many decades thereafter reaping the benefits of the high transmission. Al-Dhahabī may have had doubts about Abū l-ʿAbbās's affiliation with al-Khawlānī: For what it is worth, when citing Ibn al-Abbār's biographical report he left out exactly the mention of Abū l-ʿAbbās as al-Khawlānī's son.[565]

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[563] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 70, no. 142.

[564] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* i, 328, no. 1161.

[565] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxiv, 351.

4. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. Sharīʿa, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Lakhmī al-Bājī (Seville; 393–462/1003–1070)[566] transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Aḥmad b. Masʿūd b. Mufrij.[567] ʿAlī's biographers do not identify his source, which should have been his father, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bājī, who is known as a transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Ibn Māhān.
5. Jābir b. Muḥammad b. Jābir al-Ḥaḍramī (Seville; d. after 464/1072) transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Manẓūr → Ibn Māhān.[568] Jābir's death date is unknown, but Ibn Manẓūr's death date in 464/1072 sets a tentative *terminus post quem*.
6. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Manẓūr, Abū Bakr/Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Qaysī (Seville; d. 464/1072). We already met Ibn Manẓūr as a transmitter on the authority of al-Shantajālī in the group of truncated transmissions through Ibn Sufyān. From Ibn al-Abbār's biographical note about Jābir al-Ḥaḍramī (see above), we learn that Ibn Manẓūr transmitted Ibn Māhān's version as well. Ibn Manẓūr's source is presently unknown.
7. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Qāsim al-Khawlānī, Abū ʿAbdallāh (Seville; d. ca. 500/1106–1107) transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to his son, Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. Al-Khawlānī's biographers do not identify his informant, but he may have received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū ʿAlī al-Jayyānī or Ibn Ḥazm, both of whom are mentioned among his *shaykh*s.[569] Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), who died about half a century before al-Khawlānī fares better as his possible informant than does al-Jayyānī, who was al-Khawlānī's contemporary. Even if possible, Muslim traditionists seldom transmitted on the authority of contemporaries and gave precedence to high *isnād*s from the type al-Khawlānī → Ibn Ḥazm. In either case, al-Khawlānī is more likely to have transmitted Ibn Māhān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*: Whereas al-Jayyānī transmitted both Ibn Sufyān's and Ibn Māhān's versions, Ibn Ḥazm is associated exclusively with the latter.
8. Ṣafwān b. Idrīs, Abū Baḥr al-Tujībī (Murcia; b. 560/1164–1165, d. 598/1202). A gifted poet and litterateur, Ṣafwān received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maḍāʾ, a fourth-generation transmitter in the cluster through Ibn Māhān.[570] Ṣafwān b. Idrīs also transmitted on the authority of ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥajrī, one of the main transmitters of Ibn

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[566] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* ii, 397, no. 893; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxx, 69–70.
[567] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 70, no. 142.
[568] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* i, 198, no. 651.
[569] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* i, 328, no. 1161; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxiv, 350–351.
[570] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* ii, 224, no. 624; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlii, 349.

Māhān's version.[571] Although not mentioned explicitly, al-Ḥajrī may have been another channel through which this version reached Ṣafwān.

9. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. al-Jumayyil, Abū l-Faḍl/Abū l-Khaṭṭāb al-Kalbī, also known as Ibn Diḥya (Ceuta → Egypt; b. 544–548/1149–1154; d. 633/1235). In the cluster of truncated transmissions on the authority of Ibn Sufyān, we noted Ibn Diḥya's transmission through Manṣūr al-Furāwī. According to al-Dhahabī, Ibn Diḥya also heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Aḥmad b. Maḍāʾ → Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jābir al-Azdī.[572] Al-Dhahabī does not specify whose version Ibn Diḥya transmitted, but there may be no doubt regarding this matter: The chain Ibn Maḍāʾ → al-Azdī is found only in the cluster of transmissions on the authority of Ibn Māhān.
10. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Wājib, Abū Ḥafṣ (Valencia; d. 476/1083–1084) heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥadhdhāʾ, who is one of the important transmitters on the authority of Ibn Māhān.[573]

2.7 *Summary. Ibn Māhān's Transmission—an Andalusian Phenomenon*

Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Qalānisī's narration of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* remained confined to Naysābūr in the first two generations following Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj. Discontinuity and obfuscation in the earliest tiers of this narration's chain should not be discarded lightly. Unlike Ibn Sufyān's narration, which was preserved in at least two ascertainable branches in the first generation and five branches in the second generation after Ibn Sufyān, al-Qalānisī's narration reached posterity through a single little-known transmitter, Aḥmad al-Ashqar. In 385/995, Ibn Māhān began to disseminate in Egypt al-Ashqar's version, which he likely got in Naysābūr shortly before that from an unknown source. A faint hint in that source's direction is al-Ṣarīfīnī's mention of the Shāfiʿī lawyer ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Ḥusayn al-Karābīsī, an obscure student of al-Ashqar who received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from him and was conceivably transmitting it at the time of Ibn Māhān's sojourn in Naysābūr. Whether the two men came together and al-Karābīsī passed on al-Ashqar's version to Ibn Māhān by way of audition or *ʿarḍ*, or handed it down to him as a manuscript, is a question that our extant sources do not answer.

The earliest circulation of al-Qalānisī's version is associated with a Shāfiʿī circle: al-Ashqar and ʿAbd al-Malik al-Karābīsī were Shāfiʿī lawyers in Naysābūr; Ibn Māhān's legal affiliation is unknown, but his narration's acclaim by the Shāfiʿī al-Dāraquṭnī suggests that he shared the former two's *madhhab*. Ibn

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[571] Al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa-l-takmila* ii, 131, no. 264.

[572] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlii, 83.

[573] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 382, no. 865; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxii, 174.

Māhān's discovery of al-Qalānisī's narration immediately preceded the climax of the Shāfiʿī–Ḥanafi rivalry in Naysābūr, which Bulliet dates to the fifth/eleventh century.[574] The questions of whether the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s surging authority could have had a bearing on that rivalry and whether the same rivalry played a role in limiting the spread of Ibn Māhān's version in the east must be left open.

Although Ibn Māhān transmitted al-Qalānisī's version in Egypt, while al-Dāraquṭnī purportedly urged the Egyptian scholars to embrace it, our sources do not record a single Egyptian (or eastern, for that matter) branch of al-Qalānisī's transmission. Instead of finding reception in Egypt, it made its way to al-Andalus thanks to the efforts of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥadhdhāʾ and a few other scholars from his generation (see Appendix 1, Diagrams 11–12). On Andalusian soil, Ibn Māhān's narration was transmitted in a large number of chains until it reached the major collectors, al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, Ibn ʿAṭiyya, Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, and al-Ḥajrī. After them, it died down owing to the continuous shrinking of Muslim territories in the Iberian Peninsula and the ensuing migration of Andalusian scholars to North Africa.

ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥajrī and Aḥmad b. Maḍāʾ, who settled in Ceuta and Marrakesh respectively, transmitted al-Qalānisī's narration in Morocco. Their successors spread it eastwards in two transmission branches, which eventually reached Egypt, Syria, and Mecca in the eighth/fourteenth century. Before that, the scholars in the eastern Islamic lands had been silent about Ibn Māhān's transmission. A factor that contributed to the eastern indifference to al-Qalānisī's narration may have been the spread of Ibn Sufyān's narration in the east several decades before Ibn Māhān discovered al-Qalānisī's narration in Naysābūr. During the fifth/eleventh century, Andalusian scholarly identity found an expression in the collection and transmission of al-Qalānisī's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. That said, the situation in al-Andalus did not exactly mirror what happened in the east. Andalusian scholars gave Ibn Sufyān's version its due respect and transmitted it profusely just as they transmitted Ibn Māhān's version. Given the great care with which Muslim scholars in the east and the west preserved the transmissions of Muslim and al-Bukhārī, one expects that Egyptian, Syrian, and Iraqi traditionists would cherish Ibn Māhān's version, not least because he was a Baghdadi who spent a good part of his life in Egypt. Since this is not the case, the eastern scholars must have had weighty reasons against Ibn Māhān's transmission, such as the obscurity of al-Qalānisī and al-Ashqar or doubts about the way al-Ashqar's transmission reached Ibn Māhān and his Andalusian acolytes.

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[574] Bulliet, *Patricians* 33.

3 The Transmission through Makkī b. ʿAbdān

Makkī b. ʿAbdān b. Muḥammad b. Bakr b. Muslim b. Rāshid, Abū Ḥātim al-Tamīmī al-Nukrī (Naysābūr; b. 242/856–857, d. 325/937)[575] is scantily attested in the biographical dictionaries. Born in the village of Nukr near Naysābūr,[576] he was a *mawlā* of Banū Tamīm. Makkī received his education in a circle of Naysābūri traditionalists presided by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī.[577] Unlike most of his contemporary scholars, who undertook extensive travels in pursuit of knowledge, Makkī remained in Naysābūr throughout his life.[578] As noted by Abū Yaʿlā al-Khalīlī and al-Suyūṭī, to Makkī we owe the transmission to posterity of Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Naysābūrī's entire oeuvre.[579] Makkī died of apoplexy on 04 Jumādā ii 325/19 April 937.[580]

Just as the transmission through Ibn Māhān remained confined to al-Andalus, so too the transmission through Makkī b. ʿAbdān was preserved only in the eastern parts of the Muslim world. The Andalusian *ḥadīth* expert al-Jayyānī (Cordoba; 427–498/1035–1105) knew about the existence of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's transmission but admitted that no part of it had reached him or his contemporary scholars in al-Andalus.[581] In the east, this transmission was a late discovery. The earliest known transmission on the authority of Makkī citing Muslim is found in al-Rāfiʿī's (555–623/1160–1226) *Tadwīn*, based on the *isnād* Muḥammad b. al-Musrif b. Naṣr b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Qurrāʾī (Qazvin; d. after 530/1135–1136) → Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (d. 482/1089) → ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Masrūr (Naysābūr; b. 358/968–969, d. 448/1057)[582] → al-Jawzaqī → Makkī b. ʿAbdān → Muslim.[583]

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[575] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f36a; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 148–149; Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* ii, 804–805; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxiv, 181–182; idem, *Siyar* xv, 70–71.

[576] Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* v, 303.

[577] For Makkī b. ʿAbdān's teachers, see al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 148; Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* ii, 804. Apart from al-Dhuhlī and Muslim, the group includes ʿAbdallāh b. Hāshim al-Ṭūsī (Naysābūr → Bagdad; d. 259/872), an adherent of *raʾy* who renounced it for the teaching of the Partisans of Tradition (al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xi, 446), Muḥammad b. Munakhkhal (Naysābūr; d. 258/872), who succeeded al-Dhuhlī as the head of the Naysābūri traditionalists and attracted a large audience (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xix, 321), Aḥmad b. Ḥafṣ b. ʿAbdallāh, the *qāḍī* of Naysābūr (d. 258/871–872) (ibid. xix, 41), ʿAmmār b. Rajāʾ (Istarābādh; d. 268/881–882), who authored a *musnad* (al-Sahmī, *Tārīkh* 241, no. 482), and Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Sulamī (Naysābūr; d. 264/877–878).

[578] Al-ʿAkrī, *Shadharāt* iv, 136.

[579] Abū Yaʿlā al-Khalīlī, *Irshād* iii, 836, no. 740; al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 73–74.

[580] Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* v, 303.

[581] Al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd* ii, 764–765.

[582] Al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 368, no. 1219; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxx, 185–186.

[583] Al-Rāfiʿī, *Tadwīn* ii, 24.

The Egyptian polymath Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī was the first to discover Makkī b. ʿAbdān's narration of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, through an exceptionally high *isnād* based exclusively on *ijāza*s.[584] This *isnād* is also cited by al-Suyūṭī.[585] His chain passes through Umm Hānīʾ bt. ʿAlī al-Hūrīnī (Egypt; d. 871/1466) and connects with Ibn Ḥajar's *isnād* at the level of ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nashāwarī (Mecca; b. 701/1301–1302 or 705/1305–1306, d. 790/1388). The twelfth/eighteenth and the first half of the thirteenth/nineteenth centuries witnessed the unearthing of even more *isnād*s through Makkī b. ʿAbdān. Found in the collections of al-Zabīdī (Egypt; 1145–1205/1732–1791),[586] al-Fulānī (Medina; b. 1166/1752–1753, d. 1218/1803),[587] and al-Shawkānī (Ṣanʿāʾ; d. 1250/1834),[588] these *isnād*s connect with Ibn Ḥajar's *isnād* at different levels of transmission while rivaling it in the degree of elevation (see Appendix 1, Diagram 13). Among these collectors, al-Zabīdī has documented the largest number of transmissions, but his collection, *Ghāyat al-ibtihāj*, is untidy and teeming with abstrusely abbreviated names of transmitters scattered all over the text and often heaped together with no regard for chronology and generational order.[589] In the following, I study the *isnād*s on the authority of Makkī b. ʿAbdān.

3.1 *The First Generation of Transmitters after Makkī b. ʿAbdān*

This generation is represented by a single transmitter, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ, Abū Bakr al-Jawzaqī (Naysābūr; b. 306/918–919, d. 388/998). According to al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, al-Jawzaqī began to study *ḥadīth* in 321/933,[590] which leaves only four years for his meeting with Makkī b. ʿAbdān, who died in 325/937. Al-Jawzaqī is often described as a compiler of a *Ṣaḥīḥ* in his own right, which he modeled on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (*ṣannafa l-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ ʿalā kitāb Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj*).[591] This expression may lead one to assume that al-Jawzaqī authored a *mustakhraj* on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. On the other hand, the verb *ṣannafa* suggests that al-Jawzaqī may have compiled an independent work from the *muṣannaf* type, which he divided into sections according to legal topics (e.g., prayer, pilgrimage, marriage, inheritance, etc.). In this case, the expression *ʿalā kitāb Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj* may underscore this work's structural similarity to Muslim's book, not necessarily its dependence on Muslim's traditions.

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[584] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 29.

[585] Al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 73.

[586] Al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 56.

[587] Al-Fulānī, *Qaṭf al-thamar* 46–77.

[588] Al-Shawkānī, *Itḥāf* 169.

[589] The problems with al-Zabīdī's collection are partly due to its unskilled copyist, who often replaces the conjunction *wa-* (and), which signals the beginning of a new *isnād* parallel to the previously cited one, with the preposition *ʿan* (from), which indicates transmission by one traditionist on the authority of another. Thus, two independent lines of transmission assume the appearance of a single line.

[590] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* ii, 119.

[591] Ibid. ii, 119; Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* i, 210; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* v, 303; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxvii, 175; idem, *Siyar* xvi, 493. Brown notes, based on manuscripts of al-Jawzaqī's *al-Jamʿ bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, that al-Jawzaqī starts with his own *isnād* and only then states that Muslim and al-Bukhārī have similar *isnād*s; *Canonization* 218. One wonders if the

3.2 *The Second Generation of Transmitters after Makkī b. ʿAbdān*

1. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, Abū l-Qāsim b. Manda (b. 381–383/991–994, d. 470/1078).[592] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān belongs to a famous family of Isfahani Ḥanbalis who were active in the fields of *ḥadīth* transmission and theology from the beginning of the third/ninth century until the Mongol conquest of Iran in the third decade of the seventh/thirteenth century. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān commenced his study of *ḥadīth* at the age of ten, that is three to five years after al-Jawzaqī's death, which indicates that he relied on an indirect *ijāza* procured for him by a third person.[593] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's biographers do not remember him as a transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Jawzaqī → Makkī b. ʿAbdān. His *riwāya* is inferred only from the much later *isnād*s of Ibn Ḥajar, al-Suyūṭī, al-Zabīdī, and al-Fulānī.[594]
2. ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Masrūr, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Fāmī al-Māwardī al-Zāhid (Naysābūr; b. 358/968–969, d. 448/1057)[595] is recorded as a transmitter on the authority of al-Jawzaqī in al-Rāfiʿī's (555–623/1160–1226) *Tadwīn*.[596] Al-Rāfiʿī does not mention explicitly that al-Fāmī transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, but this may be thought to be suggested by the context of his entry on Muḥammad b. al-Musrif (see the fourth generation below). Al-Rāfiʿī documents Muḥammad's transmission of different *ḥadīth* collections, starting with al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. He goes on to say that in 528/1133–1134 Muḥammad b. Musrif transmitted in Baghdad on the

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manuscript consulted by Brown is identical to al-Jawzaqī's presumed *mustakhraj*, which, according to the biographers' expressions, was based only on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

[592] On ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Manda, see Pavlovitch, "Manda family" 653–662.

[593] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Manda was fond of *ijāza*s. According to al-Samʿānī, he transmitted from al-Jawzaqī by way of *ijāza*; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islam* xxx, 329. On the beginning of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's study of *ḥadīth*, see al-Tamīmī, "Dirāsa" 26.

[594] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 29; al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 73; al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 56; al-Fulānī, *Qaṭf* 46–47.

[595] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f45b; al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 368, no. 1219; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxx, 185–186; idem, *Siyar* xviii, 10–11.

[596] Al-Rāfiʿī, *Tadwīn* ii, 24.

authority of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bayhaqī → al-Fāmī → al-Jawzaqī → Makkī b. ʿAbdān → Muslim, without specifying if this was a *ḥadīth* collection or an individual tradition. Strikingly, al-Fāmī's biographers do not remember his transmission on the authority of al-Jawzaqī, nor do they cite al-Qazwīnī's report. The only work to include a transmission passing through al-Fāmī → al-Jawzaqī is Ibn ʿAsākir's *Tārīkh Dimashq*, in which al-Jawzaqī reports on the authority of Makkī b. ʿAbdān → Muslim → al-Walīd b. Shujāʿ → ʿAlī b. Mushir a statement by Sufyān al-Thawrī about the four most retentive traditionists.[597] This tradition is part of Muslim's *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*[598] but not of his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. If al-Rāfiʿī knew only this *ḥadīth*, he may have been uncertain whether it came from a specific collection or represented an isolated transmission.

3.3 *The Third Generation of Transmitters after Makkī b. ʿAbdān*

3.3.1 The Cluster on the Authority of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Manda

a. Masʿūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim, Abū l-Faraj al-Thaqafī (Isfahan; b. ca. 460/1067–1068, d. 562/1167).[599] His transmission of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is recorded only in the chain of the much later al-Fulānī (d. 1218/1803).[600] Al-Samʿānī recalls that, as he visited Isfahan, engagements with other *shaykh*s prevented him from meeting Masʿūd b. al-Ḥasan. But staying away from Masʿūd was not only a matter of al-Samʿānī's business: He likely heeded other traditionists' low opinion about Masʿūd, presumably on account of his exaggerated longevity.[601] Later on, al-Samʿānī apparently changed his mind and obtained from Masʿūd a license covering all of his transmissions. Masʿūd transmitted on the authority of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Manda

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[597] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lxiv, 252.

[598] Muslim, *Tamyīz* 177.

[599] Al-Samʿānī, *Muntakhab* iii, 1719–1720, no. 1219; Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* ii, 795–796; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxix, 142–143.

[600] Al-Fulānī, *Qatf* 46–47.

[601] Al-Samʿānī (*Muntakhab* iii, 1720, no. 1219) records Masʿūd's alleged *ijāza* from al-Khaṭīb (392–463/1002–1071), which he probably used to claim an advanced age; hence, exceptionally high *isnād*. Taking Masʿūd's claim for legitimate, al-Samʿānī infers that Masʿūd was born around 460/1067–1068. Ibn Nuqṭa (*Taqyīd* ii, 795) sets Masʿūd's birth in the year 462/1069–1070, which he calculates by subtracting 100 from 562, the year of Masʿūd's death. Masʿūd's *ijāza* from al-Khaṭīb was questioned by the contemporary Isfahani *ḥadīth* expert Abū Mūsā Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Madīnī (501–581/1108–1185); al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxix, 142.

(d. 470/1078) and his brother ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 475/1082), at whose dates of death he was about ten and fifteen years old respectively. Incidentally, neither al-Samʿānī nor Masʿūd's other biographers record Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* among the works that Masʿūd took from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Manda.

b. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar, Abū l-Faḍl al-Salāmī (Baghdad; 467–550/1075–1155) is present in the chains of Ibn Ḥajar, al-Suyūṭī, al-Zabīdī, and al-Fulānī.[602] Al-Salāmī was only three years old at the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Manda's death, and he never left his native Baghdad to travel in pursuit of knowledge.[603] His possession of an *ijāza* from Ibn Manda finds some support in the biographical reports. According to Ibn al-Najjār, al-Salāmī had "ancient *ijāza*s" from several authorities who died around his birth date.[604] These *ijāza*s had been procured by al-Salāmī's father through Ibn Mākūla ʿAlī b. Hibat Allāh b. ʿAlī (Baghdad; d. between 478/1085–1086 and 487/1094–1095), already in 478/1085–1086.[605] Nonetheless, al-Salāmī's biographers do not record Ibn Manda among the ancient authorities who authorized him as a child to pass on their transmissions, nor do they remember al-Salāmī as a transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Al-Salāmī may have become interested in Ibn Manda's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* after 492/1098–1099 when he converted from the Shāfiʿi *madhhab* to the Ḥanbali school in law and theology.[606] Al-Salāmī's interest in Ibn Manda may be inferred from al-Ṣafadī's report about al-Salāmī's embracement of Ḥanbalism. Al-Ṣafadī does not spare al-Salāmī and other Ḥanbalis vitriolic remarks, on account of their espousal of the teaching that both the essence and the pronunciation (*ḥarf wa-ṣawt*) of the Quran are uncreated.[607] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Manda had been a vociferous exponent of the same teaching, in defense of which he composed the treatise *al-Radd ʿalā man yaqūlu "Alif-lām-mīm ḥarf"* (*Rebuttal of those who state, "*[*the Qurʾānic sigla*] alif-lām-mīm *form a word*").[608] In his defense of the Ḥanbali teaching, Ibn Manda went to such lengths that even many Ḥanbalis accused him of anthropomorphism. It may be that al-Salāmī's similar views led al-Ṣafadī to ridicule him as a "dull-witted ignoramus."[609]

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[602] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 29; al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 73; al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 56; al-Fulānī, *Qaṭf* 46–47.
[603] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvii, 405.
[604] Ibn al-Najjār, *Dhayl* xxi, 27–28; cf. al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvii, 407.
[605] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvii, 408; idem, *Siyar* xx, 266.
[606] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvii, 408–409.
[607] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* v, 106.
[608] For a study of this work, see Pavlovitch, "Manda family" 654–659.
[609] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* v, 106.

3.3.2 Other Transmitters

This group includes only Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī.[610] He is part of the isolated *isnād* cited by al-Rāfiʿī on the authority of Makkī b. ʿAbdān without a mention of the work it carries.[611] At first, it seems that al-Rāfiʿī mentions Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bayhaqī (421–482/1030–1089), the son of the famous Shāfiʿī jurist and traditionist Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (384–458/994–1066). This hypothesis stumbles on chronology: The next higher transmitter in the *isnād*, Muḥammad b. al-Musrif al-Qurrāʾī is said to have heard from Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bayhaqī in 528/1133–1134,[612] forty-six years after the death of al-Bayhaqī's son. Al-Rāfiʿī's *isnād* either has an onomastic error or refers to a complete namesake to al-Bayhaqī's son, about whom no biographical information survives.

3.4 *The Fourth Generation of Transmitters after Makkī b. ʿAbdān*

a. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Muqayyar, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Azajī al-Najjār (Baghdad—Damascus—Egypt; 545–643/1151–1246) is part of the chains recorded by Ibn Ḥajar, al-Suyūṭī, al-Zabīdī, and al-Fulānī.[613] Born five years before the death of his informant, Abū l-Faḍl al-Salāmī, ʿAlī b. al-Muqayyar lived to an almost centenarian age.[614] Al-Dhahabī's statement, "he was the last in this world to transmit by *ijāza* on his (that is, al-Salāmī's) authority,"[615] suggests that, as a small child, Ibn al-Muqayyar was brought along to one or several of al-Salāmī's *ḥadīth* sessions, at the end of which he received al-Salāmī's authorization to transmit further on his authority. One may not exclude the possibility that Ibn al-Muqayyar came into the possession of the *ijāza* through a third person, perhaps his father, as it happened in many similar instances. The existence of Ibn al-Muqayyar's *ijāza* comes into question as soon as we take into account Ibn al-Ṣābūnī's statement that he "lived in Damascus for years in utter obscurity until a high *ijāza* was discovered for him on the authority of *shaykh*s famous for their [high] *isnād*s."[616] Ibn al-Ṣābūnī's words show that Ibn al-Muqayyar was not a professional *ḥadīth* transmitter. By a stroke of fortune, his name

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[610] Al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 70, no. 149; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxiii, 100.

[611] See pp. 341–342 above.

[612] Al-Rāfiʿī, *Tadwīn* ii, 24.

[613] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 29; al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 73; al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 56; al-Fulānī, *Qaṭf* 46–47.

[614] Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, *Takmila* 342–347, no. 350; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvii, 189–190.

[615] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxxvii, 410.

[616] Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, *Takmila* 342, no. 350.

(or one that resembled it) was discovered in the attendance register of an ancient *shaykh*, whereupon Ibn al-Muqayyar quickly became sought after for his high *isnād*s. If he ever transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, his source must remain unknown.

b. Al-Anjab b. Abī l-Saʿādāt b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥammāmī (Baghdad; 554–635/1159–1237).[617] Al-Ḥammāmī appears as a transmitter of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Masʿūd b. al-Ḥasan al-Thaqafī in the late chains of al-Zabīdī and al-Fulānī.[618] None of al-Anjab's biographers remembers his audition from Masʿūd al-Thaqafī or his transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

c. Al-Ḥasan b. al-Sayyid ʿAlī b. al-Murtaḍā b. ʿAlī, Abū Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī al-Hāshimī (Baghdad; b. 544/1149–1150, d. 630/1233)[619] heard from Abū l-Faḍl al-Salāmī at the age of five,[620] about a year before al-Salāmī's death. Thus, he had an impressively high *isnād*, most likely based on an *ijāza*. As a transmitter of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Ḥasan b. Sayyid is mentioned in al-Fāsī's biography of Ibn Ḥajar[621] and in an utterly confused *isnād* cited by al-Zabīdī on the authority of Ibn Ḥajar.[622] Strikingly, Ibn Ḥajar's *isnād* in *al-Muʿjam al-mufahras* passes through ʿAlī b. al-Muqayyar instead of al-Ḥasan b. al-Sayyid.[623] It may be thought that the *isnād* through al-Ḥasan b. al-Sayyid was introduced as an equally high alternative to the *isnād* through ʿAlī b. al-Muqayyar.

d. Muḥammad b. al-Musrif b. Naṣr, Abū l-Fattāḥ al-Qurrāʾī (Qazvin, d. after 530/1135–1136). In the surviving *ḥadīth* corpus, Muḥammad b. al-Musrif is mentioned only once, in al-Rāfiʿī's single-strand *isnād* through Makkī b. ʿAbdān.[624] Al-Qurrāʾī's informant, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bayhaqī is impossible to identify.[625] No later transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* cites al-Rāfiʿī's *isnād*, likely because of its untenability.

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[617] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* i, 426; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 309, no. 958; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvi, 233–234.

[618] Al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 56; al-Fulānī, *Qaṭf* 46–47.

[619] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* xii, 166–167, no. 145; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlv, 385–386; idem, *Siyar* xxii, 344–345.

[620] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlv, 386.

[621] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 120.

[622] Al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 56.

[623] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 29.

[624] Al-Rāfiʿī, *Tadwīn* ii, 24.

[625] See p. 344 above.

3.5 *The Fifth Generation of Transmitters after Makkī b. ʿAbdān*

3.5.1 The Cluster on the Authority of Ibn al-Muqayyar

a. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. Khalaf al-Dimyāṭī (Egypt; 613–705/1217–1306). We already met ʿAbd al-Muʾmin in the fifth generation of transmitters after Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān. As a transmitter of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin is mentioned only in al-Zabīdī's chain.[626] Because of al-Zabīdī's erratic *isnād*s, it is unclear to whom al-Dimyāṭī passed on this version and, ultimately, whether he participated in its transmission at all.

b. Sulaymān b. Ḥamza b. Aḥmad b. Qudāma, Abū l-Faḍl al-Ḥanbalī al-Maqdisī (Damascus; 628–715/1231–1316) is mentioned as a transmitter of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by Ibn Ḥajar, al-Suyūṭī, and al-Zabīdī.[627] Ibn Qudāma was brought to Ibn al-Muqayyar's sessions already at the age of three years.[628] His audition by presence was sufficient for receiving an *ijāza* for Ibn al-Muqayyar's transmissions. While these transmissions may well have included Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, it is never explicitly identified as one of them. On the other hand, Sulaymān is documented as an auditor of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from the Ḥanbali master Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī (Damascus; 569–643/1174–1245). Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn undertook extensive travels in pursuit of knowledge. In Naysābūr, he heard from the renowned collector and transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī.[629] In Damascus, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn heard from Ibn Ṣadaqa al-Ḥarrānī,[630] another transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Neither al-Ṭūsī nor Ibn Ṣadaqa, however, are known as transmitters of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's narration of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

Incidentally, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn compiled a list of the names of ten transmitters on the authority of Muslim, which includes Makkī b. ʿAbdān. Unlike most other transmitters, whose audition from Muslim is attested by traditions that are part of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Makkī is associated with a transmitter-evaluation tradition in which Makhrama b. Sulaymān al-Asadī (Medina; d. 130/747–748) testifies that he has never heard from his father.[631] This tradition is not found in Muslim's extant works and is usually associated with Ibn Ḥanbal.[632] It is reasonable to assume that Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn had no access to Makkī's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*; otherwise, he would have cited it just as he cited the other transmitters in his list.

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[626] Al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 56.

[627] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 29; al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 73; al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 56.

[628] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* xv, 370–372, no. 517; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* ii, 146; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 382, no. 1061.

[629] Al-ʿAkrī, *Shadharāt* vii, 388.

[630] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xxiii, 127.

[631] Al-Maqdisī, *Juzʾ* 106–107. The only other transmitter whose tradition is not part of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is al-Tirmidhī; ibid. 100–101. He transmits on the authority of Muslim a legal tradition, not a *rijāl*-evaluation statement as is the case with Makkī b. ʿAbdān.

c. Yūnus b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Qawī b. Qāsim b. Dāwūd, Abū l-Nūn al-Dabūsī (Egypt; b. 635/1237–1238, d. 729/1329).[633] Yūnus transmitted profusely on the authority of Ibn al-Muqayyar. He must have relied on an *ijāza*, since, at the time of his audition from Ibn al-Muqayyar in 642/1244–1245, his age did not exceed seven years. Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is not mentioned explicitly as part of the material that Yūnus received from Ibn al-Muqayyar. This transmission was discovered or inferred from circumstantial evidence by al-Zabīdī only in the twelfth/eighteenth century.[634]

3.5.2 Other Transmitters

Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥajjār, Abū l-ʿAbbās Ibn Shiḥna al-Ṣāliḥī (Damascus; b. before 624/1227, d. 730/1330).[635] Found in a single-strand *isnād* cited by al-Fulānī,[636] Ibn Shiḥna was blessed with the prodigious lifespan of nearly 110 lunar years.[637] As a purveyor of exceptionally high *isnād*s, Ibn Shiḥna was discovered in the year 706/1306–1307, when, according to his own recollection, he was eighty-two or eighty-three years old. As it often happened, students eager for lofty transmission discovered his name in an ancient record of the auditors of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mubārak b. al-Zabīdī (d. 631/1233). Ibn Shiḥna held an *ijāza* from al-Anjab al-Ḥammāmī, his purported informant with Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, who predeceased him by ninety-five lunar years. Ibn Shiḥna gained fame and substantial fortune thanks to his trips to Egypt and Syria, during which he recited al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Nothing is known about his transmission of Muslim, although he likely took advantage of al-Anjab al-Ḥammāmī's *ijāza* to allege a high *isnād* through Makkī b. ʿAbdān.

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[632] Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* i, 316, no. 545; ii, 173, no. 1907; iii, 50, 362–363, nos. 4116, 5592.

[633] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* xxix, 372–374, no. 202; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 357, no. 1752.

[634] Al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 56.

[635] Al-Subkī, *Muʿjam* 62–70, no. 15.

[636] Al-Fulānī, *Qaṭf* 46–47.

[637] In his old age, Ibn Shiḥna was unable to recall his birth date but asserted that he remembers the death of the Ayyubid al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam (r. 615–624/1218–1227); al-Subkī, *Muʿjam* 63.

3.6 *The Sixth Generation of Transmitters after Makkī b. ʿAbdān*

3.6.1 The Cluster on the Authority of Sulaymān b. Ḥamza b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī

a. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Mūsā, Abū Muḥammad al-Nashāwirī (Mecca; b. 701/1301–1302 or 705/1305–1306, d. 790/1388).[638] Al-Nashāwirī had an *ijāza* from Ibn Qudāma obtained in 713/1313–1314.[639] Al-Nashāwirī's transmission of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is not explicitly mentioned by his biographers, including his student Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, who nonetheless preserved his *isnād* through Makkī.[640] Ibn Ḥajar mentions al-Nashāwirī as his first *shaykh*, from whom he heard al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Mecca in Ramaḍān, 785/October–November, 1383, but admits lapses in his recollections from that early time in his scholarly career.[641]

b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm, Zayn al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl al-ʿIrāqī (Egypt; 725–806/1325–1404).[642] Al-ʿIrāqī is mentioned as a transmitter of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī only in al-Zabīdī confused *isnād*[643] but not by Ibn Ḥajar himself. This is not surprising, since al-ʿIrāqī was born ten years after Ibn Qudāma's death and could have had no direct audition from him. If al-Zabīdī was acquainted with Ibn Fahd's *Laḥẓ al-alḥāẓ*, he may have misunderstood the passage in which Ibn Fahd cites al-ʿIrāqī's *isnād* to a tradition from Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* immediately followed by Ibn Fahd's high *isnād* to the same tradition in the narration of Makkī b. ʿAbdān.[644] The juxtaposition of the two *isnād*s may have misled al-Zabīdī (who knew the latter *isnād*) into presuming that al-ʿIrāqī transmitted Makkī's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

c. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. al-ʿIzz Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-Hādī b. Qudāma, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Ṣāliḥī al-Ḥanbalī, known as Ibn al-ʿIzz (Damascus; b. 707/1307, d. 798/1395–1396).[645] Ibn al-ʿIzz had an extensive audition from Sulaymān b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī, although Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is not listed among his transmissions on the authority of Sulaymān. It is documented in al-Fāsī's biography of Ibn Ḥajar as well as in al-Zabīdī's *Ghāyat al-ibtihāj*,[646] but, strikingly, not by Ibn Ḥajar himself, who cites only the *isnād* through al-Nashāwirī → Sulaymān b. Qudāma.[647]

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[638] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* ii, 300–302, no. 2229; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 459–461, no. 1165.

[639] Al-Fāsī, *ʿIqd* v, 270, no. 1625.

[640] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 29.

[641] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* ii, 301–302.

[642] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 9–13, no. 1251; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* iv, 171–178, no. 452.

[643] Al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 56.

[644] Ibn Fahd, *Laḥẓ al-alḥāẓ* 238.

[645] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* i, 109, no. 302; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 27–28, no. 598.

d. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Majd b. ʿAlī, Abū l-Ḥasan (Damascus; 707–800/1307–1398).[648] As a transmitter of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad is mentioned only in al-Zabīdī's chain.[649] ʿAlī b. Muḥammad possessed an *ijāza* to transmit on the authority of Sulaymān b. Qudāma, which al-Fāsī records at the end of his entry about ʿAlī in such a manner as to suggest that it was obtained indirectly. It is not explicitly mentioned whether this *ijāza* covered Sulaymān's transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

e. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, Abū Isḥāq al-Tanūkhī (Damascus → Egypt; b. 709/1309–1310, d. 800/1398).[650] As a transmitter of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Ibrāhīm al-Tanūkhī appears only in al-Suyūṭī's single-strand *isnād* on the authority of Ṣāliḥ b. ʿUmar al-Bulqīnī. Ibrāhīm's biographers do not mention explicitly this transmission. Ibn Ḥajar accompanied Ibrāhīm for a "long period" and apparently had an *ijāza* for his transmissions. This license, however, did not cover the transmissions of Sulaymān b. Qudāma, which Ibn Ḥajar came across only after Ibrāhīm's death.[651] Since Sulaymān b. Qudāma died when Ibrāhīm was seven years old, Ibrāhīm's transmission was based on an early *ijāza* that he received from Sulaymān, probably by attendance.

3.6.2 Other Transmitters

a. Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus, Zayn al-Dīn al-Marāghī al-Shāfiʿī (Egypt → Mecca—Medina; b. 727/1326–1327, d. 816/1414). Al-Fāsī and al-Sakhāwī knew al-Marāghī as a transmitter of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the narration of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Maqdisī.[652] As a transmitter of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Marāghī was discovered by al-Fulānī in the twelfth/eighteenth century.[653]

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[646] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 120; al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 56.

[647] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 29. For an extensive list of Ibn al-ʿIzz's transmissions, which does not include Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Majmaʿ* 265–297.

[648] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 183–185, no. 1481.

[649] Al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 56.

[650] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* i, 11–12, no. 14; al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 212–213, no. 821.

[651] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar* i, 12, no. 14.

[652] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 370–372, no. 1765; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* xi, 28–31.

[653] Al-Fulānī, *Qatf* 46–47.

b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṣiddīq, Burhān al-Dīn Abū Isḥāq al-Rassām al-Ṣūfī (Damascus → Mecca; b. 719–720/1320, d. 806/1404).[654] As a transmitter of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Abū l-Nūn al-Dabūsī, Ibrāhīm b. Ṣiddīq was discovered by al-Zabīdī.[655] In his detailed biography of Ibrāhīm b. Ṣiddīq, his student al-Fāsī (who lived more than three centuries earlier than al-Zabīdī) provides an extensive list of Ibrāhīm's transmissions, which does not include Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ibrāhīm had an indirectly obtained general *ijāza* for the transmissions of Abū l-Nūn al-Dabūsī, but the range of works that it covered is unknown.

3.7 *The Seventh Generation of Transmitters after Makkī b. ʿAbdān*

3.7.1 The Cluster on the Authority of ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Nashāwirī

a. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (Egypt; 773–852/1372–1449). The (re)discovery of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is owed solely to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī. The extensive list of the paths through which Ibn Ḥajar received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* ends with a transmission through ʿAbdallāh al-Nashāwirī that reaches Muslim by way of Makkī b. ʿAbdān and Aḥmad al-Sharqī.[656] Al-Fāsī, who was Ibn Ḥajar's contemporary, and al-Zabīdī, who flourished three centuries after Ibn Ḥajar, added to his *isnād* on the authority of al-Nashāwirī two *mutābiʿāt*, through Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī and Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Qudāma, both never mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar. The former *isnād* must be one of al-Zabīdī's many errors: al-ʿIrāqī could not have heard from his alleged informant, Sulaymān b. Ḥamza b. Qudāma, who died ten years before his birth. Incidentally, Ibn Ḥajar recalls that he heard al-ʿIrāqī transmit the *Ṣaḥīḥ*—in the narration of Ibn Sufyān—on the authority of al-ʿIrāqī's teacher Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Khabbāz (Damascus; d. 756/1355).[657] As for Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Qudāma's transmission, Ibn Ḥajar's silence is puzzling, but it may have something to do with his professed aversion to general *ijāza*s.[658]

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[654] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* ii, 248–252, no. 871; idem, *ʿIqd* iii, 250–256, no. 722; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* i, 147–148.

[655] Al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 56.

[656] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 29.

[657] Ibn Ḥajar, *Majmaʿ* ii, 222.

[658] Ibn Ḥajar, *Muʿjam* 24; idem, *Majmaʿ* i, 78.

b. Umm Hānīʾ Maryam bt. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Hūrīnī (Egypt; 778–871/1376–1466).[659] In their biographical notes about Umm Hānīʾ, neither al-Sakhāwī nor her student al-Suyūṭī document her transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. In this capacity, she appears exclusively in al-Suyūṭī anthology of the *isnād*s of his transmissions, entitled *Anshāb al-kuthub fī ansāb al-kutub*.[660] Judging from al-Suyūṭī's unparalleled *isnād*, Umm Hānīʾ received Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by an *ijāza* from ʿAbdallāh al-Nashāwirī, from whom she heard in Mecca in 785/1383.

3.7.2 Other Transmitters

a. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, Ibn Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī al-Shāfiʿī (Mecca; 807–894/1404–1489).[661] Al-Ṭabarī is part of al-Fulānī's *isnād* to Makkī b. ʿAbdān that passes through Abū Bakr al-Marāghī.[662] Al-Sakhāwī recorded al-Ṭabarī's transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of al-Marāghī, although without specifying on whose narration it was based.[663]

b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Fahd, al-Taqī Abū l-Faḍl al-Hāshimī al-ʿAlawī al-Shāfiʿī (Mecca; 787–871/1385–1466).[664] According to al-Zabīdī's *isnād*, Ibn Fahd received Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṣiddīq.[665] Ibn Fahd began his studies of *ḥadīth* in 804/1401–1402, two years before Ibn Ṣiddīq's death.[666] His audition of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn Ṣiddīq is recorded by Ibn Fahd's son ʿUmar b. Muḥammad (812–885/1409–1485).[667] ʿUmar does not specify whose version his father transmitted, but its association with Makkī b. ʿAbdān may be inferred from Ibn Fahd's supplement to Abū Maḥāsin al-Ḥusaynī's supplement to al-Dhahabī's *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, entitled *Laḥẓ al-alḥāẓ bi-Dhayl Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāẓ*. In this work, Ibn Fahd takes pride in possessing a high *isnād* through Ibn Ṣiddīq to a tradition by Muslim, which is identical to al-Zabīdī's *isnād*.[668] This isolated *isnād* is an important hint that Ibn Fahd received Makkī b. ʿAbdān's narration through the same chain, but, nonetheless, one must remain alert to the fact that he does not acknowledge as much.

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[659] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* xii, 156–157; al-Suyūṭī, *Munjam* 101–104.
[660] Al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 73.
[661] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* ix, 191–194.
[662] Al-Fulānī, *Qaṭf* 46–47.
[663] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* ix, 192.
[664] Ibid. ix, 281–283; Ibn Fahd, *Muʿjam* 280–284.
[665] Al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 56.
[666] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* ix, 281.
[667] Ibn Fahd, *Muʿjam* 281.

c. Riḍwān b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Salāma b. al-Bahāʾ b. Saʿīd, Abū l-Nuʿaym/Abū l-Riḍā al-ʿUqbī al-Shāfiʿī (Egypt; 769–852/1368–1448).[669] Al-ʿUqbī is mentioned as a transmitter of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in al-Zabīdī's *isnād*.[670] In his extensive biographical note about al-ʿUqbī, his student al-Sakhāwī (830–902/1427–1497) does not record his transmission of any version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Muḥammad al-Ghazzī (977–1061/1570–1651), who flourished a century after al-Sakhāwī, has documented Zakariyyāʾ b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī's (Egypt; b. 823–826/1420–1423, d. 926/1520) reading over of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* to al-ʿUqbī,[671] although without specifying whose narration was read.

d. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿUmar b. Raslān, ʿAlam al-Dīn Abū l-Tuqā al-Bulqīnī (Egypt; 791–868/1389–1464)[672] is mentioned as a transmitter of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (849–911/1445–1505) only by the late Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī (Ṣanʿāʾ; d. 1250/1834).[673] Although a student of al-Bulqīnī, al-Suyūṭī never mentions that he received from him Makkī's narration of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and transmits it based on an alternative *isnād* through Umm Hānīʾ bt. al-Hūrīnī. Nor is al-Bulqīnī's transmission known to his other biographers. To be sure, al-Bulqīnī had an *ijāza* from Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Tanūkhī, the next lower transmitter in al-Shawkānī's *isnād*, obtained in his childhood (al-Tanūkhī died when al-Bulqīnī was nine years old), but the scope of this *ijāza* is unknown. I suspect that al-Shawkānī made two unwarranted assumptions. First, al-Tanūkhī's *ijāza* included Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and, second, al-Bulqīnī extended the same *ijāza* to al-Suyūṭī. The combination of these assumptions gave rise to a new *isnād* in the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The issue of its historicity must remain in doubt.

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[668] Ibn Fahd, *Laḥẓ al-alḥāẓ* 238. For the tradition, see ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 320 (42) = Taʾṣīl, no. 309.

[669] Ibn Ḥajar, *Majmaʿ* iii, 114–115; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* iii, 226–229.

[670] Al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 56.

[671] Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib* i, 200.

[672] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* iii, 312–314; al-Suyūṭī, *Munjam* 126–133; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* ix, 454.

[673] Al-Shawkānī, *Itḥāf* 169.

3.8 *Summary. Makkī b. ʿAbdān and the Appeal of the High* isnād

Makkī b. ʿAbdān's narration of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is based on strikingly high *isnād*s. Chronological distances of eighty lunar years between the death dates of successive transmitters are commonplace, and occasionally they surpass ninety years (see Appendix 1, Diagram 13). The high degree of elevation indicates that the *isnād* through Makkī took its final shape at a late juncture when Muslim transmitters vied to discover the shortest possible ways to the revered works of Muslim and al-Bukhārī. In the cluster on the authority of Makkī b. ʿAbdān, these ways border on the incredible. Discontinuities in transmission, obscure sources, blanket *ijāza*s, and unwarranted confidence where suspicion is due are the likely scenarios when only a few transmitters bridge gaps of several hundred years.

Apart from the suspiciously high *isnād*s, our present cluster has another odd peculiarity. The biographical sources describe Abū Bakr al-Jawzaqī as a transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Makkī b. ʿAbdān, but none of the later transmitters recorded on Diagram 13 is explicitly identified as such (some are known to have transmitted Ibn Sufyān's narration). Al-Rāfiʿī (555–623/1160–1226), who is the earliest source to document a tradition based on the *isnād* Makkī b. ʿAbdān → Muslim, does not name the collection to which it belongs and, in fact, may be citing a singular chain. There are faint hints that Muḥammad b. Fahd and Ibn Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī in the seventh generation transmitted Makkī's narration. The explicit mention of this narration begins only in the late *isnād*s that were recorded by Ibn Ḥajar (773–852/1372–1449) and the following generations of collectors. Since no specimens of Makkī's narration are extant, nor is its text ever compared with the texts of Ibn Sufyān and Ibn Māhān, we may only wonder about the volume, content, composition, and reliability of the source texts on which Ibn Ḥajar, al-Suyūṭī, al-Zabīdī, al-Fulānī, and al-Shawkānī relied.

Ibn Ḥajar's statement that the *isnād* of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's narration is exceptionally high and consists entirely of *ijāza*s may imply his reluctance to accept authorizations that nonagenarian *shaykh*s purportedly issued to infant students. Many such *ijāza*s covered everything the issuer was known to have collected and transmitted. A lax authorization of this type, especially when serial, could associate with early authorities works that they never passed on to posterity. Recall that among Muslim's students Makkī b. ʿAbdān is the only one who reputedly transmitted Muslim's entire oeuvre.[674] During Makkī's lifetime, the group of his transmissions may have excluded the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. More than a cen-

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[674] Al-Suyūṭī, *Anshāb* i, 73–74.

TABLE 3 The regional paths of transmission of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*

	The first generation (306–388/918–998)	**The second generation (358–470/968–1078)**	**The third generation (460–562/1067–1167)**	**The fourth generation (544–643 /1149–1246)**	**The fifth generation (613–730/1217–1330)**	**The sixth generation (701–816/1301–1414)**	**The seventh generation (769–894/1368–1489)**
Baghdad			1 Baghdad	2 Baghdad + 1 shared with Damascus and Egypt			
Damascus				1 shared with Baghdad and Egypt	2 Damascus	2 Damascus + 1 shared with Egypt 1 shared with Mecca	
Egypt				1 shared with Baghdad and Damascus	2 Egypt	1 Egypt + 1 shared with Damascus	4 Egypt
Isfahan		1 Isfahan	1 Isfahan				
Mecca						1 Mecca + 1 shared with Damascus 1 shared with Egypt	2 Mecca
Naysābūr	1 Naysābūr	1 Naysābūr					
Qazvin				1 Qazvin			
Unknown			1 unknown				

tury later, as al-Jayyānī faintly recalled Makkī's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, the process of this collection's canonization had been well in progress, and the notion of transmitting Muslim's works necessarily implied the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the first place. Whereas in the fifth/eleventh century al-Jayyānī had been confident that Makkī's narration existed but acknowledged the actual text's absence, in the ninth/fifteenth century such an absence became unthinkable. The *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s established canonicity transformed the imaginary text into a material one, regardless of its incredibly high *isnād* and the absence of physical specimens.

Diagram 13 shows that the Makkī b. ʿAbdān cluster turns on two pivotal transmitters, Ibn al-Muqayyar (545–643/1151–1264) and Abū l-Faḍl b. Qudāma (628–715/1231–1316), both Ḥanbalis who spent a considerable part of their scholarly careers in Damascus. These two scholars were active when short *isnād*s from the above-described type were especially valued. This is not to suggest that Ibn al-Muqayyar and Ibn Qudāma invented the *isnād* through Makkī b. ʿAbdān. Our sources—both biographical dictionaries and collections with the names of *shaykh*s—point to Ibn Ḥajar as the earliest scholar who unearthed the *isnād* through Makkī after it had lain hidden for about five centuries. In Ibn Ḥajar's *isnād*, only seven generations of transmitters bridge the gap of 591 lunar years between the death dates of Ibn Ḥajar and Muslim. Hence, the average degree of separation between each successive generation amounts to 84.4 years.

The knots of *isnād* convergence represented by Ibn al-Muqayyar and Ibn Qudāma came into being after Ibn Ḥajar, as al-Suyūṭī, al-Zabīdī, al-Fulānī, and al-Shawkānī emulated his high *isnād*. Al-Shawkānī boasted the existence of only seventeen intermediaries between himself and Muslim, who died 989 years earlier.[675] The average degree of separation between the successive generations of transmitters in al-Shawkānī's chain stands at 58.2 years, which is less impressive than Ibn Ḥajar's 84.4 years. In the second half of the twelfth/eighteenth century, al-Fulānī discovered a single-strand transmission that connects with Muslim through only thirteen intermediaries, reaching an average degree of separation of 73.6 years. The appeal of proximity to Muslim was irresistible, and Ibn Ḥajar discovery of a high *isnād* to Makkī b. ʿAbdān triggered a competition on a scale unseen in the other clusters of transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

The span of each *ṭabaqa* in Makkī b. ʿAbdān's cluster ranges from eighty-two lunar years in the first generation to 125 years in the seventh generation, which is considerably shorter than the two-hundred-year *ṭabaqa*s in the cluster of Ibn Sufyān. The fewer transmitters constituting each *ṭabaqa* in Makkī's cluster and their geographical compactness are responsible for this relative shortness.

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[675] Al-Shawkānī, *Itḥāf* 169.

Paradoxically, it does not translate into individual transmission lines that are less elevated than the chains in the Ibn Sufyān cluster. Quite to the contrary, the Makkī b. ʿAbdān cluster comprises remarkably long-lived transmitters who contributed to a degree of elevation higher than that in the cluster around Ibn Sufyān.

The regional distribution of the transmitters of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's narration suggests its confinement to Naysābūr and possibly Isfahan in the first two generations after Makkī. In the third generation, Makkī's narration traveled to Baghdad through the questionable intermediacy of Abū l-Faḍl al-Salāmī. In the fourth generation, it is attested mainly in Baghdad, with Ibn al-Muqayyar transferring it to Egypt. In the sixth generation, the transmission continues in Egypt and spreads to Damascus and Mecca. In the seventh generation, it becomes a predominantly Egyptian business, with Meccan offshoots. This pattern of distribution seems plausible, were it not for the cluster's suspiciously high *isnād*s. It strikes one that, beginning with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b Manda, Ibn Ḥajar's chain is based on Ḥanbali transmitters, whereas its earliest links are represented by the Partisans of Tradition Makkī b. ʿAbdān and al-Jawzaqī. Makkī b. ʿAbdān's narration thus seems to have been a Ḥanbali response to the Sufi tendency in the earliest stages of transmission on the authority of Ibn Sufyān as well as to the Shāfiʿī chain Ibn Māhān → Abū Bakr al-Ashqar on the authority of al-Qalānisī.

4 The Transmission through Aḥmad b. al-Sharqī

The earliest mention of Ibn al-Sharqī's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is found in al-Fāsī's (775–832/1373–1429) *Dhayl al-Taqyīd*. Under Abū l-Khaṭṭāb ʿUmar b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Diḥya (Ceuta → Cairo; b. 544–548/1149–1154, d. 633/1235), al-Fāsī writes:

> He transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Zarqūn [as follows]: "Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khawlānī told us: *Abū Dharr al-Harawī told us*: Abū Bakr al-Jawzaqī told us: *Abū Ḥāmid b. al-Sharqī from Muslim.*" Later, he (that is, Ibn Diḥya) heard it [through an] elevated [*isnād*] in Naysābūr from Manṣūr al-Furāwī.[676]

Al-Fāsī was apparently the discoverer of this remarkable *isnād*, which he cites at the very beginning of his entry about Ibn Diḥya. Al-Sakhāwī (830–902/1427–

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[676] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 211, no. 1523.

1497) briefly mentions that al-Jawzaqī had a partial audition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn al-Sharqī but does not provide details about that version's chain or the narration's scope.[677] The next mention is found in al-Zabīdī's patchy *isnād*. In a careless manner, al-Zabīdī blends at least two transmissions in the following manner: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Manda on the authority of al-Jawzaqī on the authority of both Makkī b. ʿAbdān and Ibn al-Sharqī citing Muslim.[678] Thus, he associates Ibn al-Sharqī's transmission with the same *isnād* as Makkī b. ʿAbdān's transmission, which is not borne out by any source other than al-Zabīdī's rambling collection.

In sum, we are left with only one *isnād*, cited by al-Fāsī, which passes from Ibn al-Sharqī to Ibn Diḥya through four intermediate transmitters. No transmissions above the level of Ibn Diḥya have survived, suggesting that the later collectors were unable to discover a reliable chain leading up to Ibn al-Sharqī's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. In the following, I take a close look at Ibn Diḥya's *isnād* as cited by al-Fāsī.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, Abū Ḥāmid b. al-Sharqī (Naysābūr, 240–325/854–937)[679] is described as Muslim's student (*tilmīdh*). Strikingly, when enumerating the *ḥadīth* masters of Naysābūr, Ibn al-Sharqī mentions al-Dhuhlī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Bishr al-ʿAbdī (d. 260/874), and Aḥmad b. al-Azhar al-ʿAbdī (d. 261/874 or 263/876–877)[680] or, alternatively, the former two and Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Sulamī (d. 263–264/876–878).[681] Neither variant of the report includes Muslim, which is unusual for a person who considered him a master and transmitted his collection. Ibn al-Sharqī himself reputedly composed a *Ṣaḥīḥ* (*ṣannafa l-ṣaḥīḥ*).[682] The verb *ṣannafa* suggests that the collection was arranged according to legal topics (*muṣannaf*), just like Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī describes Ibn al-Sharqī as "his age's prodigy of knowledge" (*wāḥid ʿaṣr^{i}-hi fī l-maʿrifa*),[683] but in the fourth/tenth century Ibn al-Sharqī's reliability was questioned, for presently unclear reasons. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sulamī (Naysābūr; 325–412/937–1021), a Sufi who was born in the year of Ibn al-Sharqī's death, knew that Ibn al-Sharqī's students Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. ʿUqda (Kufa; 249–332/863–944) and

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[677] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ghunya* 40.

[678] Al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 56.

[679] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* vi, 109; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iii, 419; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam* xiii, 367; al-ʿAkrī, *Shadharāt* iv, 135.

[680] Abū Yaʿlā al-Khalīlī, *Irshād* ii, 814.

[681] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* v, 70; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* i, 258–259.

[682] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxiv, 166; Khalaf, *Istidrākāt* 499. Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (*Aḥvāl* f29b) and al-Samʿānī (*Ansāb* iii, 419) describe him as *ṣāḥib al-ṣaḥīḥ* (an author of *Ṣaḥīḥ*).

[683] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f29b.

Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Yazīd al-Ḥāfiẓ (Naysābūr; b. 277/890–891, d. 349/960) held deprecatory opinions about him.[684] The earliest version of the report is preserved in the collection of al-Dāraquṭnī's replies to al-Sulamī's questions (*su'ālāt*) about the quality of transmitters. It describes al-Dāraquṭnī's reaction to al-Sulamī's question about why Ibn ʿUqda and Abū ʿAlī censured Ibn al-Sharqī. Upon rebutting their statements, which neither al-Sulamī nor al-Dāraquṭnī set out in specific terms, al-Dāraquṭnī exclaims, "May God have mercy on Abū Ḥāmid [b. al-Sharqī]! He was of correct religion and correct narration" (*Raḥima l-Lāh Abā Ḥāmid! Fa-inna-hu ṣaḥīḥ al-dīn wa-ṣaḥīḥ al-riwāya*).[685] Al-Dāraquṭnī's expression, which is missing in the same report's later variants, may be thought to suggest that Ibn al-Sharqī was suspected of heterodoxy and errors in transmission. Whether the latter issue had something to do with Ibn al-Sharqī's transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is impossible to say.[686]

In a curious posthumous apology of Ibn al-Sharqī, Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir (?) saw him in a dream riding an animal that was higher than a donkey and lower than a mule. "By what have you been so elevated?" asked Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir. "By *ḥadīth*," replied Ibn al-Sharqī.[687] By drawing parallels between Ibn al-Sharqī's station in heaven and the Prophet's nocturnal journey (*isrā'*) on an animal of a similar description,[688] Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir emphasizes the unblemished quality of Ibn al-Sharqī's reports, perhaps in response to presently unknown doubts about them.

It will be recalled that Abū Ḥāmid b. al-Sharqī's brother ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad (Naysābūr; b. 236/850–851; d. 328/940), a gifted physician, was an addicted drinker of alcohol until his death.[689] Āl Salmān has conjectured that ʿAbdallāh may have drunk the wine called *nabīdh*, which was allowed by some Kufan jurists, but provided no evidence in support of his hypothesis.[690]

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[684] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xv, 39; idem, *Tadhkira* iii, 822; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān* i, 668, no. 848.

[685] Al-Sulamī, *Su'ālāt* 92–93, no. 18.

[686] Ibn al-Sharqī and his student Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥāfiẓ are reported to have disagreed about whether someone who has touched his penis (*mass al-dhakar*) had to perform ritual ablution (*wuḍū'*). Whereas the former held that the *isnād* of one of the versions of the *ḥadīth* was sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*), the latter rejected it as unreliable. When Ibn al-Sharqī learned about Abū ʿAlī's position, he exclaimed that Abū ʿAlī, "knew nothing about *ḥadīth*"; Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* i, 349. Conceivably, Abū ʿAlī responded in kind.

[687] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* i, 350.

[688] Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir describes Ibn al-Sharqī's mount as *dābba fawq^a l-ḥimār wa-dun^a l-baghal*; Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* i, 350. According to Ibn Isḥāq, the Prophet's mount was *dābba abyaḍ bayn^a l-baghal wa-l-ḥimār* (a white mount [sized] between a mule and a donkey); Ibn Hishām, *Sīra* ii, 3.

[689] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iii, 419.

[690] Āl Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim* i, 202.

Be that as it may, in what seems to be a reply to the accusations leveled against Abū Ḥāmid b. al-Sharqī, al-Samʿānī states that it was his brother ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad who was rebuked.[691] In the eyes of the Partisans of Tradition, ʿAbdallāh's addiction to alcohol would be impinging on both the correctness of his religion and the acceptability of his transmission. If, by way of confusion, ʿAbdallāh's drinking habits were associated with his brother, Abū Ḥāmid b. al-Sharqī, they would have incurred him severe criticism by the stringent Partisans of Tradition.

Ibn al-Sharqī is remembered as a close friend of Makkī b. ʿAbdān. Abū Yaʿlā al-Khalīlī, who was active about fifty years after the deaths of Ibn al-Sharqī and Makkī b. ʿAbdān, mentions them mostly in tandem, in relation to the same *shaykh*s and students.[692] Ibn al-Sharqī performed a funeral prayer over Makkī, three months before his own death.[693] Ibn al-Sharqī was buried in the Shāhanbar cemetery, which was located within the walled perimeter in the southern side of Naysābūr.[694]

The biography of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Jawzaqī has already been studied.[695] Recall that he composed a *ṣaḥīḥ* work, which is described in expressions similar to those used to describe Ibn al-Sharqī's work. Conceivably, al-Jawzaqī drew inspiration from the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of his teacher and Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj. At the next higher level of transmission, we find Abū Dharr ʿAbd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Harawī (Herat—Mecca; b. 355–356/965–967, d. 434/1043). Abū Dharr was an important *ḥadīth* collector, evaluator of transmitters, Māliki in law, Ashʿari in theology.[696] Born in Herat, he spent the last three decades of his life among the Bedouins of Banū Shabāba in the Sarāt mountains to the south of Mecca. Al-Harawī had a pronounced interest in the collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. He collated three transmissions of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and compiled a large *mustakhraj* based on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.[697] Although al-Harawī's biographers do not mention whether he collected different transmissions of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, this possibility is borne out by al-Harawī's scholarly profile. He may well have received from al-Jawzaqī a record of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the narration of Abū Ḥāmid b. al-Sharqī on the authority of Muslim.

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[691] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iii, 419.

[692] Abū Yaʿlā al-Khalīlī, *Irshād* ii, 805, no. 704; ii, 812, no. 713; iii, 822–823, nos. 719–720; iii, 834, no. 735; iii, 859, no. 769; iii, 863, nos. 775–776.

[693] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 149.

[694] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl*, f29b. For the cemetery's location, see Bulliet, "Medieval Nishapur" 70, 79.

[695] See pp. 340–341 above.

[696] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Tartīb* vii, 229–233; Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* ii, 705–707; al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab* 400–401, no. 1361; Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Ṭabaqāt* iii, 298–301; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxix, 404–407; idem, *Siyar* xvii, 555–562.

[697] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Tartīb* vii, 233; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxix, 407; al-Fāsī, *ʿIqd* v, 540.

Al-Harawī's transmission passed to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ghalbūn, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khawlānī (Cordoba—Seville; b. 418/1027–1028, d. 508/1115).[698] ʿIyāḍ b Mūsā, who met al-Khawlānī, points out that, albeit a prolific transmitter, "he had no books or knowledge" but only repeated the original records (*uṣūl*) of his informants.[699] Al-Khawlānī had a blanket *ijāza* with an obscure origin for al-Harawī's entire corpus of transmissions.[700] Insofar as al-Khawlānī could have hardly met al-Harawī,[701] he possessed no record of his own of al-Harawī's traditions and likely relied on a copy recorded by a third person, conceivably Abū ʿImrān al-Fāsī (d. 430/1039). Abū ʿImrān, whose *ijāza* al-Khawlānī possessed,[702] had surreptitiously copied al-Harawī's works in Mecca. Upon learning about this, al-Harawī disowned Abū ʿImrān and vowed never to transmit to him. Having no authorization by al-Harawī, Abū ʿImrān still transmitted his records, misleadingly calling him by his teknonym, Abū ʿĪsā.[703] Given al-Khawlānī's lack of *ḥadīth*-critical acumen and the obscurity of his *ijāza* for al-Harawī's transmissions, the existence of his record of Ibn al-Sharqī's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* must remain dubious.

Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Aḥmad, Abū ʿAbdallāh Ibn Zarqūn (al-Andalus—Ceuta; 502–586/1108–1190)[704] was eight months old when he received, through his father Saʿīd, a blanket *ijāza* to transmit all of al-Khawlānī's transmissions. In this manner, he became the latest to transmit by *ijāza* on the authority of al-Khawlānī.[705] The authorization should have covered Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, although

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[698] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* ii, 64; iv, 118.

[699] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ghunya* 107; cf. Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 76, no. 160.

[700] ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Ghunya* 106; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 76, no. 160.

[701] Al-Khawlānī is not known to have traveled outside al-Andalus, whereas al-Harawī did not reach the western parts of the Islamic world. The two could have met in Mecca during the pilgrimage season, but we do not possess reports about al-Khawlānī's pilgrimage. Since al-Harawī died in 434/1043, when al-Khawlānī was sixteen years old, the two men would have had a slim opportunity to come together after the onset of al-Khawlānī's puberty, which made him eligible for performing the pilgrimage.

[702] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila* i, 76, no. 160.

[703] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xvii, 561.

[704] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* ii, 63–64; al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa-l-takmila* iv, 220–226; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xxi, 147–148.

[705] Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* ii, 64.

Ibn Zarqūn is never mentioned as a transmitter of this collection outside al-Fāsī's *isnād*.

Ibn Zarqūn transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Diḥya. At this level, the transmission terminates, and we have no clue how it reached al-Fāsī, who was born 142 years after Ibn Diḥya had passed away. As we have seen, Ibn Diḥya was interested in the different narrations of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, but his transmissions were looked askance by the *ḥadīth* experts because many of them were inventions.[706] This is not the only reason why Ibn Diḥya's transmission of Ibn al-Sharqī's narration of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* did not survive past his death. Al-Fāsī, the discoverer of Ibn Diḥya's transmission, has an identical report under Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Diḥya al-Kalbī (Ceuta → Cairo; b. 546/1151–1152, d. 634/1237), ʿUmar b. Diḥya's brother.[707] ʿUthmān had no original records (*uṣūl*) of his transmissions, pretending to keep everything well memorized.[708] In the eyes of his contemporary traditionists, ʿUthmān would have fared no better than his transmission-concocting brother. Be that as it may, al-Fāsī's double attribution of Ibn al-Sharqī's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to ʿUmar and ʿUthmān b. Diḥya leaves us in a state of uncertainty. Each of the two brothers may have received this transmission from their stated informant, Ibn Zarqūn, just as each may have invented or misattributed it. Together with the blanket *ijāza*s used by al-Khawlānī and Ibn Zarqūn, this uncertainty explains why Ibn Diḥya's transmission dried out after the two brothers' death. Recall also al-Sakhāwī's statement that al-Jawzaqī had heard from Ibn al-Sharqī only parts of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ibn al-Sharqī's copy may have been incomplete while its traditions may have differed from those transmitted by Ibn Sufyān, which would have made it unappealing to the prominent collectors of Muslim's work.

The latter possibility finds some support in a single tradition on the authority of Ibn al-Sharqī → Muslim that was preserved by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī (Damascus; 569–643/1174–1245) citing the *isnād* ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl al-Ṣaydalānī (Isfahan; d. 605/1208) → Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAlī (Naysābūr; b. 451–452/1059–1061, d. 532/1138) → ʿUmar b. Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Baḥīrī (Naysābūr; d. ?) → Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdūs al-Muzakkī (Naysābūr; d. 396/1006) → Abū Ḥāmid b. al-Sharqī → Muslim.[709]

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[706] See p. 308, no. 120 above.

[707] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 108, no. 1371.

[708] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xlvi, 205.

[709] Al-Maqdisī, *Juzʾ* 84–86.

TABLE 4 Ibn al-Sharqī's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* compared with Ibn Sufyān's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*[a] (the points of difference are marked in boldface)

Ibn al-Sharqī	**Ibn Sufyān**
(1) *Al-Madīnat^{u} ḥaram^{un} fa-man aḥdatha fī-hā ḥadath^{an} aw āwā muḥdith^{an} fa-ʿalay-hi laʿnat^{u} l-lāh^{i} wa-l-malāʾikat^{i} wa-l-nās^{i} ajmaʿīn. Lā* ***yaqbalu l-lāh^{u}*** *min-hu yawm^{a} l-qiyāmat^{i}* ***ṣarf^{an} wa-lā ʿadl^{an}***. (2) ***Wa-man tawallā qawm^{an} bi-ghayr^{i} idhn^{i} mawālī-hi*** *fa-ʿalay-hi laʿnat^{u} l-lāh^{i} wa-l-malāʾikat^{i} wa-l-nās^{i} ajmaʿīn. Lā* ***yaqbalu l-lāh^{u}*** *min-hu yawm^{a} l-qiyāmat^{i}* ***ṣarf^{an} wa-ʿadl^{an}***.	ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1371 (469) = Taʾṣīl, no. 1390 (based on a different *isnād*): (1) *Al-Madīnat^{u} ḥaram^{un} fa-man aḥdatha fī-hā ḥadath^{an} aw āwā muḥdith^{an} fa-ʿalay-hi laʿnat^{u} l-lāh^{i} wa-l-malāʾikat^{i} wa-l-nās^{i} ajmaʿīn. Lā* ***yuqbalu*** *min-hu yawm^{a} l-qiyāmat^{i}* ***ʿadl^{un} wa-lā ṣarf^{un}***. (2) n/a
(1) Medina is sacred territory. Whoever does something reprehensible in it or shelters such a doer, has incurred the curse of God, the angels, and all people. On the Day of Resurrection, **God shall not accept his actions or uprightness.** (2) **And whoever follows a certain clan in clientage without his patrons' consent**, has incurred the curse of God, the angels, and all people. On the Day of Resurrection, God shall not accept his actions or uprightness.	(1) Medina is sacred territory. Whoever does something reprehensible in it or shelters such a doer, incurs the curse of God, the angels, and all people. On the Day of Resurrection, **his actions or uprightness shall not be accepted.** (2) n/a
	ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1371 (470) = Taʾṣīl, no. 1390.1 (based on the same *isnād*): No. 1371 (469), except for the expression *yawm^{a} l-qiyāmat^{i}*, + ***Wa-dhimmat^{u} l-muslimīna wāḥidat^{un}. Yasʿā bi-hā adnā-hum. Fa-man akhfara muslim^{an}*** *fa-ʿalay-hi laʿnat^{u} l-lāh^{i} wa-l-malāʾikat^{i} wa-l-nās^{i} ajmaʿīn. Lā* ***yuqbalu*** *min-hu yawm^{a} l-qiyāmat^{i}* ***ʿadl^{un} wa-lā ṣarf^{un}***. **The protection of the Muslims is [binding] for all of them and may be granted by the humblest of them. Whoever violates the covenant with a Muslim**, has incurred the curse of God, the angels, and all the people. On the Day of Resurrection, his uprightness or actions shall not be accepted.
	ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1508 (18) = Taʾṣīl, no. 1531 (based on a different *isnād*): *Man tawallā qawm^{an} bi-ghayr^{i} idhn^{i} mawālī-hi fa-ʿalay-hi laʿnat^{u} l-lāh^{i} wa-l-malāʾikat^{i}. Lā yuqbalu min-hu ʿadl^{un} wa-lā ṣarf^{un}.* Whoever follows a certain clan in clientage without his patrons' consent has incurred the curse of God, the angels, and all people. His uprightness or actions are not accepted.

[a] ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 1371 (470–471), 1508 (18–19) = Taʾṣīl, nos. 1390–1390.1; 1531–1531.2.

The two transmissions differ in both their *isnād* and textual substance. Ibn al-Sharqī's *matn* is a conflation of the *matn*s of ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 1371 (469) and 1508 (18), but is supported by an *isnād* that differs from both *isnād*s cited by Ibn Sufyān. The *isnād* of ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1371 (470) is similar to Ibn al-Sharqī's *isnād*, but now the *matn*s greatly disagree. ʿAbd al-Bāqī, nos. 1371 (469) and 1508 (18) are located too far apart to allow for a conjecture that Ibn al-Sharqī or a careless copyist mistakenly stitched together two traditions that were adjacent in Muslim's original arrangement of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. More likely, Ibn al-Sharqī cites a tradition that did not find its way into Ibn Sufyān's recension. The possibility that Muslim transmitted this tradition before he composed the collection is slender. Born in 240/854, Ibn al-Sharqī must have studied with Muslim as the process of composition was ongoing or even complete. Conceivably, he preserved an excerpt from an early draft of the collection, which Muslim did not include in the final version. Alternatively, Ibn Sufyān or Ibn al-Sharqī may have altered substantially Muslim's original text or his arrangement of traditions in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

5 Other Transmissions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*

Apart from Ibn Sufyān, al-Qalānisī, Makkī b. ʿAbdān, and Ibn al-Sharqī, several of Muslim's friends and students in Naysābūr are sometimes mentioned as transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. None of these transmissions has survived past the death date of the respective scholar. In the following, I list and briefly discuss each of these transmissions.

5.1 *Aḥmad b. Salama al-Naysābūrī*

Aḥmad b. Salama Abū l-Faḍl al-Naysābūrī (d. 286/899)[710] was one of Muslim's closest friends. The two scholars spent together fifteen years during which Aḥmad b. Salama accompanied Muslim in his scholarly journeys to Balkh and Basra.[711] In his biography of Aḥmad b. Salama, al-Khaṭīb notes, *thumma jamaʿa la-hu Muslim al-ṣaḥīḥ ʿalā kitābⁱ-hi* (and Muslim collected for him *ṣaḥīḥ* according to his book).[712] This cryptic and possibly distorted expression suggests that either Muslim selected sound traditions (*ṣaḥīḥ*) for Aḥmad b. Salama (or selected traditions for Aḥmad's *Ṣaḥīḥ*) from an existing collection by Muslim, or he used a *Ṣaḥīḥ* by Aḥmad b. Salama as a template for his own book. Since Aḥmad b. Salama is known to have authored *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ*,[713] a title that evokes close parallels with Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, the possibility that Muslim modeled his *Ṣaḥīḥ* on Aḥmad b. Salama's work may not be automatically brushed aside.[714] The two men were long-standing friends and had plenty of time to share thoughts about *ḥadīth* and influence each other's work.

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[710] In the oldest statement that bears indirectly on Aḥmad b. Salama's death date, Abū Nuʿaym's records Aḥmad's visit to Isfahan in 288/901; *Tārīkh* i, 133, no. 72. If not an error, this statement would set 288/901 as the *terminus post quem* for Aḥmad's death. The earliest mention of 286/899 as Aḥmad's death date is found in al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* v, 304.

[711] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* v, 302; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt* xvi, 240; Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Ṭabaqāt* ii, 342–343; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xx, 186; idem, *Siyar* xiii, 373; idem, *Tadhkira* ii, 637.

5.2 *Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Khuzayma*

According to an isolated report by al-Khalīlī, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Khuzayma (Naysābūr; 223–311/838–924) transmitted on the authority of Muslim both individual traditions and his entire *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[715] Born no less than seventeen years after Muslim, Ibn Khuzayma belonged to the younger generation of Naysābūri traditionists and may qualify as a transmitter of Muslim's collection. When Ibn Khuzayma died half a century after Muslim, the latter's *ḥadīth* was becoming a badge of Naysābūri traditionalism. On the other hand, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī describes Ibn Khuzayma as the *shaykh* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim[716] and remembers seeing "in the book of Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj in his own writing, 'Muḥammad b. Isḥāq Abū Bakr, our master, told me.'"[717] Such reports reflect the degree of prominence that Ibn Khuzayma achieved in Naysābūr during his lifetime,[718] which for a while may have eclipsed the stature of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, blemished by their embroilment in the *lafẓ* dispute. Ibn Khuzayma composed a surviving *ḥadīth* collection of his own, *Mukhtaṣar al-Mukhtaṣar min al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ ʿan al-nabī bi-naql al-ʿadl and al-ʿadl mawṣūlan ilay-hi min ghayr qaṭʿ fī athnāʾ al-isnād wa-lā jarḥ fī nāqilī al-akhbār* (*The Epitome of the Epitome of the Sound collection of traditions from the Prophet transmitted on his authority by upright transmitters without interruptions along the* isnād *or* [*reliance on*] *impugned transmitters of reports*), whose title bears an obvious resemblance to the title of Muslim's collection.[719] As a compiler of such a collection, Ibn Khuzayma does not seem likely to have transmitted Muslim's rival collection. Conceivably, the similarity of titles misled al-Khalīlī into presuming that Ibn Khuzayma transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. As another possibility, one may think that Ibn Khuzayma transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* before composing his own work in the same genre. On this scenario, the memory of Ibn Khuzayma's transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* would have been suppressed after the composition of his own collection. Recall that some of Ibn Khuzayma's students were far from cheerful at his wish to compose a *mustakhraj* of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[720]

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[712] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* v, 302.

[713] Ibid. v, 304; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iii, 233; iv, 212; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt* xvi, 240.

[714] From the following report by al-Dhahabī, Āl Salmān (*al-Imām Muslim* i, 188) inferred that Muslim took part in the composition of Aḥmad b. Salama's *Ṣaḥīḥ*: "Musaddad b. Qaṭn [Naysābūr; d. ca. 300/912–913] said, 'When Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā [al-Dhuhlī] died [in 258/872], Muslim arranged a session (*majlis*) for my maternal uncle, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Bishr. Aḥmad b. Salama attended, Muslim selected for him [*ḥadīth*] according to his conditions in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān dictated it, and he had had no session of dictation prior to this'"; al-Dhahabī *Siyar* xii, 342–343; cf. idem, *Tārīkh al-islām* xix, 192–193. Āl Salmān misinterprets the passage as indicating that Muslim selected traditions for Aḥmad b. Salama's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, whereas it only states that Muslim selected traditions according to the criteria of authenticity in his own *Ṣaḥīḥ*, whereupon ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Bishr dictated these traditions in Aḥmad b. Salama's presence. In this manner, Muslim promoted ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Bishr as a successor to Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī, while nothing is said about Muslim's participation in the composition of Ibn Salama's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

[715] Abū Yaʿlā al-Khalīlī, *Irshād* iii, 826.

[716] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Aḥvāl* f24a; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xvi, 341–345; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh* lxiv, 356–365.

[717] Ibn Nuqṭa, *Taqyīd* i, 149. Al-Dhahabī cites a statement by al-Ḥākim, according to which Muslim transmitted a tradition about the prayer for rain (*istisqāʾ*) on the authority of Ibn

5.3 *Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāʿid*

Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī includes Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāʿid, the *mawlā* of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr (Baghdad; 228–318/842–930),[721] among the transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[722] Al-Zabīdī does not mention his source, but this is likely Abū Yaʿlā al-Khalīlī's *Irshād*. One notes, however, that al-Khalīlī only states that Ibn Ṣāʿid heard from Muslim in Baghdad, without specifying that he heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Al-Khalīlī further mentions that Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and his son, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, heard from Muslim in Rayy.[723]

To check the feasibility of al-Zabīdī's claim, I studied the list of Ibn Ṣāʿid's fifty-one *shaykh*s recorded by al-Dhahabī in *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*.[724] Ibn Ṣāʿid's

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Khuzayma → Zakariyyāʾ b. Yaḥyā → ʿAbdallāh b. Yūsuf; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xiv, 369. The entire tradition is found in Ibn Khuzayma, *Ṣaḥīḥ* ii, 243–244, no. 1496, but it is not part of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

[718] On Ibn Khuzayma, see Holtzman, *Anthropomorphism* 278–294.

[719] See p. 209 above.

[720] See p. 231 above.

[721] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxiii, 574–577.

[722] Al-Zabīdī, *Ghāya* 59.

[723] Abū Yaʿlā al-Khalīlī, *Irshād* iii, 826.

[724] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xiv, 501–502. The list includes fifty-two names, but ʿUmar b. Shabba

travel in pursuit of knowledge centered on Iraq, followed by the Ḥijāz and Egypt. Only two of Ibn Ṣāʿid's *shaykh*s hailed from Naysābūr. Salama b. Shabīb (d. 247/861), although a native of Naysābūr, gained fame in Mecca. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿĪsā b. Māsarjis (d. 240/854) was active in Naysābūr. Both Ibn Shabīb and Ibn Māsarjis are present in the list of Muslim's *shaykh*s. The former is cited forty-three times in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, whereas the latter is present in only four of its *isnād*s. This is, however, meager evidence that Ibn Ṣāʿid ever visited Naysābūr or met Muslim. Given the large number of Meccans among his *shaykh*s, Ibn Ṣāʿid undoubtedly met Ibn Shabīb after he had settled in Mecca. Ibn Māsarjis was Ibn Ṣāʿid's first *shaykh*, from whom he heard in 239/853–854.[725] Their meeting must have taken place in Baghdad, where Ibn Māsarjis held *ḥadīth* recitation sessions on the way to his last pilgrimage, after which he died in Ṣafar 240/July 854.[726]

Apart from Ibn Shabīb and Ibn Māsarjis, Ibn Ṣāʿid shares with Muslim eleven other *shaykh*s, most of whom were active in Iraq and the Ḥijāz. This observation does not necessarily imply that Ibn Ṣāʿid encountered Muslim during the lessons of these *shaykh*s: Ibn Ṣāʿid began to study *ḥadīth* in 239/853–854, two or three years before Muslim set out on writing the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. At the time Ibn Ṣāʿid was a fledgling *ḥadīth* scholar, Muslim was back in Naysābūr systematizing his stockpile of traditions and preparing to compose his *magnum opus*.

The biographical evidence does not allow us to conclude that Ibn Ṣāʿid ever studied with Muslim, let alone personally received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from him. Assuming—for the sake of argument—that as a young scholar Ibn Ṣāʿid heard from Muslim, he would have received from him scattered traditions, not the entire *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Al-Zabīdī's inclusion of Ibn Ṣāʿid among the transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is most likely the result of an erroneous reading of al-Khalīlī's report that Ibn Ṣāʿid heard from Muslim in Baghdad. As a distant possibility, it may have something to do with reports that Ibn Ṣāʿid transmitted from al-Bukhārī,[727] whom he probably met during one of his numerous sojourns in Baghdad.

6 Manuscripts and Editions

The only surviving manuscripts of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* are those based on the *isnād* through Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān. In the preface to the 1988–1991 edition of

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(Basra → Baghdad; d. 202/ 817–818), who died twenty-six years before Ibn Ṣāʿid's birth, must be excluded as an erroneous insertion.

[725] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xvi, 342.

[726] On Ibn Māsarjis's last pilgrimage, see al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* viii, 332, 335.

[727] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* xiv, 502.

al-Māzarī's *al-Muʿlim bi-fawāʾid Muslim*, the editor, Muḥammad al-Shādhilī al-Nayfar, recalls that his brother Aḥmad al-Mahdī al-Nayfar had bought a MS. with al-Qalānisī's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[728] At present, the whereabouts of this valuable MS. are unknown. Apart from manuscripts, citations from transmissions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* other than al-Julūdī on the authority of Ibn Sufyān are scattered in various published *ḥadīth* collections. As we have seen, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī has preserved a single tradition in the narration of Ibn al-Sharqī. Thirty-six traditions in the narration of ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ṣaqallī → al-Kisāʾī → Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān are part of al-Dānī's *al-Sunan al-wārida*.[729] Ibn Ḥazm's *Muḥallā* is a still unexplored repository of hundreds of traditions in the narration of Ibn Māhān through al-Qalānisī. To the best of my knowledge, there are no material vestiges of Makkī b. ʿAbdān's narration.

The first print of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* appeared in Calcutta in 1265/1849[730] in the edition of Badīʿ al-Zamān b. Muḥammad al-Bardawānī, ʿAẓīm al-Dīn, and Ghulām Akbar. In a note at the book's end, al-Bardawānī points out that he used a MS. that was finished on 16 Dhū l-Qaʿda 1116/01 March 1705 by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣalāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh b. Rāshid.[731] In 1271/1854–1855 and 1283/1866–1867, prints of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* were produced in Cairo as part of al-Nawawī's commentary,[732] with no mention of the manuscript source that the editors used for the respective edition. A separate edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was accomplished in Cairo in 1290/1873.

An important edition was printed in 1329–1334/1911–1916 in al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿĀmira in Istanbul.[733] The editors, Abū Niʿmat Allāh al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Shukrī b. Ḥasan al-Anqarawī, Aḥmad Rifʿat b. ʿUthmān Ḥilmī al-Qara Ḥiṣārī, and al-Ḥājj Muḥammad ʿIzzat b. al-Ḥājj ʿUthmān al-Zaʿfrānbūlī,[734] state that they collated "several manuscripts and accredited copies."[735] In their marginal annotations, the editors frequently mention al-Nawawī's commentary, which suggests that its Cairo edition was among their chief sources. On one occasion, they describe a part of a tradition as "present in the five copies at our disposal, although not present in the printed Egyptian copies."[736] This puzzling expression seems to imply that the editors used five manuscripts, in addition to printed Egyptian editions, which, once again, points in the direction of al-Nawawī's commentary and probably the Cairo 1290/1873 print of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

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[728] Al-Māzirī, *Muʿlim* i, 181–182.

[729] On which, see Pavlovitch, "Rare witness."

[730] Brockelman, *History* i, 144. At the end of the book, the editors mention Shawwāl 1265 H, which corresponds to 08 August–05 September 1849.

[731] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Calcutta) 744.

[732] Brockelman, *History* i, 144; *GAS* 138.

[733] The first volume is dated 1330 H, which began in December 1911. The last volume is dated 1333, which corresponds to 1914–1915, but at the volume's end the editors have put the date of 24 Rabīʿ ii 1334/16 February 1916; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (al-ʿĀmira) viii, 246.

[734] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (al-ʿĀmira) viii, 246.

[735] Ibid. viii, 246.

In 1374–1375/1955–1956, Muḥammad Fu'ād ʿAbd al-Bāqī (1882–1968) printed in Cairo a new edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. In the short introduction to the edition, ʿAbd al-Bāqī mentions as his sources the 1283 print of al-Nawawī's commentary and the 1329 ʿĀmira edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Based on a comparison between ʿAbd al-Bāqī's edition and the "eighteen volume edition with Nawawī's commentary," Juynboll has suggested that the former was extracted from the latter.[737] However, Juynboll's witness—the omission of Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh between Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl and Abū Rāfiʿ in ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 371 (115)—is observed in both al-Nawawī's commentary and the ʿĀmira edition,[738] as well as in the five manuscripts used for the Dār al-Ta'ṣīl edition.[739] This substantiates the sincerity of ʿAbd al-Bāqī's statement about his sources. Be that as it may, his sources were earlier editions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* rather than independent MSS. with the collection. ʿAbd al-Bāqī was the first to introduce a consecutive numbering of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s traditions, which became a major factor that contributed to the wide spread of his edition.

The only critical edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which clearly identifies and collates its MSS., is the 1435/2014 print by Dār al-Ta'ṣīl. It is based on the following MSS.:

1. MS. Escorial no. 1007, dating to 559/1164.
2. The MS. preserved in the Qarawiyyīn Library in Fes under no. 345/3b. Verified by Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, it dates to 573/1178.
3. MS. Köprülü no. 366, dating to 629/1232.
4. The partial MS. preserved in the ʿUmariyya Library[740] under no. 9388. The date of the manuscript is unknown, but it includes a listening note going back to 461/1068–1069.
5. The partial MS. Princeton no. 589 (104), dating to 559/1164.

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[736] Ibid. viii, 99.

[737] Juynboll, *Encyclopedia* 435. Juynboll refers to the 1349/1930 edition of al-Nawawī's commentary, which is based on the 1283/1866–1867 print of the same work.

[738] Al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ* iv, 66; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (ʿĀmira) i, 194.

[739] Ta'ṣīl, no. 364 and the editors' commentary in Ta'ṣīl ii, 127, note 5.

[740] The editors do not specify the library's location. One may think that the MS. belonged to the ʿUmariyya madrasa in the Damascene quarter Ṣāliḥiyya. In 1878, its collection was merged into the larger collection of the Damascene Public Library, which later became known as the Ẓāhiriyya Library; for more on these events, see Hirschler, *Monument to book culture* 64–114.

Apart from carefully describing their sources, the Dār al-Taʾṣīl editors have included extensive footnotes, in which they meticulously document the textual differences between the five MSS. In 1439/2018, Dār al-Taʾṣīl printed an inferior commercially oriented edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. In order to limit it to a single volume, the editors excluded the introductory study and, adding insult to injury, removed the important footnotes recording the differences between the MSS. Although this cut-down edition may be used for citation, any scholar who is interested in comparing the different MSS. must rely on the first edition and its possible reprints.

Conclusion

Writing a critical study about Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Naysābūrī is a daunting endeavor. By the end of the fifth/eleventh century, Muslim's *ḥadīth* collection *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ* had turned into a paragon of soundness. Its renown reached a degree that at times rivaled the famous *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* by Muslim's senior contemporary Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī. Over time, Muslim's collection transcended the boundaries of scholarly use and came to be perceived as a repository of the Prophet's true verbal relics. As such, it became a tool of devotional practice. No later than the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century, Muslim's tomb in Naysābūr had attracted pious visitors who would read over it parts of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* seeking through its sacred text God's blessing for their intentions and deeds.

Muslim's canonical image is enshrined in the synoptic biographical articles by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ibn ʿAsākir, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, and al-Dhahabī, which laid the foundation of this scholar's contemporary biographies. Mostly apologetic in tone, they have seldom delved into Muslim's precanonical image that may be gleaned from some extant but rarely used sources or from Muslim's own surviving works. My objective in the present study was not to question Muslim's canonicity but to show that he was a critical scholar, who, in his lifetime, encountered formidable methodological and theological challenges. While responding to them, he took part in the articulation of the Sunni identity as we know it today.

The hardest question before Muslim and his contemporary *ḥadīth* scholars was how to deal with the welter of traditions that had been accumulated during the century that preceded Muslim's birth. Second/eighth-century traditionists were avid collectors, who would record each and every tradition. Led by the fervor to know everything about the Prophet and his Companions, they would write, like al-Zuhrī, even on the back of their sandals.[1] These collectors were instrumental in amassing tens of thousands of traditions, but, however commendable, their efforts had a major flaw. With a few exceptions, the second/eighth-century collectors were far from punctilious in assessing the quality of their material. Their occasional comments on the qualities of informants were unsystematic and ran the risk of incurring accusations of *ghība*, that is, wantonly aspersing other Muslims in their absence.

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[1] Al-Khaṭīb, *Taqyīd* 107.

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As Abbot aptly observed, the contributions of Muslim, al-Bukhārī, and their followers "consisted not so much of discovery and first recording as of elimination and reorganization."[2] To sift out the many unreliable or downright invented traditions while precluding accusations of *ghība*, Muslim developed a system of *ḥadīth* criticism resting on two pillars. First, he made the quality of transmission contingent on the transmitter's memory retentiveness (*ḥifẓ*). Stating that someone is a bad memorizer or that at the end of his life he was afflicted by senility and dotage is an objective qualification that does not possibly smack of defamatory arbitrariness as does averring that he is a liar, untrustworthy transmitter, or inventor of traditions. The second pillar of Muslim's *ḥadīth* evaluation was the *isnād* comparison. In both the Introduction to the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*, he called for collating the narrations of the same tradition. If contradictions crop up in the chain or the textual substance of the collated traditions, the numerically preponderant variant should be preferred to the variant occurring in fewer transmissions.

Contrary to the assumption by many modern scholars that early *ḥadīth* critics focused exclusively on the *isnād*, Muslim's take on traditions is complex. As evidenced by many examples in *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*, Muslim treats *ḥadīth* as an indivisible unity of text and chain of narrators. Each textual peculiarity originates with a specific narrator, and it is a matter of *isnād* comparison to decide which textual variant takes precedence over the others. The *isnād*'s clinching role creates the impression of Muslim *ḥadīth* critics' "obsession with the *isnād*,"[3] but, however potent, this impression is secondary. The *ḥadīth*-critical procedure starts with the *matn* substance and only then proceeds to the *isnād* form. This interplay of substance and form, in the course of which the latter seems methodologically privileged, does not necessarily imply *matn* criticism disguised as *isnād* scrutiny. Although Muslim and his fellow Partisans of Tradition may have hesitated to lay bare logical contradictions in the *matn*, they reasonably felt on firm ground when following a formalized procedure of *isnād* comparison, which—significantly—could answer the crucial question of who is responsible for the singular or contradictory wording.

Instrumental though it was in quashing misgivings about *rijāl* criticism, Muslim's *isnād* comparison has an important epistemological limitation. It ties up the quality of the *isnād* to the merits of its constituent tradents, which in turn are gauged by the number and quality of the *isnād*s including these tradents. Laden with circularity, this epistemological symbiosis of transmission lines and transmitters furthermore depends on the assumption that the

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[2] Abbot, *Studies* ii, 39.

[3] Brown, "How we know" 172.

isnād system is inherently reliable. Only then may the quantitative criterion assure the numerically preponderant transmission's precedence over the one that is conveyed by fewer chains. The presumption of reliability either ignores or downplays the phenomenon of *isnād* proliferation by mutual copying of traditions and ascribing them to a single informant.

The stipulation of memory retentiveness, by which Muslim set a great store, may be viewed as an exit from the above limitations. On a closer inspection, however, it turns out to be just another assumption derived from the quantitative criterion. A retentive transmitter is presumably someone who, by dint of his multiple accurate transmissions, has attracted numerous students who took on his *ḥadīth* and transmitted it to posterity. Admittedly, traditionists who transmitted only a few traditions or scarcely had more than a handful of students may sometimes be described as *thiqa*, which presupposes their partaking of the quality of *ḥifẓ*, but such assessments hardly involve certain knowledge about the transmitter's actual merits. Most likely, they derive from the assumption that a barely-known transmitter is reliable so long as he is cited by a transmitter from the next generation who is well known (*mashhūr*), which in the end boils down to the quantitative criterion extended retrospectively. Not surprisingly, the conception of *shuhra* is the backbone of Muslim's collection *al-Munfaridāt wa-l-wuḥdān*. It allows Muslim to accredit scores of unknown transmitters only because they are cited by a representative of the next generation who is *mashhūr*. Muslim's conception of *shuhra* is a back-projection of later authority onto the generations of the Companions and the Successors, which were crucial for the success of the third/ninth-century *ḥadīth*-critical enterprise.

Muslim's extant *rijāl* dictionaries predominantly deal with the first two generations after the Prophet—to lift the veil of obscurity hanging over most of their representatives. To make these transmitters well known was tantamount to validating their transmissions. In *al-Kunā wa-l-asmā'*, Muslim defines the scholarly circle of a given transmitter with reference to his/her teachers and students, who apparently must be at least two. Although Muslim does not state this number as an explicit requirement, it quickly leaps to the eye of anyone who skims through *al-Kunā*. Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī likely had precisely this work in mind when he regarded as "Muslim's criterion" the doubling of the *isnād* at each level of transmission. Together with Muslim's other surviving collections, *al-Kunā wa-l-asmā'* bears witness to an outstanding trend in the composition of the earliest *rijāl* dictionaries: Muslim and his contemporary *ḥadīth* experts relied on the *isnād* for extracting the names of little-known transmitters and determining their scholarly networks.

The endeavor to accredit the earliest links in the chains of transmission could have failed were it not for the introduction of the conception of the Companions' collective probity. Articulated during the latter part of Muslim's lifetime, this conception often extended to the second generation of Muslims, the Successors. It precluded further critical questions about these two generations, who came to be perceived as the soundest foundation of *ḥadīth* transmission.

In the first half of the second/eighth century, Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj found three-quarters of the traditions that were available to him to be lies.[4] Muslim was alert to the continuation of this tendency into his lifetime. In a manner that proto-Sunni traditionists, such as Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī and Ibn Wāra al-Rāzī, considered scandalous, he either implied or openly admitted that thousands upon thousands of traditions were untrustworthy. But even the tiny fraction of traditions that he admitted into the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was not always possible to reconcile with the early critics' criteria of reliability. Muslim tackled their defects by presuming that master traditionists could not engage in the obfuscation of transmission (*tadlīs*). Even if their transmission had the appearance of discontinuity, he argued, this was because of these masters' willingness to abridge citation. Only their inferior colleagues were true *mudallisūn* who tampered with the chains to conceal their flaws. This distinction allowed Muslim to forestall an epistemological quandary: If everyone who may have omitted the mention of his direct informant were denied the benefit of the doubt, the entire *isnād* system would break down. Such a collapse would be pernicious for the earliest links covering the first/seventh and the beginning of the second/eighth centuries.

Muslim's critical treatment of the *isnād* system dovetails with the view of present-day sceptical academics who think that from its very onset it had been beset by arbitrariness. Muslim and the third/ninth-century *ḥadīth* critics were alert to the many errors in transmission and *isnād* forgeries that were committed by the second/eighth-century traditionists, but, apart from recording their existence, they did not possess an effective tool for sifting the correct traditions from the incorrect ones. The plethora of *ḥadīth*-critical criteria that came into being during the third/ninth century were incapable of offsetting the lack of standards a century before.

Muslim kept away from overstating the orthodoxy of transmitters. Many early *ḥadīth* critics habitually disparaged *ahl al-bidaʿ*, frequently citing statements to that effect by representatives of the previous generations of traditionists. Even so, these critics knew that the orthodoxy criterion had to be used with circumspection. If collectively applied to all second/eighth-century traditionists, it could disqualify many pivots of early *ḥadīth* collection and transmission whose theological opinions, say on the issue of free will and predestination, were more or less acceptable during their lifetime yet frowned upon by the third/ninth-century Partisans of Tradition.

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[4] Al-Khaṭīb, *Jāmiʿ* ii, 295.

Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* has been conventionally perceived as a work of jurisprudence foregrounding prophetic precedent. Preponderant as it is, legal *ḥadīth* covers only part of the collection's contents, as it includes an important but rarely discussed contribution to the articulation of traditionalist belief. Muslim's abstruse serial citation of traditions makes his theological tenets difficult to make out without extensive knowledge of the third/ninth-century intellectual currents but also the earlier conceptual strata that were accreted thereby. The Partisans of Tradition built their arguments on the textual matter alone, while carefully avoiding the dialectical methodology of their rationalist opponents. Thus, as he assails the Qadari interpretation of the *ḥadīth* according to which all children share an inborn primeval monotheism (*fiṭra*), but their parents subsequently convert them to Judaism, Christianity, or polytheism, Muslim cites an alternative text in which Muslim parents likewise convert their children to Islam. In the process, he does not attend to the latter text's anti-deterministic undertone. To him, the insertion of "Muslim parents" in the *matn* does not entail that all men, Muslims included, could freely choose between good and evil actions. It only undermines the textual correctness of the Qadari variant and likely suppresses its implication that men are free to perform evil actions (in this case, the Jewish, Christian, and polytheist forms of corrupting the original monotheism) while God predetermines the good actions (Muslim = remaining faithful to one's *fiṭra*). Along the way, Muslim does not seem to consider the question of how Islam relates to the *fiṭra*, which also lurks in his "and-Muslim-parents-do-the-same" variant. From the perspective of a rationalistically predisposed reader, this literal reading of the *matn* might seem perfunctory and logically deficient. All the same, it adequately instantiates the workings of the traditionalists' text-bound logic.[5]

Definition of faith (*īmān*) is Muslim's overarching concern in *Kitāb al-Īmān*. In response to the Murji'i tenet that *īmān* includes the inward belief in God and its verbal profession while excluding the acts of obedience, Muslim cites numerous prophetic traditions to the effect that actions are an integral part of *īmān*. Although the roots of the Murji'i teaching go back well into the first half of the second/eighth century, the level of Muslim's preoccupation with the issue of faith and actions suggests that it played an important role in the dogmatic clash between traditionalists and rationalists during the Miḥna. Apart from this, the third/ninth-century Naysābūr witnessed the rise of the ascetic

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[5] For a similar line of argumentation by later traditionalists, see Pavlovitch, "Manda family" 647, 657–658, 660–661.

Karramis, who called for an unlimited reliance (*tawakkul*) on God. This trend concurred with the Murji'i depreciation of actions, and its followers certainly occupied a central place among the theological adversaries of Muslim and his fellow Partisans of Tradition. Other issues at stake were the status of the sinner, the beatific vision, and the Prophet's intercession for the unbelievers on Judgment Day.

The theological significance of *Kitāb al-Qadar* has been hitherto neglected. This part of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* bears witness to an elaborate vision of free will and predestination. Muslim professes God's predestination but realizes the theological caveats of a teaching that could leave no room for the operation of human free will. To avoid depreciating the human actions to a level that would make traditionalist anthropology vulnerable to the arguments of the Muʿtazilis, who advocated free will, the Murji'is, who excluded works from the definition of faith, and the Karramis, who called for reliance on God alone, Muslim propounds a synergetic interaction between divine predestination and human agency. According to him, God undoubtedly creates and foreordains everything, including man's capacity to act or to refrain from acting. This notion is built on a dual dichotomy. On the one hand, God predetermines the course of events but gives man the ability to act. On the other hand, the ability to act is divided into action or refraining from action, which implies freedom of choice, even if the choice is made between foreordained possibilities. Once the human agent makes up his mind, God intervenes to facilitate (*yassara*) the ensuing action. Thus, although nothing comes to pass beyond God's will and predestination, man is still left with an independent capacity to act according to his choice, which God makes happen irrespective of its goodness or wickedness. In making a choice, the human agent becomes responsible for the otherworldly consequences of his actions.

In his theology, Muslim held the opinion that the pronunciation (*lafẓ*) of the Quran is created. To many traditionists, this teaching was an unacceptable concession to the rationalist party of Ḥanafis and Muʿtazilis who upheld the Miḥna. Because of the *lafẓ* dispute, Muslim's relationship with the influential head of the Naysābūri traditionalists, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī was damaged beyond repair.

The canonical narrative on Muslim presents him as a close friend and faithful follower of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī. Apart from several apologetic reports, which mostly assert that Muslim shared with al-Bukhārī the same understanding of *lafẓ* and admired his ability to detect hidden flaws in *ḥadīth*, this notion is not reflected in Muslim's works. At the end of the Introduction, Muslim assails a methodological adversary who accredited only the transmission of such traditionists who were known to have come together at least once in their lifetime. Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ and several later *ḥadīth* experts suggested al-Bukhārī and Ibn al-Madīnī as Muslim's unnamed opponents, whereas modern apologists mounted vehement attacks against this possibility. It is likely that Muslim does not mention a specific name, because he engaged more than one opponent, but al-Bukhārī's belonging to this group has not been disproven.

Strikingly, in his surviving works Muslim never cites al-Bukhārī[6]—a disregard unexpected of a student who adored his teacher to the point of being ready to kiss his feet in a token of reverence. Al-Dāraquṭnī's statement that Muslim followed in al-Bukhārī's steps and modeled his *Ṣaḥīḥ* on al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* endorses the fourth/tenth-century Iraqi preference of al-Bukhārī, but it may well be a recollection of assertions made during the two scholars' lifetime. Similar claims, better grounded than those regarding the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, were likely leveled at Muslim's *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*, which seems largely dependent on al-Bukhārī's *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*. Muslim may have avoided citing al-Bukhārī not because of what al-Dhahabī termed "his acrid temper," but to set himself apart from al-Bukhārī, whom he considered as a scholarly paragon but did not necessarily copy as blindly as some of Muslim's detractors would aver.

The early stages in the transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* are murky. In the first generation after Muslim, only Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān, Aḥmad al-Qalānisī, Makkī b. ʿAbdān, and Aḥmad b. al-Sharqī may be attested, with different degrees of certainty, as historical transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* or parts thereof. Of these four branches, none but Ibn Sufyān's narration has survived in full to our day. During most of the fourth/tenth century, its transmission was limited to Naysābūr and the adjacent regions. Towards the century's end, scholars visiting Mecca for the pilgrimage rites carried it along to North Africa and al-Andalus, where its transmission flourished in the fifth/eleventh and the sixth/twelfth centuries. Because of the dwindling Muslim presence in al-Andalus, in the seventh/thirteenth century the geographical focus of the transmission shifted to greater Syria and Egypt. In the seventh–tenth/thirteenth–sixteenth centuries, the scholars in these two regions of the Islamic world preserved Ibn Sufyān's narration in numerous written copies. At the same time, Iraq and Iran lost their significance as transmission centers because of the Mongol invasion, which plunged these regions into a state of political disintegration and social upheaval.

Al-Qalānisī's narration was put into circulation in Egypt by Ibn Māhān in 385/995. In the next few decades, it traveled to al-Andalus and spread widely among the local scholars. No interest whatsoever in Ibn Māhān's narration is observed in the eastern Islamic lands. Although in the sixth/twelfth century

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[6] With two exceptions in *al-Kunā wa-l-asmāʾ*, on which see p. 188, note 8 above.

ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥajrī and Aḥmad b. Maḍāʾ introduced it to North Africa, it did not gain popularity and died down unable to compete with Ibn Sufyān's narration.

Makkī b. ʿAbdān's narration of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was discovered by Ibn Ḥajar. His strikingly high *isnād* points to the Ḥanbali circles in Damascus during the second half of the sixth/twelfth century as the possible driving force behind the promotion of this narration. Al-Suyūṭī and several late collectors emulated Ibn Ḥajar's *isnād*, but, apart from avidity for elevation, their *isnād*s are unforthcoming with information about the early history of Makkī's narration. The absence of surviving manuscripts or later citations suggests that Makkī's narration either lost traction early in the process of transmission or materialized late in the course of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s canonization. Those who discovered it could have been driven by the wish to prove that the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was transmitted by a considerable number of scholars already in the first generation after Muslim.

Ibn Ḥajar's Meccan contemporary Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī discovered yet another rare narration of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, on the authority of Aḥmad b. al-Sharqī. This narration's *isnād* terminates 142 lunar years before al-Fāsī's birth and includes uncertain blanket *ijāza*s between three of its transmitters, al-Harawī, Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Khawlānī, and Ibn Zarqūn. These peculiarities greatly undermine the reliability of this chain. In the best-case scenario, Ibn al-Sharqī may have transmitted isolated traditions on Muslim's authority.

Ibn Sufyān's narration had the best chance of surviving because it was the only known transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* for an entire century after Muslim's death. Its only rival, Ibn Māhān's narration, appeared in Egypt at a time Ibn Sufyān's transmitters had made inroads into North Africa and al-Andalus. For two centuries, Andalusian scholars labored to preserve both Ibn Sufyān and Ibn Māhān, but, in the end, the former's antiquity and wider spread made it the preferred choice of the transmitters. To these factors, one must add the economy of written transmission. The literary output in the third/ninth and the following centuries by far exceeded the physical and financial capacity of an individual scholar to transcribe all versions of the works that were available to him. In keeping with the ritual of oral transmission, medieval Muslim scholars might cite different *isnād*s, but when copying an entire work they likely confined themselves to making a single transcript. However important, Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is a capacious collection, and if a choice was to be made between its main narrations, the transmitters would settle on Ibn Sufyān for the already mentioned chronological precedence.

An important topic that I left out of the present study is the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* during the Ottoman period. Key to its reconstruction are the works by Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Ṣāliḥ al-Fulānī, Muḥammad al-Shawkānī, and other late scholars who took the collection's *isnād*s into the thirteenth/nineteenth century. In this manner, they established a link to the modern period, in which the culture of oral transmission and handwritten record gave way to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s printed editions. Another gap in our knowledge relates to the manuscripts on which the earliest printed editions were based. The editors of the 1265/1849 Calcutta edition mention in passing as their source a MS. going back to 1116/1705. The manuscript sources of the Cairo 1271/1854–1855 and 1283/1866–1867 prints of al-Nawawī's commentary are unknown. The ʿĀmira editors assert to have used at least five sources, regrettably unspecified, but I suspect that al-Nawawī's commentary served as the basis of their edition. The same commentary was used by ʿAbd al-Bāqī. Thus, the printed editions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* seem to turn on a single manuscript source or group of sources, which lie behind the 1283/1866–1867 al-Nawawī commentary. Dār al-Taʾṣīl's 1435/2014 print is the only exception, which must be commended for the careful description and collation of its sources.

An exciting aspect of the study of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which has been only superficially addressed in the present monograph, is the degree of textual difference between the early narrations of the collection. My comparison of a single tradition from Ibn al-Sharqī's narration with its counterparts in Ibn Sufyān's narration has shown considerable differences, suggesting that either Ibn al-Sharqī worked with a presently lost version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* or Muslim's original text was changed by Ibn Sufyān. Elsewhere, I compared thirty-six traditions in the transmission of ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Dānī on the authority of al-Kisāʾī citing Ibn Sufyān with the respective traditions preserved by Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Julūdī citing Ibn Sufyān. Exhibiting lesser differences, these traditions may be argued to stem from a shared source, to wit, Ibn Sufyān. A further comparative study should take into account the numerous traditions that are preserved in Ibn Ḥazm's *Muḥallā* on the authority of Ibn Māhān citing his *isnād* Abū Bakr al-Ashqar → al-Qalānisī → Muslim. This comparison may hold an answer to the question about the provenance of Ibn Māhān's narration. One wonders if it may reveal the same level of differences between al-Qalānisī and Ibn Sufyān as we observed between Ibn al-Sharqī and Ibn Sufyān. Such differences raise the question of whether the *Ṣaḥīḥ* may have been an organic work that underwent significant changes over the first two or three generations after Muslim. This line of thought may be further pursued when we take into account the striking discrepancy in the number of Muslim's informants that is observed between the count by the anonymous compiler of *Kitāb al-Zahra* and the counts in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*'s modern editions (see Appendix 3).

APPENDIX 1

Isnād Diagrams

The diagrams are freely available at https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.21564102

Onomastic Abbreviations

Personal Names

A. = Aḥmad
ʿAAz. = ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz
ʿAb. = ʿAbbās
ʿABq. = ʿAbd al-Bāqī
ʿAD. = ʿAbd al-Dāʾim
ʿAGh. = ʿAbd al-Ghāfir
ʿAHd. = ʿAbd al-Hādī
ʿAḤmd. = ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd
ʿAK. = ʿAbd al-Karīm
ʿAl. = ʿAbdallāh
ʿALṭ. = ʿAbd al-Laṭīf
ʿAM. = ʿAbd al-Munʿim
ʿAMn. = ʿAbd al-Muʾmin
ʿAMk. = ʿAbd al-Malik
ʿAMz. = ʿAbd al-Muʿizz
ʿAR. = ʿAbd al-Raḥmān
ʿARḥ. = ʿAbd al-Raḥīm
ʿARzq. = ʿAbd al-Razzāq
ʿAS. = ʿAbd al-Sallām
ʿAṢ. = ʿAbd al-Ṣamad
ʿAW. = ʿAbd al-Wāḥid
ʿAWhb. = ʿAbd al-Wahhāb
Dwd. = Dāwūd
Fṭ. = Fāṭima
Ḥ. = Ḥasan
Hsh. = Hishām
Ḥu. = Ḥusayn
ʿĪ. = ʿĪsā
Ibr. = Ibrāhīm
Iḥq. = Isḥāq
Ism. = Ismāʿīl
J. = Jaʿfar
Lth. = Layth
M. = Muḥammad
Ms. = Mūsā
Mṣ. = Muṣṭafā
Msd. = Masʿūd
Mṣr. = Manṣūr
Q. = Qāsim
S. = Saʿīd
Sf. = Sufyān
Sḥ. = Sarḥān
Sul. = Sulaymān
ʿU. = ʿUmar
ʿUAl. = ʿUbayd Allāh
ʿUth. = ʿUthmān
Yf. = Yūsuf
Yḥ. = Yaḥyā
Yq. = Yaʿqūb
Ys. = Yūnus
Zb. = Zaynab
Zk. = Zakariyyāʾ

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Names of Places

A. = al-Andalus
Al. = Aleppo
B. = Baghdad
D. = Damascus
E. = Egypt
I. = Isfahan
J. = Jerusalem
Md. = Medina
Mk. = Mecca
Mrk. = Marrakesh
N. = Naysābūr
NA. = North Africa
Ns. = Nasā
Q. = Qayrawān
Qz. = Qazvin
S. = Syria
Ṣ. = Ṣan‘ā’
Sh. = Shiraz
Y. = Yemen

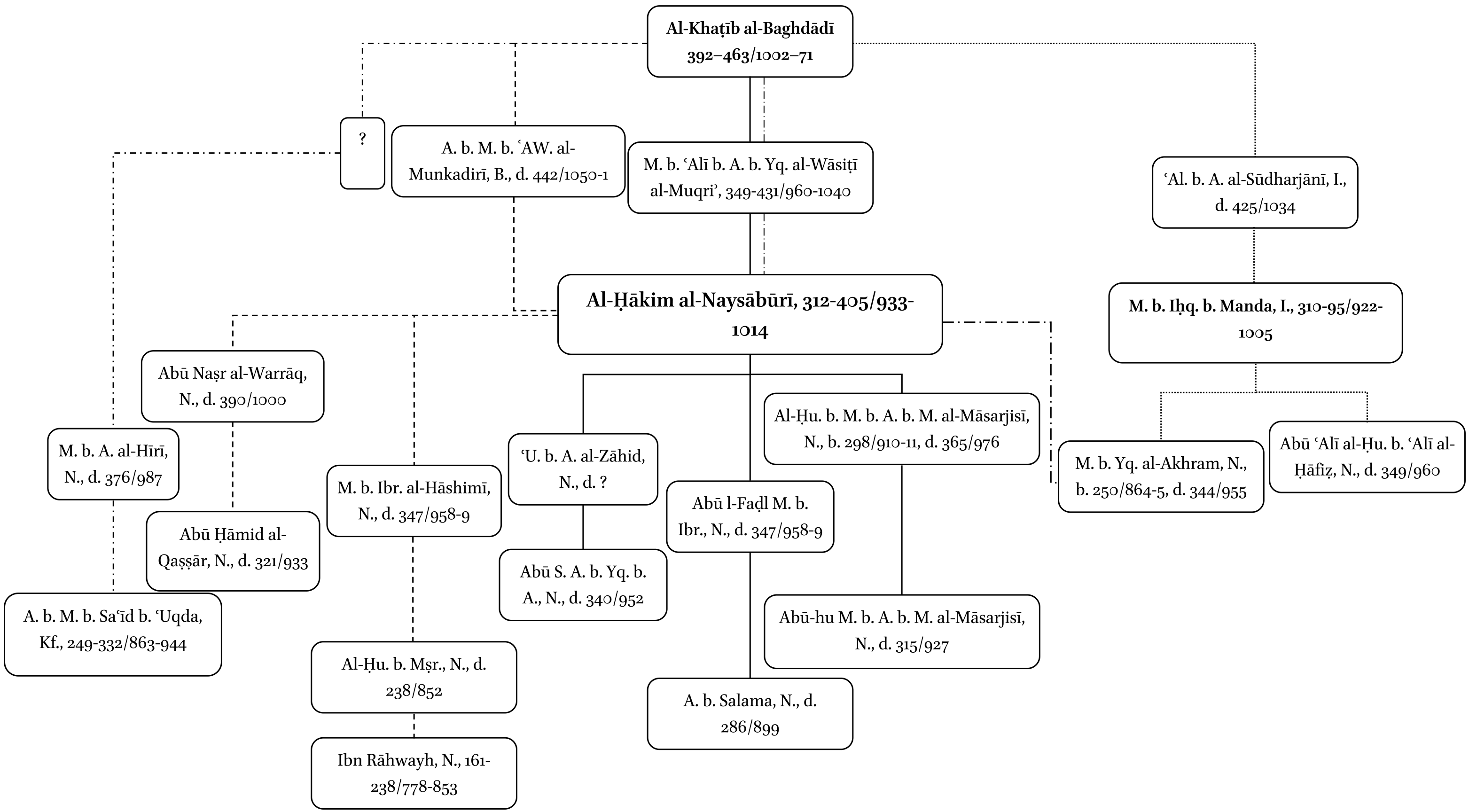

Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī 392–463/1002–71
?
A. b. M. b. ʿAW. al-Munkadirī, B., d. 442/1050-1
M. b. ʿAlī b. A. b. Yq. al-Wāsiṭī al-Muqriʾ, 349-431/960-1040
ʿAl. b. A. al-Sūdharjānī, I., d. 425/1034
Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, 312-405/933-1014
M. b. Iḥq. b. Manda, I., 310-95/922-1005
Abū Naṣr al-Warrāq, N., d. 390/1000
Al-Ḥu. b. M. b. A. b. M. al-Māsarjisī, N., b. 298/910-11, d. 365/976
M. b. A. al-Hīrī, N., d. 376/987
ʿU. b. A. al-Zāhid, N., d. ?
M. b. Yq. al-Akhram, N., b. 250/864-5, d. 344/955
Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥu. b. ʿAlī al-Ḥāfiẓ, N., d. 349/960
M. b. Ibr. al-Hāshimī, N., d. 347/958-9
Abū l-Faḍl M. b. Ibr., N., d. 347/958-9
Abū Ḥāmid al-Qaṣṣār, N., d. 321/933
Abū S. A. b. Yq. b. A., N., d. 340/952
A. b. M. b. Saʿīd b. ʿUqda, Kf., 249-332/863-944
Abū-hu M. b. A. b. M. al-Māsarjisī, N., d. 315/927
Al-Ḥu. b. Mṣr., N., d. 238/852
A. b. Salama, N., d. 286/899
Ibn Rāhwayh, N., 161-238/778-853

DIAGRAM 1 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's biographical sources about Muslim

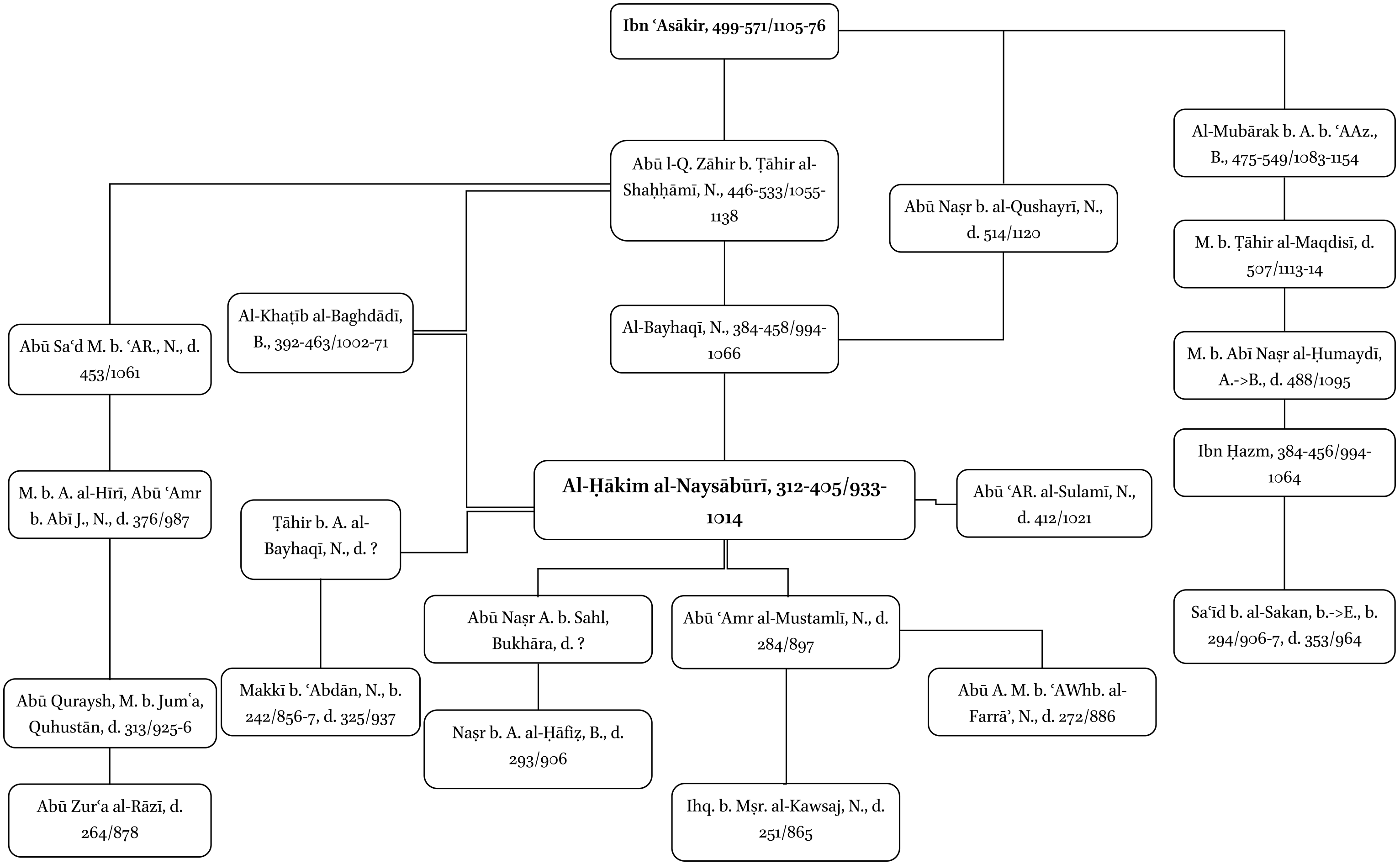
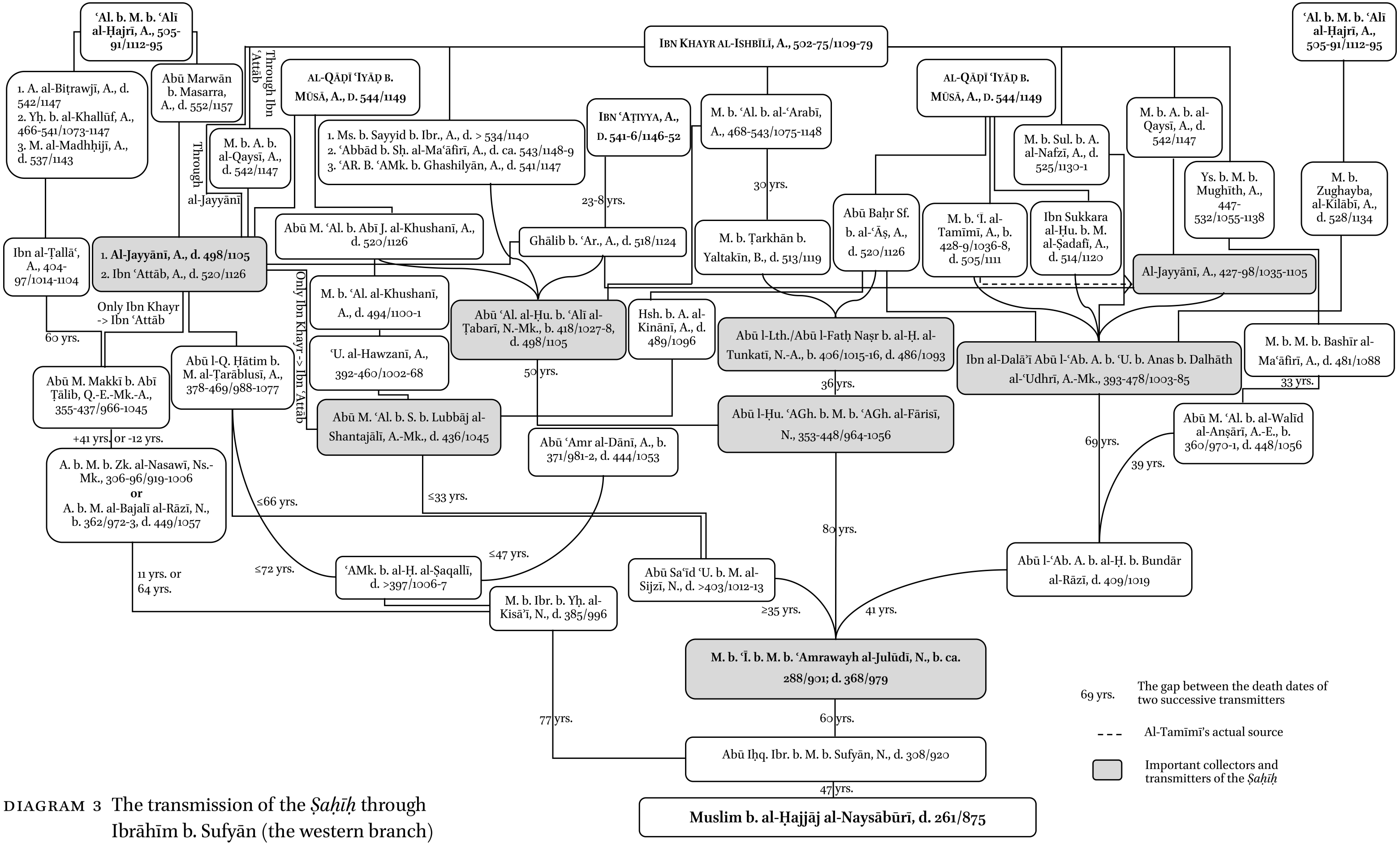
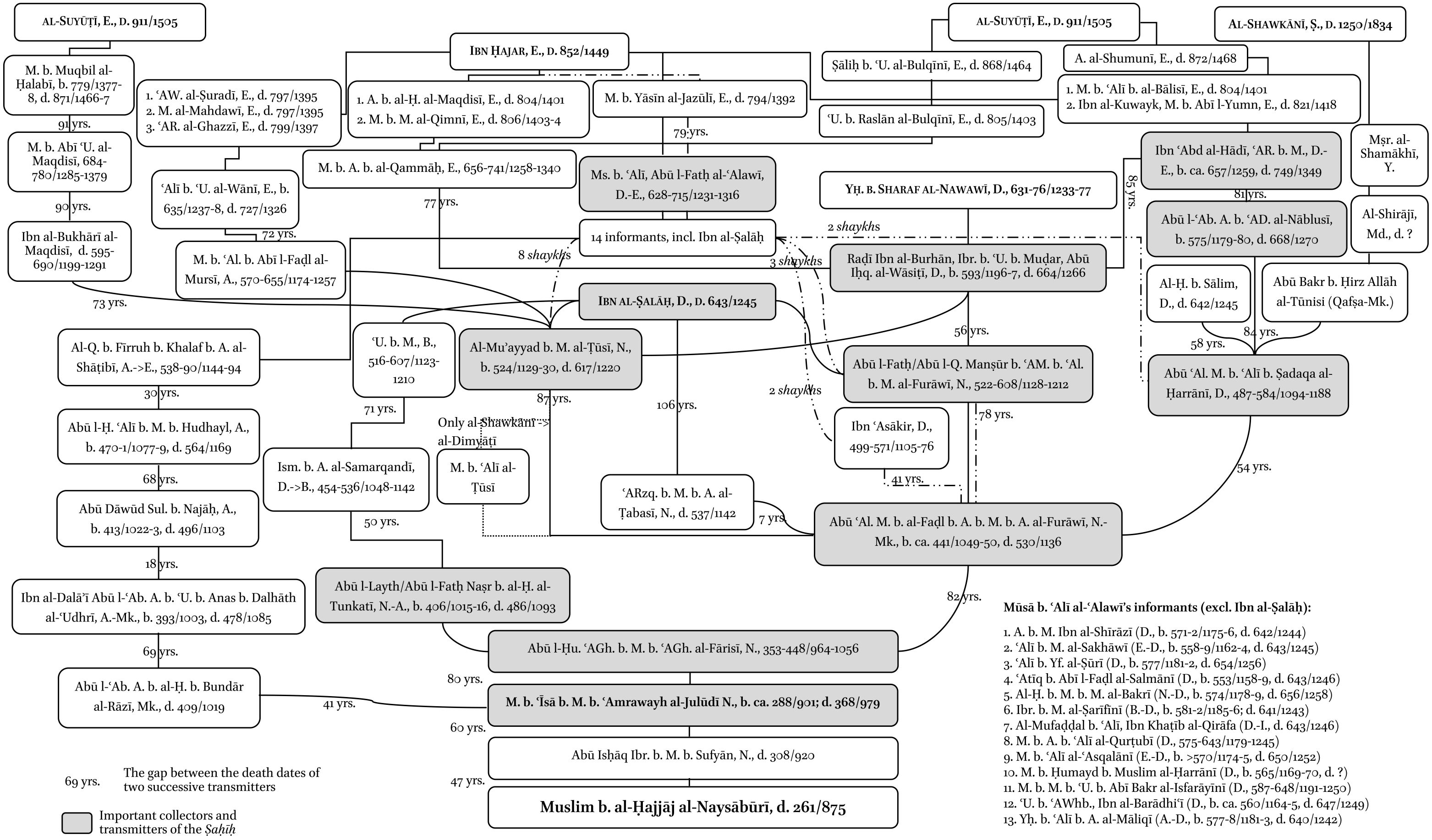

Ibn ʿAsākir, 499-571/1105-76
Abū l-Q. Zāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Shaḥḥāmī, N., 446-533/1055-1138
Abū Naṣr b. al-Qushayrī, N., d. 514/1120
Al-Mubārak b. A. b. ʿAAz., B., 475-549/1083-1154
M. b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, d. 507/1113-14
M. b. Abī Naṣr al-Ḥumaydī, A.->B., d. 488/1095
Ibn Ḥazm, 384-456/994-1064
Saʿīd b. al-Sakan, b.->E., b. 294/906-7, d. 353/964
Abū Saʿd M. b. ʿAR., N., d. 453/1061
Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, B., 392-463/1002-71
Al-Bayhaqī, N., 384-458/994-1066
Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, 312-405/933-1014
Abū ʿAR. al-Sulamī, N., d. 412/1021
M. b. A. al-Hīrī, Abū ʿAmr b. Abī J., N., d. 376/987
Ṭāhir b. A. al-Bayhaqī, N., d. ?
Abū Naṣr A. b. Sahl, Bukhāra, d. ?
Abū ʿAmr al-Mustamlī, N., d. 284/897
Abū A. M. b. ʿAWhb. al-Farrā', N., d. 272/886
Abū Quraysh, M. b. Jumʿa, Quhustān, d. 313/925-6
Makkī b. ʿAbdān, N., b. 242/856-7, d. 325/937
Naṣr b. A. al-Ḥāfiẓ, B., d. 293/906
Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī, d. 264/878
Ihq. b. Mṣr. al-Kawsaj, N., d. 251/865

DIAGRAM 2 Ibn ʿAsākir's unique *isnāds* of biographical reports about Muslim



Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, A., 502-75/1109-79
ʿAl. b. M. b. ʿAlī al-Ḥajrī, A., 505-91/1112-95
1. A. al-Biṭrawjī, A., d. 542/1147
2. Yḥ. b. al-Khallūf, A., 466-541/1073-1147
3. M. al-Madhḥijī, A., d. 537/1143
Abū Marwān b. Masarra, A., d. 552/1157
Through Ibn ʿAttāb
M. b. A. b. al-Qaysī, A., d. 542/1147
Through al-Jayyānī
al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, A., d. 544/1149
1. Ms. b. Sayyid b. Ibr., A., d. > 534/1140
2. ʿAbbād b. Sh. al-Maʿāfirī, A., d. ca. 543/1148-9
3. ʿAR. B. ʿAMk. b. Ghashilyān, A., d. 541/1147
Ibn ʿAṭiyya, A., d. 541-6/1146-52
M. b. ʿAl. b. al-ʿArabī, A., 468-543/1075-1148
al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, A., d. 544/1149
M. b. A. b. al-Qaysī, A., d. 542/1147
M. b. Sul. b. A. al-Nafzī, A., d. 525/1130-1
Ys. b. M. b. Mughīth, A., 447-532/1055-1138
M. b. Zughayba, al-Kilābī, A., d. 528/1134
Abū M. ʿAl. b. Abī J. al-Khushanī, A., d. 520/1126
23-8 yrs.
Ghālib b. ʿAr., A., d. 518/1124
30 yrs.
M. b. Ṭarkhān b. Yaltakīn, B., d. 513/1119
Abū Baḥr Sf. b. al-ʿĀṣ, A., d. 520/1126
M. b. ʿĪ. al-Tamīmī, A., b. 428-9/1036-8, d. 505/1111
Ibn Sukkara al-Ḥu. b. M. al-Ṣadafī, A., d. 514/1120
Al-Jayyānī, A., 427-98/1035-1105
Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ, A., 404-97/1014-1104
1. Al-Jayyānī, A., d. 498/1105
2. Ibn ʿAttāb, A., d. 520/1126
Only Ibn Khayr -> Ibn ʿAttāb
Only Ibn Khayr -> Ibn ʿAttāb
60 yrs.
M. b. ʿAl. al-Khushanī, A., d. 494/1100-1
ʿU. al-Hawzanī, A., 392-460/1002-68
Abū ʿAl. al-Ḥu. b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, N.-Mk., b. 418/1027-8, d. 498/1105
Hsh. b. A. al-Kinānī, A., d. 489/1096
Abū l-Lth./Abū l-Fatḥ Naṣr b. al-Ḥ. al-Tunkatī, N.-A., b. 406/1015-16, d. 486/1093
Ibn al-Dalāʾī Abū l-ʿAb. A. b. ʿU. b. Anas b. Dalhāth al-ʿUdhrī, A.-Mk., 393-478/1003-85
M. b. M. b. Bashīr al-Maʿāfirī, A., d. 481/1088
33 yrs.
Abū M. Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, Q.-E.-Mk.-A., 355-437/966-1045
Abū l-Q. Ḥātim b. M. al-Ṭarābulsī, A., 378-469/988-1077
Abū M. ʿAl. b. S. b. Lubbāj al-Shantajālī, A.-Mk., d. 436/1045
50 yrs.
Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī, A., b. 371/981-2, d. 444/1053
36 yrs.
Abū l-Ḥu. ʿAGh. b. M. b. ʿAGh. al-Fārisī, N., 353-448/964-1056
69 yrs.
Abū M. ʿAl. b. al-Walīd al-Anṣārī, A.-E., b. 360/970-1, d. 448/1056
39 yrs.
+41 yrs. or -12 yrs.
A. b. M. b. Zk. al-Nasawī, Ns.-Mk., 306-96/919-1006
or
A. b. M. al-Bajalī al-Rāzī, N., b. 362/972-3, d. 449/1057
≤66 yrs.
≤33 yrs.
80 yrs.
≤47 yrs.
≤72 yrs.
ʿAMk. b. al-Ḥ. al-Ṣaqallī, d. >397/1006-7
11 yrs. or 64 yrs.
M. b. Ibr. b. Yḥ. al-Kisāʾī, N., d. 385/996
Abū Saʿīd ʿU. b. M. al-Sijzī, N., d. >403/1012-13
≥35 yrs.
41 yrs.
Abū l-ʿAb. A. b. al-Ḥ. b. Bundār al-Rāzī, d. 409/1019
M. b. ʿĪ. b. M. b. ʿAmrawayh al-Julūdī, N., b. ca. 288/901; d. 368/979
77 yrs.
60 yrs.
Abū Iḥq. Ibr. b. M. b. Sufyān, N., d. 308/920
47 yrs.
Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Naysābūrī, d. 261/875
69 yrs. The gap between the death dates of two successive transmitters
- - - Al-Tamīmī's actual source
Important collectors and transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*

DIAGRAM 3 The transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* through Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān (the western branch)


Al-Suyūṭī, E., d. 911/1505
M. b. Muqbil al-Ḥalabī, b. 779/1377-8, d. 871/1466-7
91 yrs.
M. b. Abī ʿU. al-Maqdisī, 684-780/1285-1379
90 yrs.
Ibn al-Bukhārī al-Maqdisī, d. 595-690/1199-1291
73 yrs.
1. ʿAW. al-Ṣuradī, E., d. 797/1395
2. M. al-Mahdawī, E., d. 797/1395
3. ʿAR. al-Ghazzī, E., d. 799/1397
ʿAlī b. ʿU. al-Wānī, E., b. 635/1237-8, d. 727/1326
72 yrs.
M. b. ʿAl. b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Mursī, A., 570-655/1174-1257
Ibn Ḥajar, E., d. 852/1449
1. A. b. al-Ḥ. al-Maqdisī, E., d. 804/1401
2. M. b. M. al-Qimnī, E., d. 806/1403-4
M. b. Yāsīn al-Jazūlī, E., d. 794/1392
79 yrs.
M. b. A. b. al-Qammāḥ, E., 656-741/1258-1340
77 yrs.
Ms. b. ʿAlī, Abū l-Fatḥ al-ʿAlawī, D.-E., 628-715/1231-1316
14 informants, incl. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ
8 shaykhs
3 shaykhs
2 shaykhs
2 shaykhs
Al-Suyūṭī, E., d. 911/1505
Ṣāliḥ b. ʿU. al-Bulqīnī, E., d. 868/1464
ʿU. b. Raslān al-Bulqīnī, E., d. 805/1403
A. al-Shumunī, E., d. 872/1468
1. M. b. ʿAlī b. al-Bālisī, E., d. 804/1401
2. Ibn al-Kuwayk, M. b. Abī l-Yumn, E., d. 821/1418
Al-Shawkānī, Ṣ., d. 1250/1834
Mṣr. al-Shamākhī, Y.
Al-Shirājī, Md., d. ?
Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, ʿAR. b. M., D.-E., b. ca. 657/1259, d. 749/1349
85 yrs.
81 yrs.
Abū l-ʿAb. A. b. ʿAD. al-Nāblusī, b. 575/1179-80, d. 668/1270
Yḥ. b. Sharaf al-Nawawī, D., 631-76/1233-77
Raḍī Ibn al-Burhān, Ibr. b. ʿU. b. Muḍar, Abū Iḥq. al-Wāsiṭī, D., b. 593/1196-7, d. 664/1266
Al-Ḥ. b. Sālim, D., d. 642/1245
Abū Bakr b. Ḥirz Allāh al-Tūnisi (Qafṣa-Mk.)
58 yrs.
84 yrs.
Abū ʿAl. M. b. ʿAlī b. Ṣadaqa al-Ḥarrānī, D., 487-584/1094-1188
54 yrs.
Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, D., d. 643/1245
56 yrs.
Abū l-Fatḥ/Abū l-Q. Manṣūr b. ʿAM. b. ʿAl. b. M. al-Furāwī, N., 522-608/1128-1212
78 yrs.
Ibn ʿAsākir, D., 499-571/1105-76
41 yrs.
Al-Q. b. Fīrruh b. Khalaf b. A. al-Shāṭibī, A.->E., 538-90/1144-94
30 yrs.
ʿU. b. M., B., 516-607/1123-1210
Al-Muʾayyad b. M. al-Ṭūsī, N., b. 524/1129-30, d. 617/1220
87 yrs.
106 yrs.
71 yrs.
Only al-Shawkānī -> al-Dimyāṭī
M. b. ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī
Abū l-Ḥ. ʿAlī b. M. b. Hudhayl, A., b. 470-1/1077-9, d. 564/1169
68 yrs.
Ism. b. A. al-Samarqandī, D.->B., 454-536/1048-1142
50 yrs.
ʿARzq. b. M. b. A. al-Ṭabasī, N., d. 537/1142
7 yrs.
Abū ʿAl. M. b. al-Faḍl b. A. b. M. b. A. al-Furāwī, N.-Mk., b. ca. 441/1049-50, d. 530/1136
Abū Dāwūd Sul. b. Najāḥ, A., b. 413/1022-3, d. 496/1103
18 yrs.
Ibn al-Dalāʾī Abū l-ʿAb. A. b. ʿU. b. Anas b. Dalhāth al-ʿUdhrī, A.-Mk., b. 393/1003, d. 478/1085
Abū l-Layth/Abū l-Fatḥ Naṣr b. al-Ḥ. al-Tunkatī, N.-A., b. 406/1015-16, d. 486/1093
82 yrs.
69 yrs.
Abū l-Ḥu. ʿAGh. b. M. b. ʿAGh. al-Fārisī, N., 353-448/964-1056
80 yrs.
Abū l-ʿAb. A. b. al-Ḥ. b. Bundār al-Rāzī, Mk., d. 409/1019
41 yrs.
M. b. ʿĪsā b. M. b. ʿAmrawayh al-Julūdī N., b. ca. 288/901; d. 368/979
60 yrs.
Abū Isḥāq Ibr. b. M. b. Sufyān, N., d. 308/920
47 yrs.
Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Naysābūrī, d. 261/875
69 yrs. The gap between the death dates of two successive transmitters
▨ Important collectors and transmitters of the Ṣaḥīḥ

Mūsā b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī's informants (excl. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ):

1. A. b. M. Ibn al-Shīrāzī (D., b. 571-2/1175-6, d. 642/1244)
2. ʿAlī b. M. al-Sakhāwī (E.-D., b. 558-9/1162-4, d. 643/1245)
3. ʿAlī b. Yf. al-Ṣūrī (D., b. 577/1181-2, d. 654/1256)
4. ʿAtīq b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Salmānī (D., b. 553/1158-9, d. 643/1246)
5. Al-Ḥ. b. M. b. M. al-Bakrī (N.-D., b. 574/1178-9, d. 656/1258)
6. Ibr. b. M. al-Ṣarīfīnī (B.-D., b. 581-2/1185-6; d. 641/1243)
7. Al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿAlī, Ibn Khaṭīb al-Qirāfa (D.-I., d. 643/1246)
8. M. b. A. b. ʿAlī al-Qurṭubī (D., 575-643/1179-1245)
9. M. b. ʿAlī al-ʿAsqalānī (E.-D., b. >570/1174-5, d. 650/1252)
10. M. b. Ḥumayd b. Muslim al-Ḥarrānī (D., b. 565/1169-70, d. ?)
11. M. b. M. b. ʿU. b. Abī Bakr al-Isfarāyīnī (D., 587-648/1191-1250)
12. ʿU. b. ʿAWhb., Ibn al-Barādhiʿī (D., b. ca. 560/1164-5, d. 647/1249)
13. Yḥ. b. ʿAlī b. A. al-Māliqī (A.-D., b. 577-8/1181-3, d. 640/1242)

DIAGRAM 4 The transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* through Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān (the eastern branch)

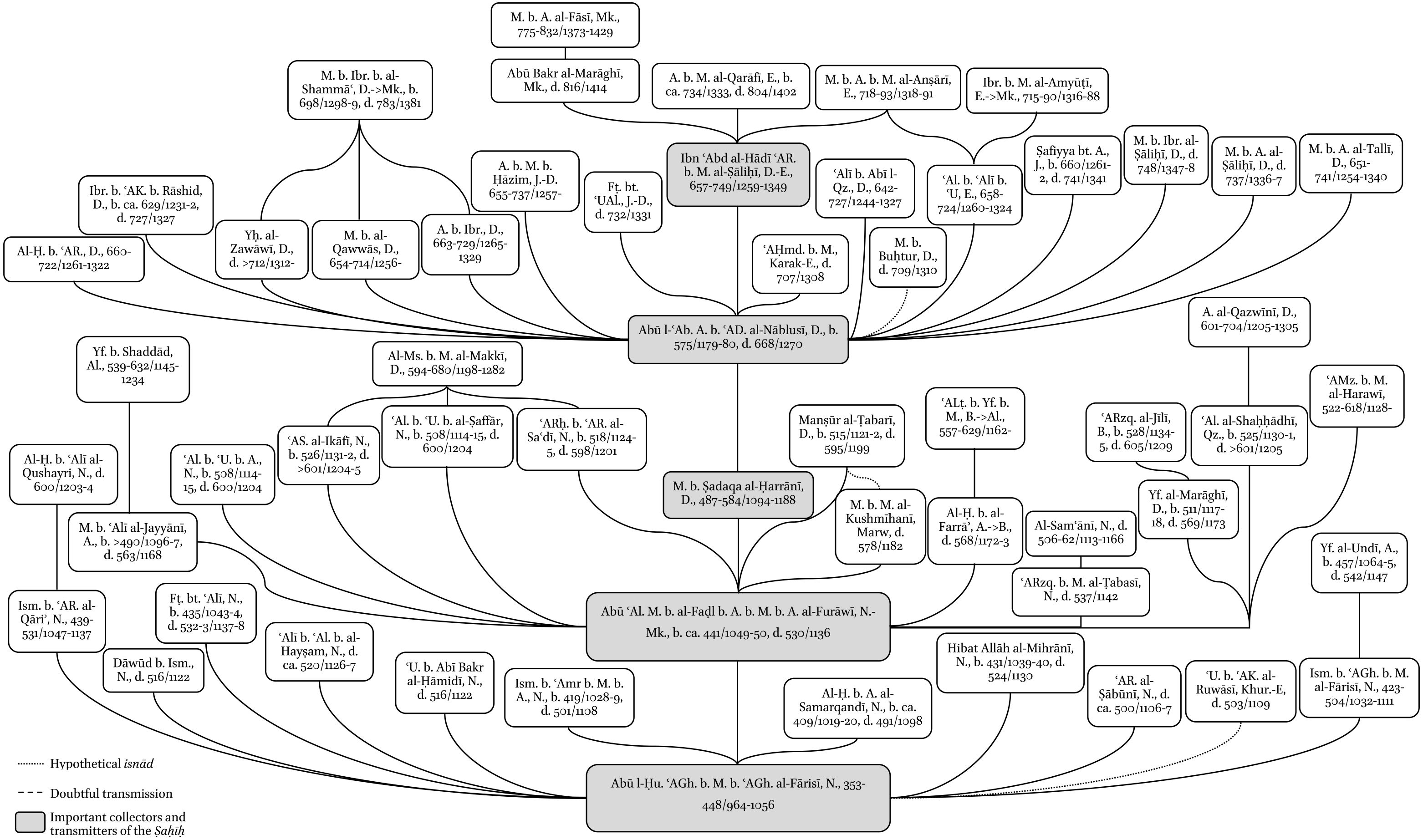

M. b. A. al-Fāsī, Mk., 775-832/1373-1429
Abū Bakr al-Marāghī, Mk., d. 816/1414
A. b. M. al-Qarāfī, E., b. ca. 734/1333, d. 804/1402
M. b. A. b. M. al-Anṣārī, E., 718-93/1318-91
Ibr. b. M. al-Amyūṭī, E.->Mk., 715-90/1316-88
M. b. Ibr. b. al-Shammāʿ, D.->Mk., b. 698/1298-9, d. 783/1381
Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī ʿAR. b. M. al-Ṣāliḥī, D.-E., 657-749/1259-1349
Ṣafiyya bt. A., J., b. 660/1261-2, d. 741/1341
M. b. Ibr. al-Ṣāliḥī, D., d. 748/1347-8
M. b. A. al-Ṣāliḥī, D., d. 737/1336-7
M. b. A. al-Tallī, D., 651-741/1254-1340
Ibr. b. ʿAK. b. Rāshid, D., b. ca. 629/1231-2, d. 727/1327
A. b. M. b. Ḥāzim, J.-D. 655-737/1257-
Fṭ. bt. ʿUAl., J.-D., d. 732/1331
ʿAlī b. Abī l-Qz., D., 642-727/1244-1327
ʿAl. b. ʿAlī b. ʿU, E., 658-724/1260-1324
Al-Ḥ. b. ʿAR., D., 660-722/1261-1322
Yḥ. al-Zawāwī, D., d. >712/1312-
M. b. al-Qawwās, D., 654-714/1256-
A. b. Ibr., D., 663-729/1265-1329
ʿAḤmd. b. M., Karak-E., d. 707/1308
M. b. Buḥtur, D., d. 709/1310
Abū l-ʿAb. A. b. ʿAD. al-Nāblusī, D., b. 575/1179-80, d. 668/1270
A. al-Qazwīnī, D., 601-704/1205-1305
Yf. b. Shaddād, Al., 539-632/1145-1234
Al-Ms. b. M. al-Makkī, D., 594-680/1198-1282
ʿAMz. b. M. al-Harawī, 522-618/1128-
ʿALṭ. b. Yf. b. M., B.->Al., 557-629/1162-
Manṣūr al-Ṭabarī, D., b. 515/1121-2, d. 595/1199
ʿARzq. al-Jīlī, B., b. 528/1134-5, d. 605/1209
ʿAl. al-Shaḥḥādhī, Qz., b. 525/1130-1, d. >601/1205
ʿAS. al-Ikāfī, N., b. 526/1131-2, d. >601/1204-5
ʿAl. b. ʿU. b. al-Ṣaffār, N., b. 508/1114-15, d. 600/1204
ʿARḥ. b. ʿAR. al-Saʿdī, N., b. 518/1124-5, d. 598/1201
Al-Ḥ. b. ʿAlī al-Qushayri, N., d. 600/1203-4
ʿAl. b. ʿU. b. A., N., b. 508/1114-15, d. 600/1204
M. b. Ṣadaqa al-Ḥarrānī, D., 487-584/1094-1188
M. b. M. al-Kushmīhanī, Marw, d. 578/1182
Al-Ḥ. b. al-Farrāʾ, A.->B., d. 568/1172-3
Al-Samʿānī, N., d. 506-62/1113-1166
Yf. al-Marāghī, D., b. 511/1117-18, d. 569/1173
M. b. ʿAlī al-Jayyānī, A., b. >490/1096-7, d. 563/1168
ʿARzq. b. M. al-Ṭabasī, N., d. 537/1142
Yf. al-Undī, A., b. 457/1064-5, d. 542/1147
Ism. b. ʿAR. al-Qārīʾ, N., 439-531/1047-1137
Fṭ. bt. ʿAlī, N., b. 435/1043-4, d. 532-3/1137-8
Abū ʿAl. M. b. al-Faḍl b. A. b. M. b. A. al-Furāwī, N.-Mk., b. ca. 441/1049-50, d. 530/1136
Dāwūd b. Ism., N., d. 516/1122
ʿAlī b. ʿAl. b. al-Hayṣam, N., d. ca. 520/1126-7
ʿU. b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥāmidī, N., d. 516/1122
Ism. b. ʿAmr b. M. b. A., N., b. 419/1028-9, d. 501/1108
Hibat Allāh al-Mihrānī, N., b. 431/1039-40, d. 524/1130
Al-Ḥ. b. A. al-Samarqandī, N., b. ca. 409/1019-20, d. 491/1098
ʿAR. al-Ṣābūnī, N., d. ca. 500/1106-7
ʿU. b. ʿAK. al-Ruwāsī, Khur.-E, d. 503/1109
Ism. b. ʿAGh. b. M. al-Fārisī, N., 423-504/1032-1111
Abū l-Ḥu. ʿAGh. b. M. b. ʿAGh. al-Fārisī, N., 353-448/964-1056
Hypothetical *isnād*
Doubtful transmission
Important collectors and transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*

DIAGRAM 5 Truncated transmissions on the authority of ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī → al-Julūdī → Ibn Sufyān

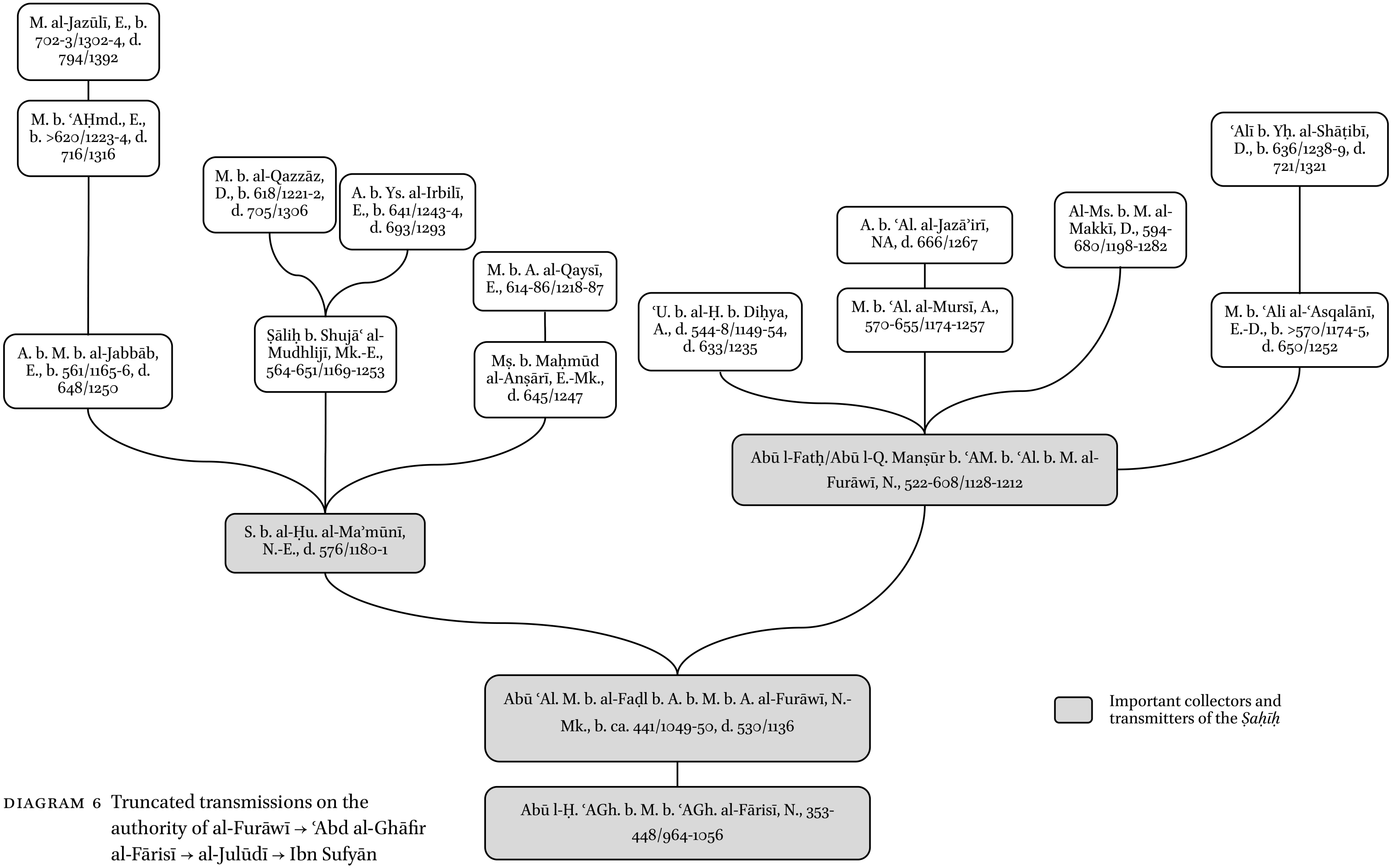

M. al-Jazūlī, E., b. 702-3/1302-4, d. 794/1392
M. b. ʿAḤmd., E., b. >620/1223-4, d. 716/1316
M. b. al-Qazzāz, D., b. 618/1221-2, d. 705/1306
A. b. Ys. al-Irbilī, E., b. 641/1243-4, d. 693/1293
M. b. A. al-Qaysī, E., 614-86/1218-87
A. b. ʿAl. al-Jazāʾirī, NA, d. 666/1267
Al-Ms. b. M. al-Makkī, D., 594-680/1198-1282
ʿAlī b. Yḥ. al-Shāṭibī, D., b. 636/1238-9, d. 721/1321
A. b. M. b. al-Jabbāb, E., b. 561/1165-6, d. 648/1250
Ṣāliḥ b. Shujāʿ al-Mudhlijī, Mk.-E., 564-651/1169-1253
Mṣ. b. Maḥmūd al-Anṣārī, E.-Mk., d. 645/1247
ʿU. b. al-Ḥ. b. Diḥya, A., d. 544-8/1149-54, d. 633/1235
M. b. ʿAl. al-Mursī, A., 570-655/1174-1257
M. b. ʿAli al-ʿAsqalānī, E.-D., b. >570/1174-5, d. 650/1252
Abū l-Fatḥ/Abū l-Q. Manṣūr b. ʿAM. b. ʿAl. b. M. al-Furāwī, N., 522-608/1128-1212
S. b. al-Ḥu. al-Maʾmūnī, N.-E., d. 576/1180-1
Abū ʿAl. M. b. al-Faḍl b. A. b. M. b. A. al-Furāwī, N.-Mk., b. ca. 441/1049-50, d. 530/1136
Abū l-Ḥ. ʿAGh. b. M. b. ʿAGh. al-Fārisī, N., 353-448/964-1056
Important collectors and transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*

DIAGRAM 6 Truncated transmissions on the authority of al-Furāwī → ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī → al-Julūdī → Ibn Sufyān

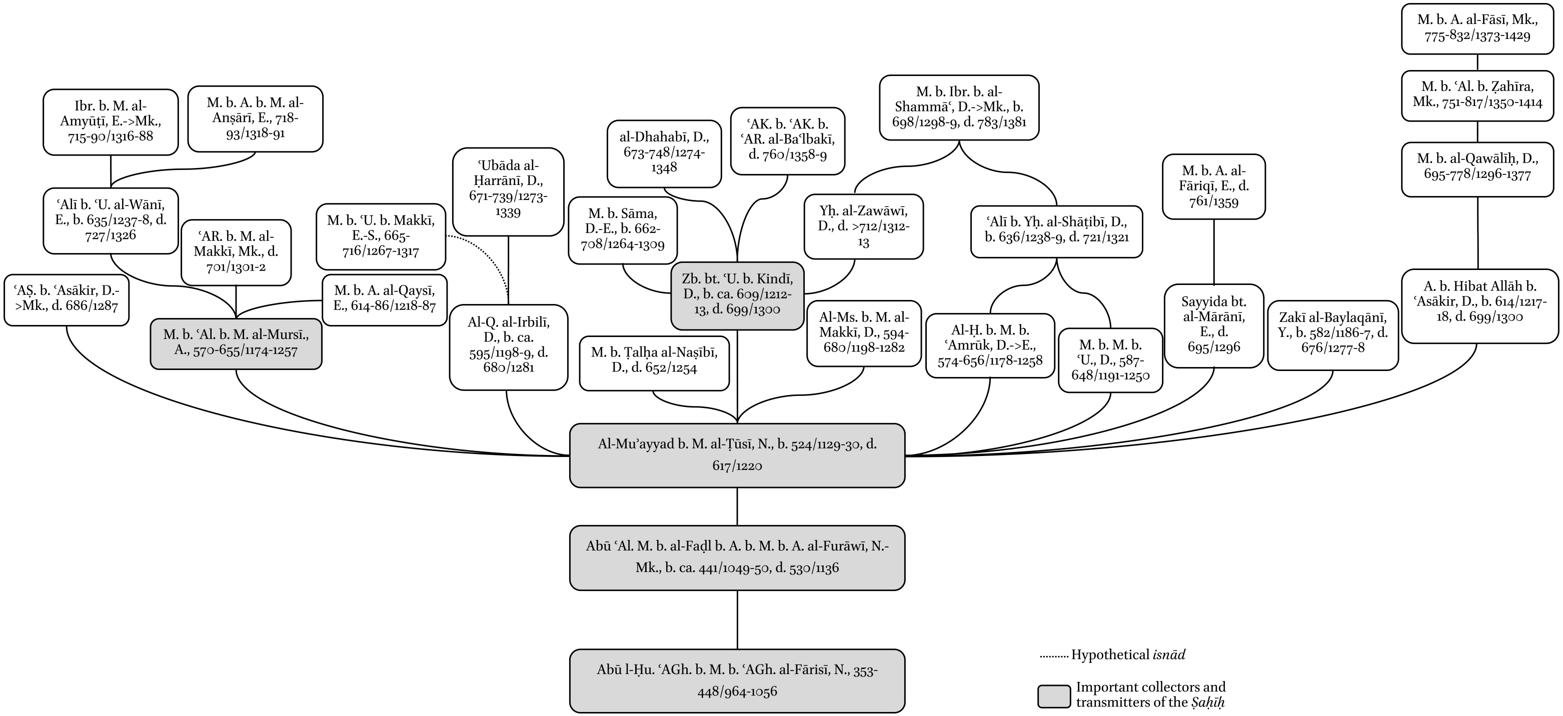

Ibr. b. M. al-Amyūṭī, E.->Mk., 715-90/1316-88
M. b. A. b. M. al-Anṣārī, E., 718-93/1318-91
ʿAlī b. ʿU. al-Wānī, E., b. 635/1237-8, d. 727/1326
ʿAR. b. M. al-Makkī, Mk., d. 701/1301-2
ʿAṢ. b. ʿAsākir, D.->Mk., d. 686/1287
M. b. ʿAl. b. M. al-Mursī, A., 570-655/1174-1257
M. b. ʿU. b. Makkī, E.-S., 665-716/1267-1317
M. b. A. al-Qaysī, E., 614-86/1218-87
ʿUbāda al-Ḥarrānī, D., 671-739/1273-1339
Al-Q. al-Irbilī, D., b. ca. 595/1198-9, d. 680/1281
al-Dhahabī, D., 673-748/1274-1348
ʿAK. b. ʿAK. b. ʿAR. al-Baʿlbakī, d. 760/1358-9
M. b. Sāma, D.-E., b. 662-708/1264-1309
Zb. bt. ʿU. b. Kindī, D., b. ca. 609/1212-13, d. 699/1300
M. b. Ṭalḥa al-Naṣībī, D., d. 652/1254
M. b. Ibr. b. al-Shammāʿ, D.->Mk., b. 698/1298-9, d. 783/1381
Yḥ. al-Zawāwī, D., d. >712/1312-13
ʿAlī b. Yḥ. al-Shāṭibī, D., b. 636/1238-9, d. 721/1321
Al-Ms. b. M. al-Makkī, D., 594-680/1198-1282
Al-Ḥ. b. M. b. ʿAmrūk, D.->E., 574-656/1178-1258
M. b. M. b. ʿU., D., 587-648/1191-1250
M. b. A. al-Fāriqī, E., d. 761/1359
Sayyida bt. al-Mārānī, E., d. 695/1296
Zakī al-Baylaqānī, Y., b. 582/1186-7, d. 676/1277-8
M. b. A. al-Fāsī, Mk., 775-832/1373-1429
M. b. ʿAl. b. Ẓahīra, Mk., 751-817/1350-1414
M. b. al-Qawālīḥ, D., 695-778/1296-1377
A. b. Hibat Allāh b. ʿAsākir, D., b. 614/1217-18, d. 699/1300
Al-Muʾayyad b. M. al-Ṭūsī, N., b. 524/1129-30, d. 617/1220
Abū ʿAl. M. b. al-Faḍl b. A. b. M. b. A. al-Furāwī, N.-Mk., b. ca. 441/1049-50, d. 530/1136
Abū l-Ḥu. ʿAGh. b. M. b. ʿAGh. al-Fārisī, N., 353-448/964-1056
Hypothetical isnād
Important collectors and transmitters of the Ṣaḥīḥ

DIAGRAM 7 Truncated transmissions on the authority of al-Muʾayyad al-Ṭūsī → ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī → al-Julūdī → Ibn Sufyān

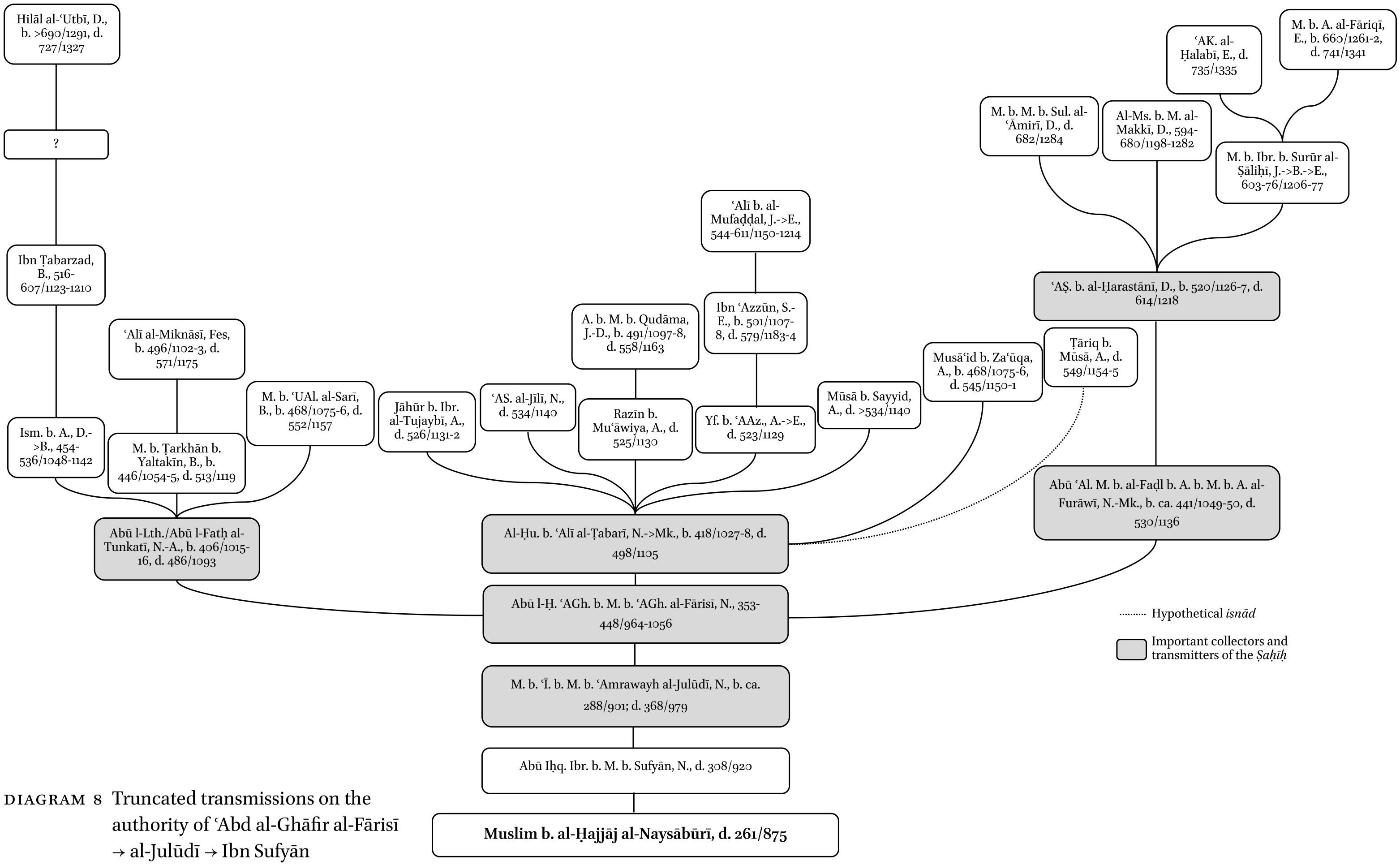

Hilāl al-ʿUtbī, D., b. >690/1291, d. 727/1327
?
Ibn Ṭabarzad, B., 516-607/1123-1210
Ism. b. A., D.->B., 454-536/1048-1142
ʿAlī al-Miknāsī, Fes, b. 496/1102-3, d. 571/1175
M. b. Ṭarkhān b. Yaltakīn, B., b. 446/1054-5, d. 513/1119
M. b. ʿUAl. al-Sarī, B., b. 468/1075-6, d. 552/1157
Abū l-Lth./Abū l-Fatḥ al-Tunkatī, N.-A., b. 406/1015-16, d. 486/1093
Jāhūr b. Ibr. al-Tujaybī, A., d. 526/1131-2
ʿAS. al-Jīlī, N., d. 534/1140
A. b. M. b. Qudāma, J.-D., b. 491/1097-8, d. 558/1163
Razīn b. Muʿāwiya, A., d. 525/1130
ʿAlī b. al-Mufaḍḍal, J.->E., 544-611/1150-1214
Ibn ʿAzzūn, S.-E., b. 501/1107-8, d. 579/1183-4
Yf. b. ʿAAz., A.->E., d. 523/1129
Mūsā b. Sayyid, A., d. >534/1140
Musāʿid b. Zaʿūqa, A., b. 468/1075-6, d. 545/1150-1
Ṭāriq b. Mūsā, A., d. 549/1154-5
Al-Ḥu. b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, N.->Mk., b. 418/1027-8, d. 498/1105
M. b. M. b. Sul. al-ʿĀmirī, D., d. 682/1284
Al-Ms. b. M. al-Makkī, D., 594-680/1198-1282
ʿAK. al-Ḥalabī, E., d. 735/1335
M. b. A. al-Fāriqī, E., b. 660/1261-2, d. 741/1341
M. b. Ibr. b. Surūr al-Ṣāliḥī, J.->B.->E., 603-76/1206-77
ʿAṢ. b. al-Ḥarastānī, D., b. 520/1126-7, d. 614/1218
Abū ʿAl. M. b. al-Faḍl b. A. b. M. b. A. al-Furāwī, N.-Mk., b. ca. 441/1049-50, d. 530/1136
Abū l-Ḥ. ʿAGh. b. M. b. ʿAGh. al-Fārisī, N., 353-448/964-1056
M. b. ʿĪ. b. M. b. ʿAmrawayh al-Julūdī, N., b. ca. 288/901; d. 368/979
Abū Iḥq. Ibr. b. M. b. Sufyān, N., d. 308/920
Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Naysābūrī, d. 261/875
Hypothetical *isnād*
Important collectors and transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*

DIAGRAM 8 Truncated transmissions on the authority of ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī → al-Julūdī → Ibn Sufyān

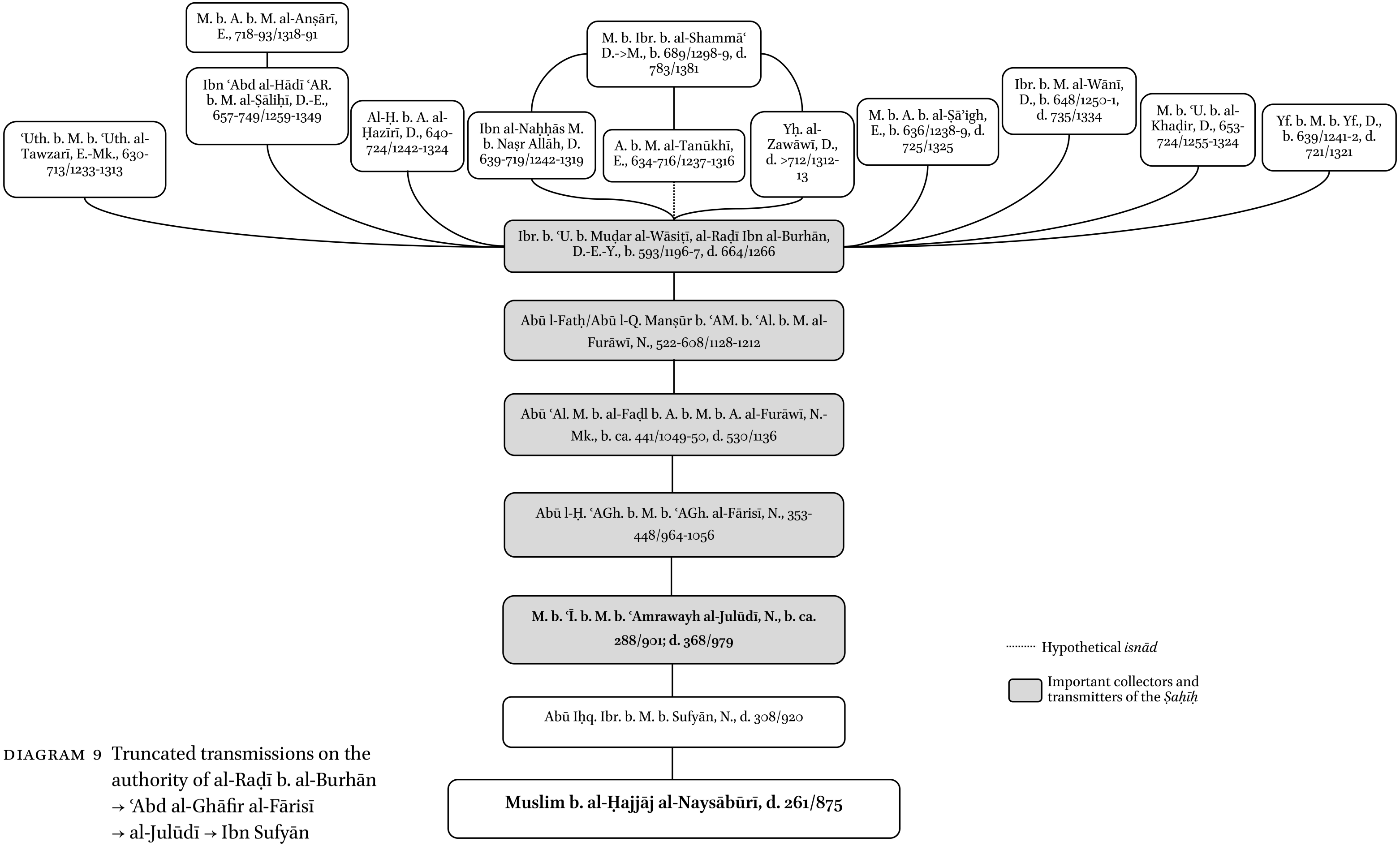

M. b. A. b. M. al-Anṣārī, E., 718-93/1318-91
Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī ʿAR. b. M. al-Ṣāliḥī, D.-E., 657-749/1259-1349
ʿUth. b. M. b. ʿUth. al-Tawzarī, E.-Mk., 630-713/1233-1313
Al-Ḥ. b. A. al-Ḥazīrī, D., 640-724/1242-1324
M. b. Ibr. b. al-Shammāʿ D.->M., b. 689/1298-9, d. 783/1381
Ibn al-Naḥḥās M. b. Naṣr Allāh, D. 639-719/1242-1319
A. b. M. al-Tanūkhī, E., 634-716/1237-1316
Yḥ. al-Zawāwī, D., d. >712/1312-13
M. b. A. b. al-Ṣāʾigh, E., b. 636/1238-9, d. 725/1325
Ibr. b. M. al-Wānī, D., b. 648/1250-1, d. 735/1334
M. b. ʿU. b. al-Khaḍir, D., 653-724/1255-1324
Yf. b. M. b. Yf., D., b. 639/1241-2, d. 721/1321
Ibr. b. ʿU. b. Muḍar al-Wāsiṭī, al-Raḍī Ibn al-Burhān, D.-E.-Y., b. 593/1196-7, d. 664/1266
Abū l-Fatḥ/Abū l-Q. Manṣūr b. ʿAM. b. ʿAl. b. M. al-Furāwī, N., 522-608/1128-1212
Abū ʿAl. M. b. al-Faḍl b. A. b. M. b. A. al-Furāwī, N.-Mk., b. ca. 441/1049-50, d. 530/1136
Abū l-Ḥ. ʿAGh. b. M. b. ʿAGh. al-Fārisī, N., 353-448/964-1056
M. b. ʿĪ. b. M. b. ʿAmrawayh al-Julūdī, N., b. ca. 288/901; d. 368/979
Abū Iḥq. Ibr. b. M. b. Sufyān, N., d. 308/920
Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Naysābūrī, d. 261/875
.... Hypothetical *isnād*
▨ Important collectors and transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*

DIAGRAM 9 Truncated transmissions on the authority of al-Raḍī b. al-Burhān → ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī → al-Julūdī → Ibn Sufyān

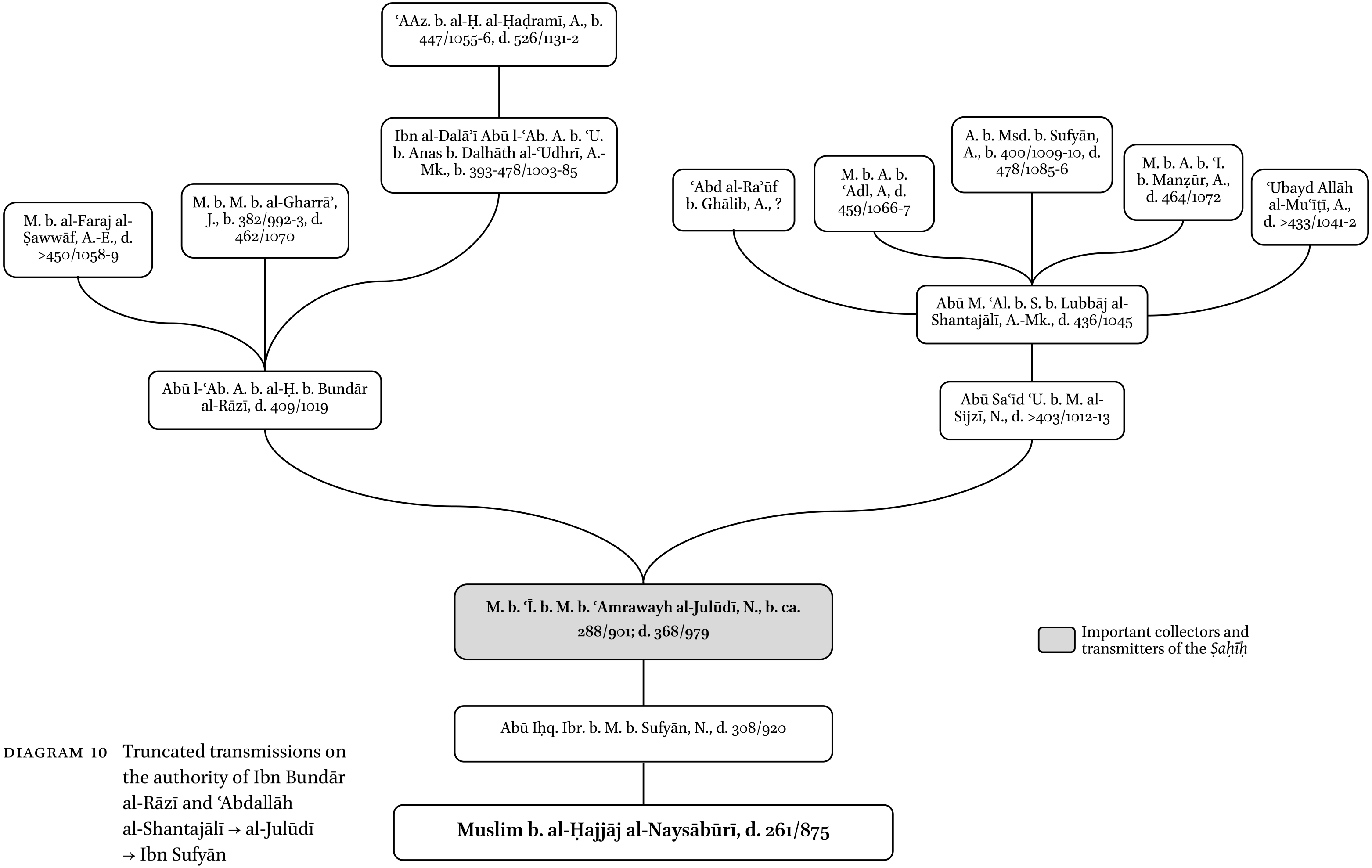

ʿAAz. b. al-Ḥ. al-Ḥaḍramī, A., b. 447/1055-6, d. 526/1131-2
Ibn al-Dalāʾī Abū l-ʿAb. A. b. ʿU. b. Anas b. Dalhāth al-ʿUdhrī, A.-Mk., b. 393-478/1003-85
M. b. al-Faraj al-Ṣawwāf, A.-E., d. >450/1058-9
M. b. M. b. al-Gharrāʾ, J., b. 382/992-3, d. 462/1070
Abū l-ʿAb. A. b. al-Ḥ. b. Bundār al-Rāzī, d. 409/1019
ʿAbd al-Raʾūf b. Ghālib, A., ?
M. b. A. b. ʿAdl, A, d. 459/1066-7
A. b. Msd. b. Sufyān, A., b. 400/1009-10, d. 478/1085-6
M. b. A. b. ʿI. b. Manẓūr, A., d. 464/1072
ʿUbayd Allāh al-Muʿīṭī, A., d. >433/1041-2
Abū M. ʿAl. b. S. b. Lubbāj al-Shantajālī, A.-Mk., d. 436/1045
Abū Saʿīd ʿU. b. M. al-Sijzī, N., d. >403/1012-13
M. b. ʿĪ. b. M. b. ʿAmrawayh al-Julūdī, N., b. ca. 288/901; d. 368/979
Important collectors and transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*
Abū Iḥq. Ibr. b. M. b. Sufyān, N., d. 308/920
Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Naysābūrī, d. 261/875

DIAGRAM 10 Truncated transmissions on the authority of Ibn Bundār al-Rāzī and ʿAbdallāh al-Shantajālī → al-Julūdī → Ibn Sufyān

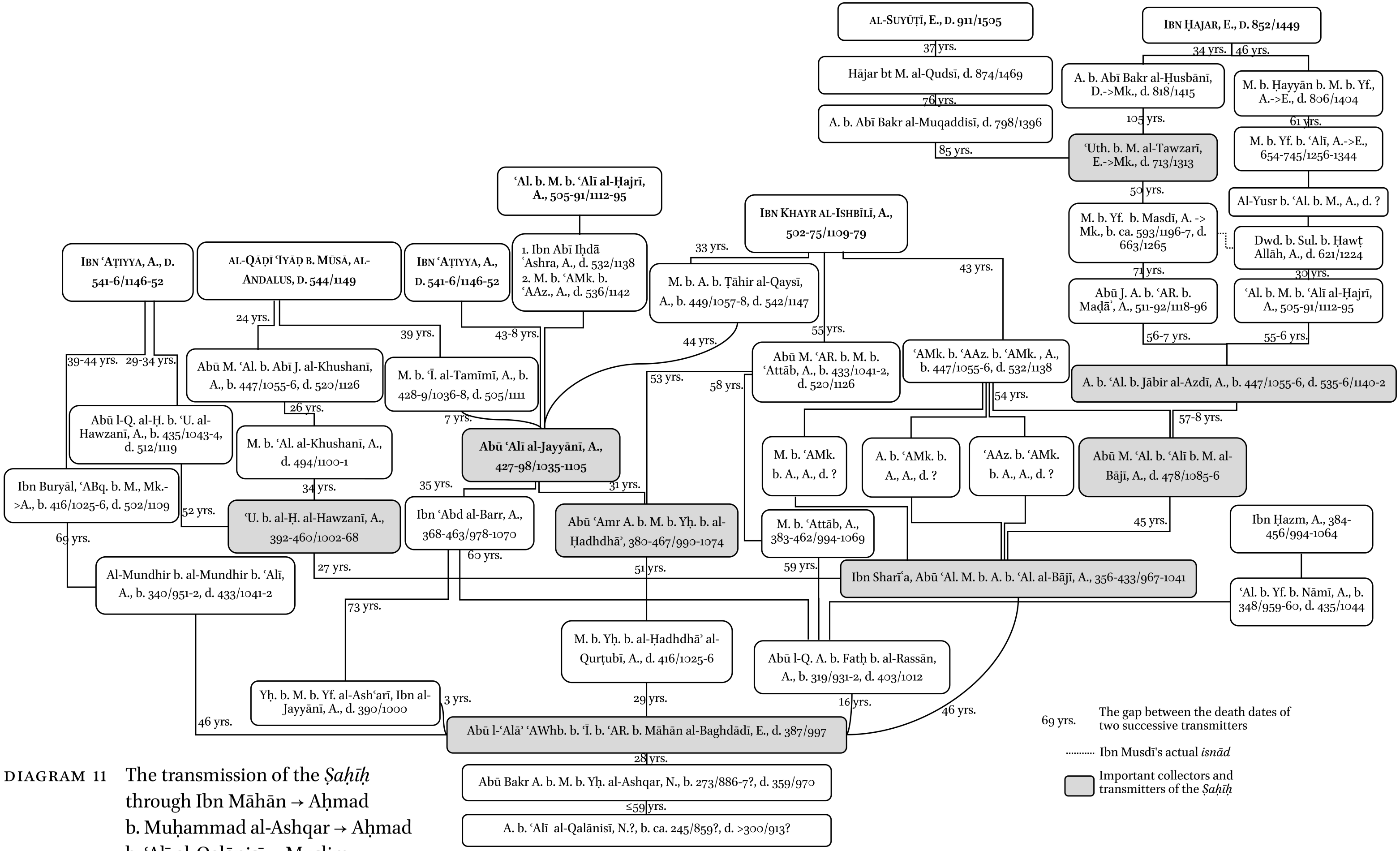

al-Suyūṭī, E., d. 911/1505
37 yrs.
Hājar bt M. al-Qudsī, d. 874/1469
76 yrs.
A. b. Abī Bakr al-Muqaddisī, d. 798/1396
85 yrs.
Ibn Ḥajar, E., d. 852/1449
34 yrs.
46 yrs.
A. b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥusbānī, D.->Mk., d. 818/1415
M. b. Ḥayyān b. M. b. Yf., A.->E., d. 806/1404
61 yrs.
M. b. Yf. b. ʿAlī, A.->E., 654-745/1256-1344
105 yrs.
ʿUth. b. M. al-Tawzarī, E.->Mk., d. 713/1313
Al-Yusr b. ʿAl. b. M., A., d. ?
50 yrs.
M. b. Yf. b. Masdī, A. -> Mk., b. ca. 593/1196-7, d. 663/1265
Dwd. b. Sul. b. Ḥawṭ Allāh, A., d. 621/1224
71 yrs.
30 yrs.
Abū J. A. b. ʿAR. b. Maḍāʾ, A., 511-92/1118-96
ʿAl. b. M. b. ʿAlī al-Ḥajrī, A., 505-91/1112-95
56-7 yrs.
55-6 yrs.
A. b. ʿAl. b. Jābir al-Azdī, A., b. 447/1055-6, d. 535-6/1140-2
57-8 yrs.
ʿAl. b. M. b. ʿAlī al-Ḥajrī, A., 505-91/1112-95
Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, A., 502-75/1109-79
33 yrs.
43 yrs.
M. b. A. b. Ṭāhir al-Qaysī, A., b. 449/1057-8, d. 542/1147
55 yrs.
44 yrs.
Ibn ʿAṭiyya, A., d. 541-6/1146-52
al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, al-Andalus, d. 544/1149
Ibn ʿAṭiyya, A., d. 541-6/1146-52
1. Ibn Abī Iḥdā ʿAshra, A., d. 532/1138 2. M. b. ʿAMk. b. ʿAAz., A., d. 536/1142
24 yrs.
39 yrs.
43-8 yrs.
39-44 yrs.
29-34 yrs.
Abū M. ʿAl. b. Abī J. al-Khushanī, A., b. 447/1055-6, d. 520/1126
M. b. ʿĪ. al-Tamīmī, A., b. 428-9/1036-8, d. 505/1111
53 yrs.
58 yrs.
Abū M. ʿAR. b. M. b. ʿAttāb, A., b. 433/1041-2, d. 520/1126
ʿAMk. b. ʿAAz. b. ʿAMk. , A., b. 447/1055-6, d. 532/1138
54 yrs.
26 yrs.
7 yrs.
Abū l-Q. al-Ḥ. b. ʿU. al-Hawzanī, A., b. 435/1043-4, d. 512/1119
M. b. ʿAl. al-Khushanī, A., d. 494/1100-1
Abū ʿAlī al-Jayyānī, A., 427-98/1035-1105
M. b. ʿAMk. b. A., A., d. ?
A. b. ʿAMk. b. A., A., d. ?
ʿAAz. b. ʿAMk. b. A., A., d. ?
Abū M. ʿAl. b. ʿAlī b. M. al-Bājī, A., d. 478/1085-6
Ibn Buryāl, ʿABq. b. M., Mk.->A., b. 416/1025-6, d. 502/1109
34 yrs.
35 yrs.
31 yrs.
52 yrs.
ʿU. b. al-Ḥ. al-Hawzanī, A., 392-460/1002-68
Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, A., 368-463/978-1070
Abū ʿAmr A. b. M. b. Yḥ. b. al-Ḥadhdhāʾ, 380-467/990-1074
M. b. ʿAttāb, A., 383-462/994-1069
45 yrs.
Ibn Ḥazm, A., 384-456/994-1064
69 yrs.
60 yrs.
27 yrs.
51 yrs.
59 yrs.
Al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir b. ʿAlī, A., b. 340/951-2, d. 433/1041-2
Ibn Sharīʿa, Abū ʿAl. M. b. A. b. ʿAl. al-Bājī, A., 356-433/967-1041
ʿAl. b. Yf. b. Nāmī, A., b. 348/959-60, d. 435/1044
73 yrs.
M. b. Yḥ. b. al-Ḥadhdhāʾ al-Qurṭubī, A., d. 416/1025-6
Abū l-Q. A. b. Fatḥ b. al-Rassān, A., b. 319/931-2, d. 403/1012
Yḥ. b. M. b. Yf. al-Ashʿarī, Ibn al-Jayyānī, A., d. 390/1000
3 yrs.
29 yrs.
16 yrs.
46 yrs.
46 yrs.
Abū l-ʿAlāʾ ʿAWhb. b. ʿĪ. b. ʿAR. b. Māhān al-Baghdādī, E., d. 387/997
28 yrs.
Abū Bakr A. b. M. b. Yḥ. al-Ashqar, N., b. 273/886-7?, d. 359/970
≤59 yrs.
A. b. ʿAlī al-Qalānisī, N.?, b. ca. 245/859?, d. >300/913?
69 yrs.
The gap between the death dates of two successive transmitters
Ibn Musdī's actual *isnād*
Important collectors and transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*

DIAGRAM 11 The transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* through Ibn Māhān → Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ashqar → Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Qalānisī → Muslim

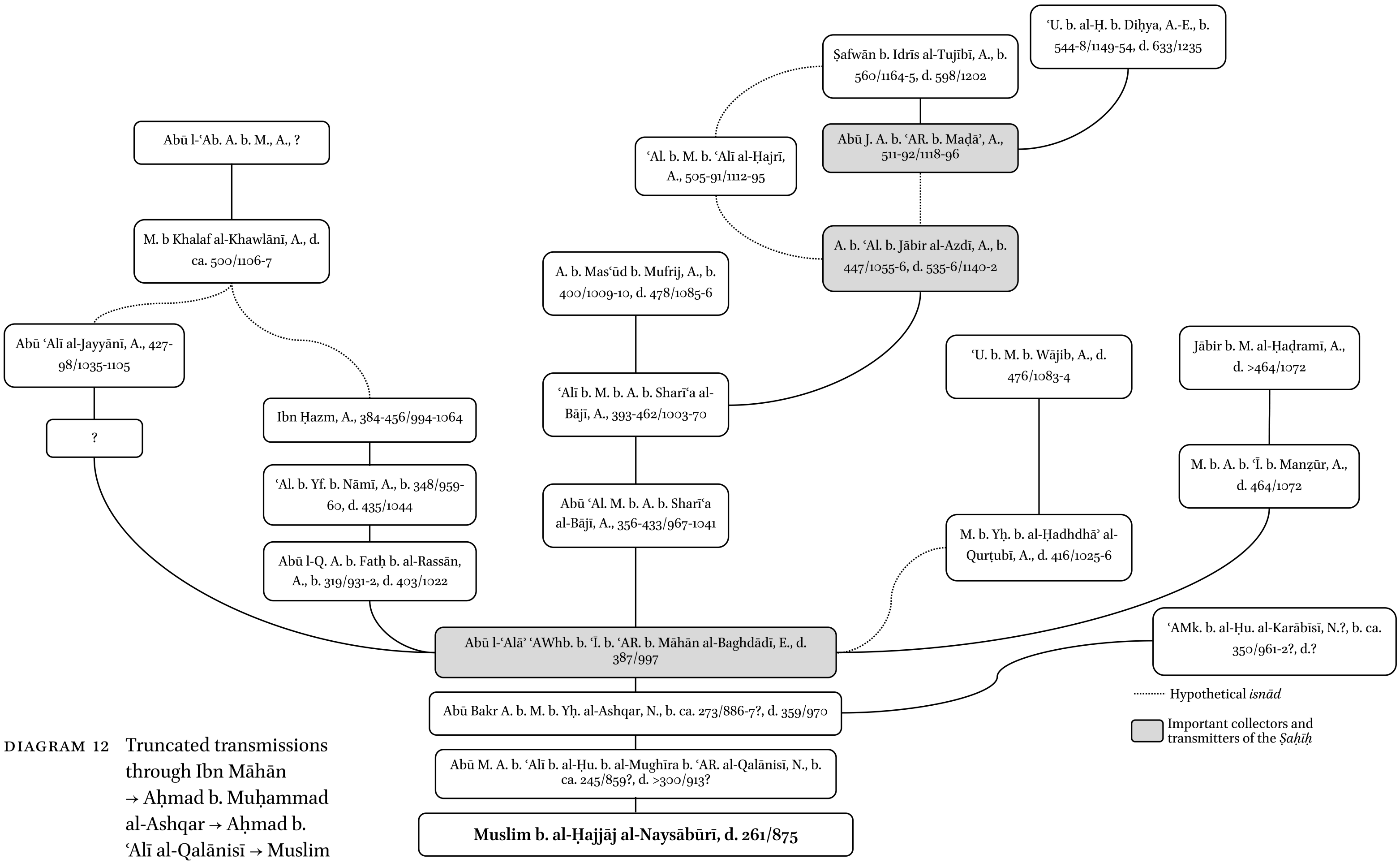

ʿU. b. al-Ḥ. b. Diḥya, A.-E., b. 544-8/1149-54, d. 633/1235
Ṣafwān b. Idrīs al-Tujībī, A., b. 560/1164-5, d. 598/1202
Abū J. A. b. ʿAR. b. Maḍāʾ, A., 511-92/1118-96
Abū l-ʿAb. A. b. M., A., ?
ʿAl. b. M. b. ʿAlī al-Ḥajrī, A., 505-91/1112-95
A. b. ʿAl. b. Jābir al-Azdī, A., b. 447/1055-6, d. 535-6/1140-2
M. b Khalaf al-Khawlānī, A., d. ca. 500/1106-7
A. b. Masʿūd b. Mufrij, A., b. 400/1009-10, d. 478/1085-6
Abū ʿAlī al-Jayyānī, A., 427-98/1035-1105
ʿU. b. M. b. Wājib, A., d. 476/1083-4
Jābir b. M. al-Ḥaḍramī, A., d. >464/1072
ʿAlī b. M. b. A. b. Sharīʿa al-Bājī, A., 393-462/1003-70
Ibn Ḥazm, A., 384-456/994-1064
?
M. b. A. b. ʿĪ. b. Manẓūr, A., d. 464/1072
ʿAl. b. Yf. b. Nāmī, A., b. 348/959-60, d. 435/1044
Abū ʿAl. M. b. A. b. Sharīʿa al-Bājī, A., 356-433/967-1041
M. b. Yḥ. b. al-Ḥadhdhāʾ al-Qurṭubī, A., d. 416/1025-6
Abū l-Q. A. b. Fatḥ b. al-Rassān, A., b. 319/931-2, d. 403/1022
ʿAMk. b. al-Ḥu. al-Karābīsī, N.?, b. ca. 350/961-2?, d.?
Abū l-ʿAlāʾ ʿAWhb. b. ʿĪ. b. ʿAR. b. Māhān al-Baghdādī, E., d. 387/997
Hypothetical *isnād*
Abū Bakr A. b. M. b. Yḥ. al-Ashqar, N., b. ca. 273/886-7?, d. 359/970
Important collectors and transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*
Abū M. A. b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥu. b. al-Mughīra b. ʿAR. al-Qalānisī, N., b. ca. 245/859?, d. >300/913?
Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Naysābūrī, d. 261/875

DIAGRAM 12 Truncated transmissions through Ibn Māhān → Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ashqar → Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Qalānisī → Muslim

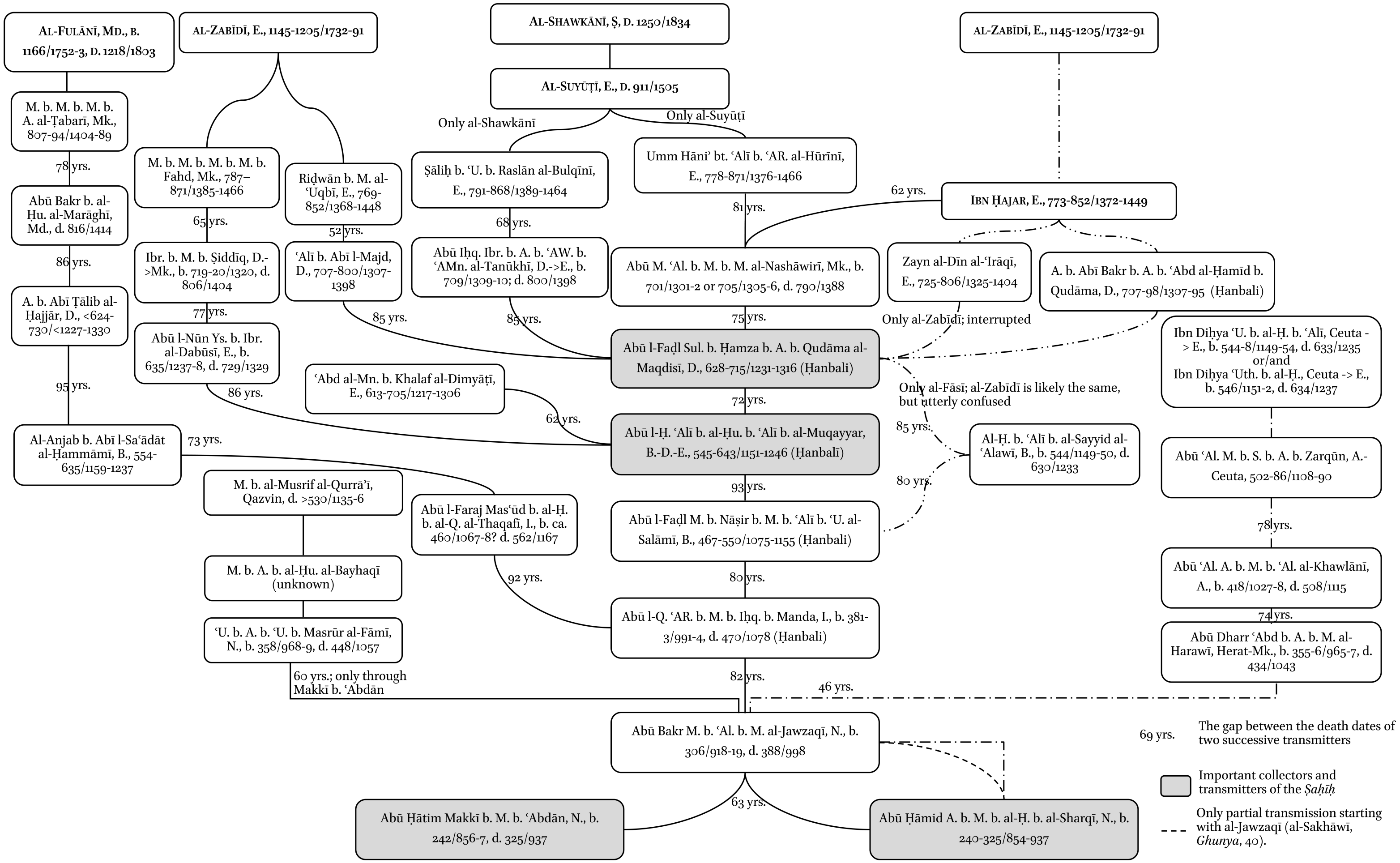

Al-Fulānī, Md., b. 1166/1752-3, d. 1218/1803
M. b. M. b. M. b. A. al-Ṭabarī, Mk., 807-94/1404-89
78 yrs.
Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥu. al-Marāghī, Md., d. 816/1414
86 yrs.
A. b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥajjār, D., <624-730/<1227-1330
95 yrs.
Al-Anjab b. Abī l-Saʿādāt al-Ḥammāmī, B., 554-635/1159-1237
73 yrs.
al-Zabīdī, E., 1145-1205/1732-91
M. b. M. b. M. b. M. b. Fahd, Mk., 787–871/1385-1466
65 yrs.
Ibr. b. M. b. Ṣiddīq, D.->Mk., b. 719-20/1320, d. 806/1404
77 yrs.
Abū l-Nūn Ys. b. Ibr. al-Dabūsī, E., b. 635/1237-8, d. 729/1329
86 yrs.
Riḍwān b. M. al-ʿUqbī, E., 769-852/1368-1448
52 yrs.
ʿAlī b. Abī l-Majd, D., 707-800/1307-1398
85 yrs.
ʿAbd al-Mn. b. Khalaf al-Dimyāṭī, E., 613-705/1217-1306
62 yrs.
M. b. al-Musrif al-Qurrāʾī, Qazvin, d. >530/1135-6
M. b. A. b. al-Ḥu. al-Bayhaqī (unknown)
ʿU. b. A. b. ʿU. b. Masrūr al-Fāmī, N., b. 358/968-9, d. 448/1057
60 yrs.; only through Makkī b. ʿAbdān
Abū l-Faraj Masʿūd b. al-Ḥ. b. al-Q. al-Thaqafī, I., b. ca. 460/1067-8? d. 562/1167
92 yrs.
Al-Shawkānī, Ṣ, d. 1250/1834
Al-Suyūṭī, E., d. 911/1505
Only al-Shawkānī
Only al-Suyūṭī
Ṣāliḥ b. ʿU. b. Raslān al-Bulqīnī, E., 791-868/1389-1464
68 yrs.
Abū Iḥq. Ibr. b. A. b. ʿAW. b. ʿAMn. al-Tanūkhī, D.->E., b. 709/1309-10; d. 800/1398
85 yrs.
Umm Hāniʾ bt. ʿAlī b. ʿAR. al-Hūrīnī, E., 778-871/1376-1466
81 yrs.
Abū M. ʿAl. b. M. b. M. al-Nashāwirī, Mk., b. 701/1301-2 or 705/1305-6, d. 790/1388
75 yrs.
Abū l-Faḍl Sul. b. Ḥamza b. A. b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī, D., 628-715/1231-1316 (Ḥanbali)
72 yrs.
Abū l-Ḥ. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥu. b. ʿAlī b. al-Muqayyar, B.-D.-E., 545-643/1151-1246 (Ḥanbalī)
93 yrs.
Abū l-Faḍl M. b. Nāṣir b. M. b. ʿAlī b. ʿU. al-Salāmī, B., 467-550/1075-1155 (Ḥanbali)
80 yrs.
Abū l-Q. ʿAR. b. M. b. Iḥq. b. Manda, I., b. 381-3/991-4, d. 470/1078 (Ḥanbali)
82 yrs.
Abū Bakr M. b. ʿAl. b. M. al-Jawzaqī, N., b. 306/918-19, d. 388/998
63 yrs.
Abū Ḥātim Makkī b. M. b. ʿAbdān, N., b. 242/856-7, d. 325/937
Abū Ḥāmid A. b. M. b. al-Ḥ. b. al-Sharqī, N., b. 240-325/854-937
al-Zabīdī, E., 1145-1205/1732-91
62 yrs.
Ibn Ḥajar, E., 773-852/1372-1449
Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī, E., 725-806/1325-1404
A. b. Abī Bakr b. A. b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Qudāma, D., 707-98/1307-95 (Ḥanbali)
Only al-Zabīdī; interrupted
Only al-Fāsī; al-Zabīdī is likely the same, but utterly confused
85 yrs.
80 yrs.
Al-Ḥ. b. ʿAlī b. al-Sayyid al-ʿAlawī, B., b. 544/1149-50, d. 630/1233
Ibn Diḥya ʿU. b. al-Ḥ. b. ʿAlī, Ceuta -> E., b. 544-8/1149-54, d. 633/1235
or/and
Ibn Diḥya ʿUth. b. al-Ḥ., Ceuta -> E., b. 546/1151-2, d. 634/1237
Abū ʿAl. M. b. S. b. A. b. Zarqūn, A.-Ceuta, 502-86/1108-90
78 yrs.
Abū ʿAl. A. b. M. b. ʿAl. al-Khawlānī, A., b. 418/1027-8, d. 508/1115
74 yrs.
Abū Dharr ʿAbd b. A. b. M. al-Harawī, Herat-Mk., b. 355-6/965-7, d. 434/1043
46 yrs.
69 yrs.
The gap between the death dates of two successive transmitters
Important collectors and transmitters of the Ṣaḥīḥ
Only partial transmission starting with al-Jawzaqī (al-Sakhāwī, Ghunya, 40).

DIAGRAM 13 The transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* through Makkī b. ʿAbdān and Aḥmad b. al-Sharqī → Muslim

APPENDIX 2

Muslim's Informants according to al-Mizzī

The list includes Salama b. Shabīb. In the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim transmits forty-three traditions on Salama's authority, but he is omitted in al-Mizzī's list. The calculations in part 3 above do not include Salama.

TABLE 5 Muslim's informants according to al-Mizzī

No.	Name	Center of activity	Born/died
1	ʿAbbād b. Mūsā al-Khuttulī	Baghdad	d. 230/844–845
2	ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-ʿAnbarī	Basra	d. 246/860–861
3	ʿAbbās b. Rizma	n/a	d. ? This is an obscure *shaykh* mentioned only in the *Muqaddima*
4	ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd al-Narsī	Basra	d. 237–238/851–853
5	ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd	Kashsh, near Jurjān	d. 249/863–864
6	ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bayān al-Sukkarī	Wāsiṭ	d. 244/858–859
7	ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. al-ʿAlāʾ al-ʿAṭṭār	Basra → Mecca	d. 248/862
8	ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī	Samarqand	181–255/797–869
9	ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Zurāra	Kufa	d. 237/851–852
10	ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAwn al-Kharrāz	Baghdad	d. 232/847
11	ʿAbdallāh b. Barrād al-Ashʿarī	Kufa	d. 234/849
12	ʿAbdallāh b. Hāshim al-Ṭūsī	Ṭūs → Naysābūr	d. 255–259/868–873
13	ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar al-Barmakī	Basra → Baghdad	d. ca. 240/854–855
14	ʿAbdallāh b. Maslama al-Qaʿnabī	Medina → Basra → Mecca	b. after 130/747–748, d. 221/835–836?
15	ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad, Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba	Kufa	d. 235/849
16	ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Asmāʾ	Basra	d. 231/845–846
17	ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Zuhrī	Basra	d. 256/869–870
18	ʿAbdallāh b. Muṭīʿ al-Naysābūrī	Naysābūr → Baghdad	d. 237/852
19	ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-ʿAṭṭār	Basra	d. 251–255/865–869
20	ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd b. Ḥuṣayn, Abū Saʿīd al-Ashajj	Kufa	b. ca. 167/783–784, d. 257/871

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TABLE 5 Muslim's informants according to al-Mizzī (*cont.*)

No.	Name	Center of activity	Born/died
21	ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Abān al-Qurashī	Kufa	d. 239/853–854
22	ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Rūmī	Baghdad	d. 236/850–851
23	ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Abū l-Nasr al-Tammār	Nasā → Baghdad	138–228/755–842
24	ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shuʿayb b. al-Layth b. Saʿd	Egypt	d. 248/863
25	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Bakr b. al-Rabīʿ b. Muslim al-Qurashī	Basra	d. 230/844–845
26	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Bishr b. al-Ḥakam al-ʿAbdī	Naysābūr	d. 260/874
27	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sallām al-Jumaḥī	Basra	b. ca. 141/758–759, d. 231/845–846
28	ʿAbd al-Wārith b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith	Basra	d. 252/866
29	Aḥmad b. ʿAbda al-Ḍabbī	Basra	d. 245/859
30	Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥakam b. Farwa, Ibn al-Kurdī	Basra	d. 247/861–862
31	Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yūnus	Kufa	b. 133–134/750–752, d. 227/842
32	Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Wahb al-Miṣrī	Egypt	d. 264/877–878
33	Aḥmad b. ʿAmr b. al-Sarḥ, Abū Tahir	Egypt	d. 250/864
34	Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Khirāsh	Khurāsān → Baghdad	b. ca. 182/798–799, d. 242/856–857
35	Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī	Baghdad	b. 168/784–785, d. 246/860
36	Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā al-Tustarī	Egypt; d. Baghdad	d. 243/857–858
37	Aḥmad b. Jaʿfar al-Maʿqirī	Mecca	d. after 255/868–869
38	Aḥmad b. Janāb al-Miṣṣīṣī	Syria [Mopsuestia]	d. 230/844–845
39	Aḥmad b. Jawwās al-Ḥanafī	Kufa	d. 238/852
40	Aḥmad b. Manīʿ al-Baghawī	Baghdad	b. 160/776–777, d. 244/859
41	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal	Baghdad	164–241/780–855
42	Aḥmad b. al-Mundhir al-Qazzāz	Basra	d. 230/845
43	Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥārith, Abū Muṣʿab b. Abī Bakr al-Zuhrī	Medina	b. 150/767–768, d. 242/857
44	Aḥmad b. Saʿīd b. Ibrāhīm al-Ribāṭī	Marw → Naysābūr	d. 246/860

TABLE 5 Muslim’s informants according to al-Mizzī (*cont.*)

No.	Name	Center of activity	Born/died
45	Aḥmad b. Saʿīd b. Sakhr al-Dārimī	Naysābūr	d. 253/867 or 265/878–879
46	Aḥmad b. Sinān al-Qaṭṭān	Wāsiṭ	d. 259/872–873
47	Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Wakīʿī	Kufa	d. 235/849–850
48	Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥakīm al-Awdī	Kufa	d. 261/874
49	Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān al-Nawfalī, Abū l-Jawzāʾ	Basra	d. 246/860–861
50	Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Sulamī	Naysābūr	b. 182–183/798–800, d. 263–264/876–878
51	ʿAlī b. Ḥakīm al-Awdī	Kufa	d. 231/846
52	ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥaḍramī, Abū l-Shaʿthāʾ	Kufa	d. 236–237/850–852
53	ʿAlī b. Ḥujr al-Saʿdī	Baghdad → Marw	b. 154/770–771, d. 244/858
54	ʿAlī b. Khashram al-Marwazī	Marw	b. 160/776–777, d. 257/871
55	ʿAlī b. Naṣr b. ʿAlī al-Jahḍamī	Basra	d. 250/864
56	ʿAmr b. ʿAlī al-Ṣayrafī al-Fallās	Basra	d. 249/864
57	ʿAmr b. Ḥammād b. Ṭalḥa al-Qannād	Kufa	d. 222/837
58	ʿAmr b. Muḥammad al-Nāqid	Baghdad → Raqqa	d. 232/847
59	ʿAmr b. Sawwād al-ʿĀmirī	Egypt	d. 245/859
60	ʿAmr b. Zurāra al-Naysābūrī	Naysābūr	b. ca. 160/776–777, d. 238/852–853
61	ʿĀṣim b. al-Naḍr al-Aḥwal (not to be confused with the Basran Successor ʿĀṣim b. Sulaymān al-Aḥwal [d. 141–142/758–760])	Basra	d. ?
62	ʿAwn b. Sallām al-Hāshimī	Kufa	d. 230/844–845
63	Bishr b. al-Ḥakam al-ʿAbdī	Naysābūr	d. 237–238/851–853
64	Bishr b. Hilāl al-Ṣawwāf	Basra	d. 247/861–862
65	Bishr b. Khālid al-ʿAskarī	Basra	d. 253/867 or 255/868–869
66	Dāwūd b. ʿAmr al-Ḍabbī	Baghdad	d. 228/842
67	Dāwūd b. Rushayd	Baghdad	d. 239/854
68	Al-Faḍl b. Sahl al-Aʿraj	Baghdad	b. ca. 185/801–802, d. 255/869
69	Fuḍayl b. Ḥusayn b. Ṭalḥa, Abū Kāmil al-Jaḥdarī	Basra	b. 145/762–763, d. 237/851–852
70	Ḥājib b. al-Walīd al-Manbijī	Baghdad	d. 228/843
71	Ḥajjāj b. al-Shāʿir	Baghdad	d. 259/873
72	Al-Ḥakam b. Mūsā al-Qanṭarī	Baghdad	d. 232/847

TABLE 5 Muslim's informants according to al-Mizzī (*cont.*)

No.	Name	Center of activity	Born/died
73	Ḥāmid b. ʿUmar al-Bakrāwī	Basra → Naysābūr	d. 233/847
74	Ḥammād b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿUlayya	Basra → Baghdad	d. 244/858–859
75	Hannād b. al-Sarī	Kufa	b. 152/769–770, d. 243/857
76	Ḥarmala b. Yaḥyā al-Tujībī	Egypt	b. 166/782–783, d. 243/858
77	Hārūn b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥammāl	Baghdad	b. 171–172/787–789, d. 243/858
78	Hārūn b. Maʿrūf	Marw → Baghdad	d. 231/846
79	Hārūn b. Saʿīd al-Aylī	Egypt	b. 170/786–787, d. 253/867
80	Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Abī Shuʿayb al-Ḥarrānī	Harran → Baghdad	d. 250/864–865 or 252/866–867
81	Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Khallāl	Mecca	d. 242/ 857
82	Al-Ḥasan b. ʿĪsā al-Naysābūrī b. Māsarjis	Naysābūr	d. 240/854
83	Al-Ḥasan b. al-Rabīʿ al-Būrānī	Kufa	d. 221/836
84	Hāshim b. al-Qāsim, Abū Bakr b. al-Naḍr b. Abī l-Naḍr	Baghdad	d. 245/859–860
85	Al-Haytham b. Khārija	Marw → Baghdad	d. 227/842
86	Ḥibbān b. Mūsā al-Marwazī	Marw	d. 233/847–848
87	Hudba b. Khālid al-Azdī	Basra	d. 236/850
88	Ḥumayd b. Masʿada	Basra	d. 244/858–859
89	Huraym b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Asadī	Basra	d. 235/849–850 or 240/854–855
90	Al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥurayth, Abū ʿAmmār al-Marwazī	Marw	d. 244/859
91	Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿĪsā al-Bisṭāmī	Naysābūr	d. 247/861–862
92	Ibrāhīm b. Dīnār al-Tammār	Baghdad	d. 232/846–847
93	Ibrāhīm b. Khālid al-Yashkurī	n/a	d. ?
94	Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿArʿara	Basra → Baghdad	d. 231/846
95	Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Rāzī	Rayy	d. after 220/835–836
96	Ibrāhīm b. Saʿīd al-Jawharī	Baghdad	d. 244–253/858–867
97	Ibrāhīm b. Ziyād Sabalān	Baghdad	d. 228/843 or 232/846–847
98	ʿĪsā b. Ḥammād Zughba	Egypt	d. 248/863
99	Isḥāq b. Manṣūr al-Kawsaj	Marw → Naysābūr	d. 251/865
100	Isḥāq b. Mūsā al-Anṣārī	Medina; frequented Naysābūr	d. 244/858–859
101	Isḥāq b. Rāhwayh	Khurāsān	161–238/778–853
102	Isḥāq b. ʿUmar b. Salīṭ	Basra	d. 229–230/843–845

TABLE 5 Muslim's informants according to al-Mizzī (*cont.*)

No.	Name	Center of activity	Born/died
103	Ismāʿīl b. Abī Uways	Medina	d. 226/840–841
104	Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Maʿmar, Abū Maʿmar al-Hudhalī al-Qaṭīʿī	Herat → Baghdad	d. 236/850
105	Ismāʿīl b. al-Khalīl al-Khazzāz	Kufa	d. 224–225/838–840
106	Ismāʿīl b. Sālim al-Ṣāʾigh	Baghdad → Mecca	d. ?
107	Jaʿfar b. Ḥumayd al-Kūfī	Kufa	b. 150/767–768, d. 240/854
108	Khalaf b. Hishām al-Bazzār	Baghdad	d. 229/844
109	Khālid b. Khidāsh	Basra → Baghdad	d. 223–224/837–839
110	Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān al-Marwazī	Marw → Baghdad	d. 239/854 or 249/863
111	Makhlad b. Khālid al-Shaʿīrī	Ashqelon → Tarsus	d. ?
112	Mālik b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, Abū Ghassān al-Mismaʿī	Basra	d. 230/844–845
113	Manṣūr b. Abī Muzāḥim	Baghdad	b. ca. 155/771–772, d. 235/850
114	Minjāb b. al-Ḥārith al-Tamīmī	Kufa	d. 231/845–846
115	Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād al-Makkī	Mecca → Baghdad	d. 234/849
116	Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Ṣanʿānī	Basra	d. 245/859–860
117	Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Quhzād al-Marwazī	Marw	d. 262/875
118	Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr	Kufa	d. 234/849
119	Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ruzzī	Basra	d. 231/845–846
120	Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī l-Shawārib	Basra	d. 244/858
121	Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sahm al-Anṭākī	Antioch	d. 243/857–858
122	Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Muqaddamī	Basra	d. 234/848
123	Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Khalaf	Baghdad	b. 170/786–787, d. 236–237/850–852
124	Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Nāfiʿ, Abū Bakr	Basra	d. after 240/854–855
125	Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ, Abū Kurayb	Kufa	d. 248/862
126	Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbbād b. Jabala b. Abī Rawwād	Basra	d. 234/848–849
127	Muḥammad b. ʿAmr Zunayj al-Rāzī	Rayy	d. 240–241/855
128	Muḥammad b. Bakkār b. al-Rayyān	Baghdad	b. 151/768–769, d. 238/852–853

TABLE 5 Muslim's informants according to al-Mizzī (*cont.*)

No.	Name	Center of activity	Born/died
129	Muḥammad b. Bakkār b. al-Zubayr al-ʿAyshī	Basra	d. 237/851–852
130	Muḥammad b. Bashshār Bundār	Basra	b. 167/783–784, d. 252/866
131	Muḥammad b. al-Faraj *mawlā* Banī Hāshim	Baghdad	d. 236/850–851
132	Muḥammad b. Ḥarb al-Nashāʾī	Wāsiṭ	d. after 250/864–865
133	Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, Abū Bakr b. Abī ʿAttāb al-Aʿyan	Baghdad	d. 240/854
134	Muḥammad b. Ḥātim b. Maymūn al-Samīn	Baghdad	d. 235–236/850
135	Muḥammad b. Ḥayyān, Abū l-Aḥwaṣ al-Baghawī	Baghdad	d. 227/841–842
136	Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Musayyabī	Medina → Baghdad	d. 236/850
137	Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Ṣāghānī	Khurāsān → Baghdad	d. 270/883
138	Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Warkānī	Khurāsān → Baghdad	d. 228/843
139	Muḥammad b. Khallād b. Kathīr, Abū Bakr al-Bāhilī	Basra	d. 239–240/853–855
140	Muḥammad b. Maʿmar al-Baḥrānī	Basra	d. after 250/864–865
141	Muḥammad b. Marzūq al-Bāhilī	Basra	d. 248/862–863
142	Muḥammad b. Mihrān al-Rāzī	Rayy	d. 239/853
143	Muḥammad b. Minhāl al-Ḍarīr	Basra	d. 231/846
144	Muḥammad b. Miskīn al-Yamāmī	Baghdad	d. 289/901–902
145	Muḥammad b. Muʿādh b. ʿAbbād al-ʿAnbarī	Basra	d. 223/837–838
146	Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, Abū Mūsā al-ʿAnazī	Basra	b. 167/783–784, d. 250–252/864–867
147	Muḥammad b. al-Naḍr b. Musāwir al-Marwazī	Marw	d. 239/853–854
148	Muḥammad b. Qudāma al-Bukhārī	Bukhara → Marw	d. ?
149	Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ al-Naysābūrī	Naysābūr	d. 245/859–860
150	Muḥammad b. Rumḥ al-Miṣrī	Egypt	d. 242/857
151	Muḥammad b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Dūlābī	Baghdad	b. 150/767–768, d. 227/841
152	Muḥammad b. Sahl b. ʿAskar al-Tamīmī	Bukhara → Baghdad	d. 251/865

TABLE 5 Muslim's informants according to al-Mizzī (*cont.*)

No.	Name	Center of activity	Born/died
153	Muḥammad b. Salama al-Murādī	Egypt	d. 248/862
154	Muḥammad b. Ṭarīf al-Bajalī	Kufa	d. 242/856
155	Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd b. Ḥisāb	Basra	d. 238/852–853
156	Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Busrī	Basra → Baghdad	d. after 250/864–865
157	Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Marwazī, Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣāʾigh	Marw	d. 252/866–867
158	Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥazm al-Quṭaʿī	Basra	d. 253/867–868
159	Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Abī ʿUmar al-ʿAdanī	Mecca	d. 243/858
160	Muḥriz b. ʿAwn al-Hilālī	Baghdad	b. 144/761–762, d. 231/845–846
161	Mujāhid b. Mūsā al-Khuttulī	Baghdad	b. 158/774–775, d. 244/858
162	Mūsā b. Quraysh al-Bukhārī	Bukhara	d. 252/866–867
163	Naṣr b. ʿAlī al-Jahḍamī	Basra	d. 250–251/864–866
164	Al-Qāsim b. Zakariyyāʾ b. Dīnār al-Kūfī	Kufa	d. 235/849–850 or ca. 250/864–865
165	Qaṭan b. Nusayr al-Ghubarī	Basra	d. ?
166	Qutayba b. Saʿīd	Balkh	b. 149/766–767, d. 240/854
167	Rifāʿa b. al-Haytham al-Wāsiṭī	Wāsiṭ	d. ?
168	Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ashʿathī	Kufa	d. 230/844
169	Saʿīd b. Manṣūr	Jūzajān → Mecca	d. 227/842
170	Saʿīd b. Muḥammad al-Jarmī	Kufa	d. 230/844–845
171	Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā b. al-Azhar al-Wāsiṭī	Wāsiṭ	d. 243–244/857–859
172	Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Umawī	Baghdad	d. 249/863
173	Sahl b. ʿUthmān al-Askarī	Rayy	d. 235/849–850
174	Salama b. Shabīb	Naysābūr → Mecca	d. 247/861
175	Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥātim b. Wardān	Basra	d. 236/850–851
176	Ṣāliḥ b. Mismār al-Marwazī	Marw (Kusmīhan)	d. ca. 250/864–865
177	Al-Ṣalt b. Masʿūd al-Jaḥdarī	Basra	d. 239/853–854
178	Shaybān b. Farrūkh	Ubulla (Iraq)	b. ca. 140/757–758, d. 235–236/849–851
179	Shihāb b. ʿAbbād al-ʿAbdī	Kufa	d. 224/839
180	Shujāʿ b. Makhlad	Baghdad	b. 150/767–768, d. 235/849

TABLE 5 Muslim's informants according to al-Mizzī (*cont.*)

No.	Name	Center of activity	Born/died
181	Sulaymān b. Dāwūd, Abū Dāwūd al-Mubārakī	Wāsiṭ	d. 231/846
182	Sulaymān b. Dāwūd, Abū l-Rabīʿ al-Zahrānī	Basra → Baghdad	d. 234/848–849
183	Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Khuttulī al-Aḥwal	Baghdad	d. 231/845–846
184	Sulaymān b. Maʿbad, Abū Dāwūd al-Sinjī	Marw	d. 257/871
185	Sulaymān b. ʿUbayd Allāh, Abū Ayyūb al-Ghaylānī	Basra	d. 246–247/860–862
186	Surayj b. Yūnus	Baghdad	d. 235/849
187	Suwayd b. Saʿīd al-Ḥadathānī	Baghdad	d. 240/855
188	ʿUbayd b. Yaʿīsh al-Maḥāmilī	Kufa	d. 227/841–842 or 229/843–844
189	ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Yazīd, Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī	Rayy	b. 200/815–816, d. 264/878
190	ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muʿādh al-ʿAnbarī	Basra	d. 237–238/851–852
191	ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Khunays al-Makkī	Mecca	d. 252/866–867
192	ʿUbayd Allāh b. Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā, Abū Qudāma al-Sarakhsī	Naysābūr	d. 241/855–856
193	ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Qawārīrī	Basra → Baghdad	b. ca. 150/767–768, d. 233–234/847–849
194	ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth	Kufa	d. 222/837
195	Umayya b. Bisṭām	Basra	d. 231/845–846
196	ʿUqba b. Mukram al-ʿAmmī	Basra	d. 243/857–858
197	ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Shayba	Kufa	b. 156/772–773, d. 239/853
198	Wahb b. Baqiyya al-Wāsiṭī	Wāsiṭ	b. 155/771–772, d. 239/853–854
199	Al-Walīd b. Shujāʿ, Abū Hammām al-Sakūnī	Kufa → Baghdad	d. 243/857
200	Wāṣil b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Asadī	Kufa	d. 244/858–859
201	Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī	Baghdad	b. 166/782–783, d. 252/866–867
202	Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb al-Maqābirī	Baghdad	b. 157/773–774; d. 234/848

TABLE 5 Muslim's informants according to al-Mizzī (*cont.*)

No.	Name	Center of activity	Born/died
203	Yaḥyā b. Bishr al-Ḥarīrī	Kufa	d. 227/842
204	Yaḥyā b. Ḥabīb b. ʿArabī	Basra	d. 248/862–863 or after 250/864–865
205	Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn	Baghdad	d. 233/848
206	Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Muʿāwiya al-Luʾluʾī	Marw → Bukhara	d. 257/871
207	Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā b. Bakr al-Tamīmī	Naysābūr	b. 142/759–760; d. 226/840
208	Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Ṣadafī	Egypt	b. 170/787, d. 264/877
209	Yūsuf b. Ḥammād al-Maʿnī	Basra	d. 245/859–860
210	Yūsuf b. ʿĪsā al-Marwazī	Marw	d. 249/863–864
211	Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb al-Ṣaffār	Kufa	d. 231/845–846
212	Zakariyyāʾ b. Yaḥyā, *kātib* al-ʿUmarī	Egypt	d. 242/856
213	Zayd b. Yazīd al-Thaqafī, Abū Maʿn al-Raqāshī	Basra	n/a
214	Ziyād b. Yaḥyā, Abū l-Khaṭṭāb al-Ḥassānī	Basra	d. 254/868
215	Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, Abū Khaythama	Baghdad	b. 160/776–777, d. 234/849

APPENDIX 3

Muslim's Major *Shaykh*s according to *Kitāb al-Zahra*, Compared with an Electronic Count in *al-Maktaba al-Shāmila* and an Alternative Count by Dār al-Ta'ṣīl

TABLE 6 Muslim's major *shaykh*s according to *Kitāb al-Zahra*, compared with an electronic count in *al-Maktaba al-Shāmila* and an alternative count by Dār al-Ta'ṣīl

Name	**Center of activity**	**The number of citations according to *Kitāb al-Zahra***	**The number of citations according to Dār al-Ta'ṣīl**
Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba, ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad (d. 235/849)	Kufa	1540	1322
Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, Abū Khaythama (d. 234/849)	Nasā → Baghdad	1281	760
Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā b. Bakr al-Tamīmī (d. 226/840)	Naysābūr	1160	711
Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā (d. 252/866)	Basra	772	770
Qutayba b. Saʿīd (d. 240/854)	Balkh	668	686
Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr (d. 234/849)	Kufa	573	458
Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ al-Hamdānī, Abū Kurayb (d. 248/862)	Kufa	566	511
Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Makhlad al-Ḥanẓalī, Ibn Rāhwayh (d. 238/853)	Marw → Naysābūr	70	641
Muḥammad b. Bashshār b. ʿUthmān Bundār (d. 252/866)	Basra	460	392
Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ al-Naysābūrī (d. 245/859–860)	Naysābūr	362	349
ʿAmr b. Muḥammad b. Bukayr b. Sābūr al-Nāqid (d. 232/847)	Baghdad, Raqqa	322	301
Muḥammad b. Ḥātim b. Maymūn al-Samīn, Abū ʿAbdallāh (d. 235–236/850)	Baghdad	300	217
Aḥmad b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-Sarḥ, Abū Ṭāhir (d. 249/864)	Egypt	240	235

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The number of citations counted using *Shāmila* (w/o the repetitions)	The number of repetitions according to *Shāmila*	The difference in % *al-Zahra* to *Shāmila*, w/o the repetitions	The difference in % *al-Zahra* to *Shāmila*, with the repetitions
1334	176	+15.4%	+2%
771	136	+66.1%	+41.2%
711	182	+63.2%	+29.9%
802	147	-3.7%	-18.7%
698	78	-4.3%	-13.9%
469	49	+22.2%	+10.6%
506	60	+11.9%	0
626	115	*Al-Zahra*'s compiler confused Ibn Rāhwayh with Abū l-Naḍr Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd (Damascus, d. 227/841–842), who, according to him, is Muslims informant in 520 traditions.	
396	10	+16.2%	+13.3%
357	58	+1.4%	-12.8%
299	24	+7.7%	-0.3%
217	19	+38.2%	+27.1%
235	15	+2.1%	-4%

TABLE 6 Muslim's major *shaykh*s according to *Kitāb al-Zahra* (*cont.*)

Name	**Center of activity**	**The number of citations according to *Kitāb al-Zahra***	**The number of citations according to Dār al-Ta'ṣīl**
Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Abī ʿUmar al-ʿAdanī, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Makkī (d. 243/858)	Mecca	216	295
Ḥarmala b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥarmala, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Tujībī (b. 166/782–783, d. 243/858)	Egypt	211	268
ʿAlī b. Ḥujr b. Iyās b. Muqātil al-Saʿdī, Abū l-Ḥasan (d. 244/858)	Marw	188	182
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muʿādh b. Muʿādh al-ʿAnbarī, Abū ʿAmr (d. 238/853)	Basra	167	176
Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-ʿAtakī, Abū l-Rabīʿ al-Zahrānī (d. 234/849)	Basra → Baghdad	148	139
Hudba [Haddāb] b. Khālid b. al-Aswad b. Hudba, Abū Khālid al-Qaysī (d. 236/850)	Basra	130	34
Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb al-Maqābirī, Abū Zakariyyā' al-Zāhid (d. 234/848)	Baghdad	114	128
Isḥāq b. Manṣūr b. Bahrām al-Kawsaj, Abū Yaʿqūb (d. 251/865)	Marw → Naysābūr	105	97
Shaybān b. Abī Shayba Farrūkh al-Ḥabaṭī (d. 236/851)	Ubulla (Iraq)	101	93
Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf b. Ḥajjāj al-Thaqafī, Abū Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Shāʿir (d. 259/873)	Baghdad	99	69

The number of citations counted using *Shāmila* (w/o the repetitions)	The number of repetitions according to *Shāmila*	The difference in % *al-Zahra* to *Shāmila*, w/o the repetitions	The difference in % *al-Zahra* to *Shāmila*, with the repetitions
252	44	-14.3%	-27%
243	20	-13.2%	-19.8%
184	20	+2.2%	-7.8%
178	0	-6.2%	n/a
143	10	+3.5%	-3.3%
33	2	+394%	+371%
135	2	-15.6%	-16.8%
100	0	+5%	n/a
93	1	+8.6%	+7.4%
78	8	+26.9%	+15.1%

Explanation and Analysis

1. Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba, ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad (Kufa; d. 235/849). According to *Zahrat al-mutaʿallimīn*, Muslim has included in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* 1540 traditions on Ibn Abī Shayba's authority.[1] My search in the *Shāmila* database by the terms "bn^{u} Abī Shayba," "Abū Bakr," "Abī Bakr," and "li-Abī Bakr" yielded 1334 transmissions on the authority of Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba[2] (1322 transmissions according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl), which amounts to 86.3 percent of the number in *Kitāb al-Zahra*. Assuming that *al-Zahra*'s compiler counted all occurrences of Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba, including 176 repetitions, we arrive at 1510 mentions, that is, 98.05 percent of *al-Zahra*'s count.
2. Abū Khaythama Zuhayr b. Ḥarb (Nasā → Baghdad; b. 160/776–777, d. 234/849). *Al-Zahra* counts 1281 traditions.[3] Using the search terms "Khaythama" and "Zuhayr b. Ḥarb," I found in *al-Shāmila* only 771 transmissions through Abū Khaythama (760 transmissions according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl), that is, 60.2 percent of *al-Zahra*'s count. Adding 136 repetitions, this proportion increases to 70.8 percent, which is far from enough to account for *al-Zahra*'s count. *Al-Zahra*'s compiler may have confused Abū Khaythama Zuhayr b. Ḥarb with his older namesake Abū Khaythama Zuhayr b. Muʿāwiya al-Juʿfī (Kufa, d. 172–177/788–794), who is cited forty-two times in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. But even assuming that *al-Zahra*'s compiler indiscriminately counted each and every occurrence of the names Zuhayr and Khaythama as referring to Abū Khaythama Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, we still arrive at 949 citations. This is only 74.1 percent of *al-Zahra*'s number, which must remain a mystery.
3. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā b. Bakr al-Tamīmī (Naysābūr; b. 142/759–760, d. 226/840). *Al-Zahra* counts 1160 citations.[4] My count in *al-Shāmila* by the search term "bn^{u} Yaḥyā" returned 711 transmissions through Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Tamīmī (711 transmissions according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl), that is, only 61.3 percent of the count in *al-Zahra*. Adding 182 repetitions, we remain 33 percent short of *al-Zahra*. This disparity may be offset by assuming that *al-Zahra*'s compiler erroneously counted Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān, whom Muslim cites through intermediaries 198 times (includ-

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[1] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* viii, 168; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* vi, 4.

[2] Using these terms, I found 1334 mentions of Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba, 110 mentions of ʿUthmān b. Abī Shayba, and one mention of Shaybān b. Abī Shayba. I found 176 repetitions in which Muslim uses "Ibn Abī Shayba," "Abū Bakr," "Abī Bakr," and "li-Abī Bakr" within the same narration after the initial mention of Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba and one or more other transmitters to describe a peculiarity in Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba's expression.

[3] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* v, 84; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* iii, 344.

[4] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xii, 384. Ibn Ḥajar does not include this information in his entry about Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Tamīmī.

ing 9 repetitions). On this scenario, the number increases to 1091 citations, that is, 94.05 percent of *al-Zahra*'s count. If *al-Zahra*'s hypothetical error extended to Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī (cited through intermediaries 106 times, including 6 repetitions) and Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Bukayr (cited through an intermediary four times), we will end up with 1201 citations, which exceeds the number in *al-Zahra* by the marginal 3.53 percent. Against the possibility of an indiscriminate counting of all Yaḥyās, *al-Zahra* counts Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb al-Maqābirī as a separate entry, with a considerable degree of accuracy (see below). Elsewhere, al-Zahra's compiler differentiates between Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā b. Bakr and Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Bukayr, noting that the latter is cited by al-Bukhārī 202 times,[5] which almost tallies with the actual number of 204 citations.[6]

4. Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā (Basra; d. 252/866). *Al-Zahra* counts 772 citations.[7] Using the search term "Muthannā," I found in *al-Shāmila* 802 transmissions through Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā (770 transmissions according to Dār al-Ta'ṣīl), which exceeds the number in *Kitāb al-Zahra* by only 3.9 percent.[8] There are, however, 147 repetitions. If added to the above number, they result in 949 citations, thereby exceeding the number in *al-Zahra* by 22.9 percent.
5. Qutayba b. Saʿīd (Balkh; b. ca. 150/767–768; d. 240/854). *Al-Zahra* counts 668 citations.[9] Using the search terms "Qutayba," "wa-Qutayba," and "li-Qutayba," I counted in *al-Shāmila* 698 transmissions through Qutayba b. Saʿīd (642 transmissions according to Dār al-Ta'ṣīl), which exceeds the number in *Kitāb al-Zahra* by 4.5 %.[10] I counted 78 repetitions, which, if added to the former number, result in 776 citations. This number exceeds the corresponding number in *Kitāb al-Zahra* by 16.2 percent.
6. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr (Kufa, d. 234/849). *Al-Zahra* counts 573 citations.[11] Using the search term "Numayr," and assuming that he is never men-

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[5] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xii, 335.

[6] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* x, 622.

[7] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* x, 330; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* ix, 427.

[8] The term "bn^{u} al-Muthannā" yielded 695 results. The term "Ibn al-Muthannā" yielded 98 results, excluding repetitions within the same narration and a few instances in which the patronymic Ibn al-Muthannā stands for Abū ʿUmar Ḥujayn b. al-Muthannā al-Yamāmī (Baghdad, d. ca. 250/864–865).

[9] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* viii, 361. Qutayba's *tarjama* is not present in the surviving text of Mughlaṭāy's *Ikmāl*.

[10] The search term "Qutayba" returned 534 results, excluding the repetitions and the occasional mentions of Ibn Qutayba in the footnotes. The term "wa-Qutayba" returned 162 results excluding 17 instances in which this term occurs on the same page together with "Qutayba."

[11] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* ix, 283. Ibn Numayr's *tarjama* is not present in the surviving text of Mughlaṭāy's *Ikmāl*.

tioned as simply Muḥammad or Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, I found in *al-Shāmila* 469 transmissions on the authority of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr (458 transmissions according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl), which is 81.85 percent of the number in *al-Zahra*. Adding 49 repetitions, we arrive at 518 mentions of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr, that is, 90.4 percent of the number in *al-Zahra*. *Al-Zahra*'s compiler may have easily confused Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr with his father, ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr, who is mentioned 109 times, frequently only as Ibn Numayr. The aggregate number for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr and his father stands at 578, which almost tallies the number in *al-Zahra*. This calculation, however, excludes the repetitions of either name.

7. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ al-Hamdānī, Abū Kurayb (Kufa; b. ca. 161/777–778, d. 248/862). *Al-Zahra* counts 566 citations.[12] Using the search terms "Kurayb" and "bn^{u} al-ʿAlāʾ," I counted in *al-Shāmila* 506 transmissions through Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ (511 transmissions according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl), which accounts for 89.4 percent of the corresponding number in *al-Zahra*. Adding to this 60 repetitions, we arrive at the same number as *al-Zahra*'s compiler, who must have counted indiscriminately all occurrences of Abū Kurayb. Note that in this case he did not confuse Abū Kurayb with Kurayb, the *mawlā* of Ibn ʿAbbās, who is cited through intermediaries in 40 traditions in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, including seven repetitions.
8. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd, Abū l-Naḍr (Damascus, b. 141/758–759; d. 227/841–842). *Al-Zahra* counts 520 citations.[13] Muslim does not cite this traditionist even once. *Al-Zahra*'s compiler must have confused him with Ibn Rāhwayh, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanẓalī (see no. 10 below).
9. Muḥammad b. Bashshār b. ʿUthmān Bundār (Basra; b. 167/783–784, d. 252/866). *Al-Zahra* counts 460 citations.[14] My search in *al-Shāmila* by the term "Bashshār" returned 396 uses of the compounds "Muḥammad b. Bashshār," "bn^{u} Bashshār," and "Ibn Bashshār," all referring to the same person (392 transmissions according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl).[15] If we add to this number ten repetitions of the name Muḥammad b. Bashshār within the same narration, the resulting 407 transmissions will account for 88.5 percent of the number in *al-Zahra*.
10. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Makhlad al-Ḥanẓalī, Ibn Rāhwayh (Marw → Naysābūr, 161–238/778–853). *Al-Zahra* counts seventy-two citations.[16] My search in *al-Shāmila*,

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[12] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* x, 305; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* ix, 386.

[13] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* ii, 76. Ibn Ḥajar does not include this information in his entry about Abū l-Naḍr.

[14] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* ix, 73. Muḥammad b. Bashshār's *tarjama* is not present in the surviving text of Mughlaṭāy's *Ikmāl*.

[15] Muslim does not refer to Muḥammad b. Bashshār by his nickname Bundār.

[16] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* ii, 73. Ibn Ḥajar does not include this information in his entry about Ibn Rāhwayh, which suggests that he had misgivings about its accuracy.

by the terms "Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm" and "wa-Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm," yielded 626 hits (686 transmissions according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl).[17] Adding 115 repetitions results in a total of 741 transmissions, which exceeds the count in *al-Zahra* by a factor of ten. This ratio raises the possibility that *al-Zahra* recorded 720 citations, which Mughlaṭāy misquoted as 72. More likely, however, *al-Zahra*'s compiler confused Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanẓalī with Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd, Abū l-Naḍr al-Dimashqī (see no. 8 above), who, according to *al-Zahra*'s count, is cited 520 times in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. In support of this scenario, note that, according to *al-Shāmila*, the name Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm is mentioned in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* 72 times in conjunction with the *nisba* al-Ḥanẓalī, a result that agrees with the 72 mentions recorded in *al-Zahra*. This explanation accounts almost fully for the number of 520 traditions that according to *al-Zahra* Muslim transmitted on the authority of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd. Excluding the repetitions, the name Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm is mentioned in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* 554 times, which exceeds the count in *al-Zahra* by only 6.5 percent. For an unknown reason, *al-Zahra*'s compiler presumed that whenever Muslim states Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, he means the Damascene Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd, and whenever he states Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanẓalī, he means Ibn Rāhwayh. Muslim, however, carefully disambiguates confusing names of transmitters. It is unlikely that, had he cited Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd so massively, he would not mention even once either his teknonym, Abū l-Naḍr, or his full name.

11. Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ, Abū ʿAbdallāh (Naysābūr, d. 245/859–860). *Al-Zahra* counts 362 citations.[18] Using the term "Rāfiʿ," I counted in *al-Shāmila* 357 transmissions on the authority of Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ (349 transmissions according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl), that is, 98.6 percent of the number in *Kitāb al-Zahra*. Unlike several previous instances in which I took into account the repetitions in order to arrive at a number close to that in *al-Zahra*, my present calculation does not include 58 repetitions of the name Ibn Rāfiʿ in the same narration. With these repetitions added, the resultant number exceeds that in *al-Zahra* by 14.64 percent.
12. ʿAmr b. Muḥammad b. Bukayr b. Sābūr al-Nāqid (Baghdad—Raqqa, d. 232/847). *Al-Zahra* counts 322 citations.[19] Using the terms "al-Nāqid," "ʿAmr b. Muḥammad," and "bn^{u} Bukayr," I counted in *al-Shāmila* 299 transmissions by Muslim on the authority of ʿAmr b. al-Nāqid (301 transmissions according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl). Adding 24 repetitions, we exceed the number in *al-Zahra* by a single transmission.

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[17] Muslim does not refer to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm by his nickname Ibn Rāhwayh.

[18] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* ix, 162. Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ's *tarjama* is not present in the surviving text of Mughlaṭāy's *Ikmāl*.

[19] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* x, 252. Ibn Ḥajar does not include this information in his entry about ʿAmr al-Nāqid.

13. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim b. Maymūn al-Samīn, Abū ʿAbdallāh (Baghdad, d. 235–236/850) *Al-Zahra* counts 300 citations.[20] Using the term "Ḥātim,"[21] I counted in *al-Shāmila* 217 transmissions through Muḥammad b. Ḥātim (217 transmissions according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl), that is, only 72.33 percent of *al-Zahra*'s count. Adding 19 repetitions and 24 occurrences of the name of the Companion ʿAdī b. Ḥātim (Kufa, d. 66–67/685–687), on assumption that *al-Zahra*'s compiler indiscriminately counted each occurrence of "Ibn Ḥātim," the number increases to 260, which stands closer though still considerably far from the 300 transmissions alleged in *al-Zahra*.
14. Aḥmad b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-Sarḥ, Abū l-Ṭāhir al-Miṣrī (Egypt, d. 249/864). *Al-Zahra* counts 240 citations.[22] Using the teknonym "Abū l-Ṭāhir," which Muslim always deploys in reference to Aḥmad b. ʿAmr, I counted in *al-Shāmila* 235 transmissions on the authority of Aḥmad b. ʿAmr (235 transmissions according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl), which is only five mentions (2.1 percent) short of the number in *Kitāb al-Zahra*. Adding fifteen repetitions, we arrive at 250 transmissions, that is, 4.17 percent more than these counted in *al-Zahra*.
15. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Abī ʿUmar al-ʿAdanī, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Makkī (Mecca, d. 243/858). *Al-Zahra* counts 216 citations.[23] Using the key term "Abī ʿUmar," I counted in *al-Shāmila* 296 transmissions on the authority of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, including forty-four repetitions (295 transmissions according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl). Thus, the number of references to Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā in the present version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, excluding the repetitions, exceeds the count in *al-Zahra* by 16.7 percent. Adding the repetitions, the striking disparity increases to 37 percent.
16. Ḥarmala b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥarmala, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Tujībī (Egypt; b. 166/782–783, d. 243/858). *Al-Zahra* counts 211 citations.[24] Using the key terms "Ḥarmala" and "wa-Ḥarmala," I counted in *al-Shāmila* 263 transmissions on the authority of Ḥarmala b. Yaḥyā, including twenty repetitions (268 transmissions according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl). This number exceeds *al-Zahra*'s count by 15.2 percent without the repetitions and by 24.6 percent with the repetitions.

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[20] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* ix, 102. Al-Samīn's *tarjama* is not present in the surviving text of Mughlaṭāy's *Ikmāl*.

[21] Muslim never uses the *laqab* al-Samīn to designate Muḥammad b. Ḥātim.

[22] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* i, 94. Ibn Ḥajar does not include this information in his entry about Aḥmad b. ʿAmr.

[23] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* x, 390. Ibn Ḥajar does not include this information in his entry about Ibn Abī ʿUmar al-Makkī.

[24] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* iv, 34. Ibn Ḥajar does not include this information in his entry about Ḥarmala b. Yaḥyā.

17. ʿAlī b. Ḥujr b. Iyās b. Muqātil al-Saʿdī, Abū l-Ḥasan (Marw, b. 154/770–771, d. 244/858). *Al-Zahra* counts 188 citations.[25] Using the term "Ḥujr," I counted in *al-Shāmila* 184 transmissions through ʿAlī b. Ḥujr al-Saʿdī (182 transmissions according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl), which overlaps almost completely with *al-Zahra*'s count. If accounted for, the twenty repetitions will result in 204 transmissions, thereby exceeding *al-Zahra*'s count by 8.5 percent.
18. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muʿādh b. Muʿādh al-ʿAnbarī, Abū ʿAmr (Basra, d. 238/853). *Al-Zahra* counts 167 citations.[26] Using the key phrase "bn^u Muʿādh," I counted in *al-Shāmila* 178 references to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muʿādh b. Muʿādh al-ʿAnbarī (Dār al-Taʾṣīl, 176 transmissions), which exceeds the count in *Kitāb al-Zahra* by 6.6 percent. No repetitions have been observed.
19. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-ʿAtakī, Abū l-Rabīʿ al-Zahrānī (Basra → Baghdad, d. 234/849). *Al-Zahra* counts 148 citations.[27] Using the key terms "al-ʿAtakī," "Abū l-Rabīʿ," and "wa-Abū l-Rabīʿ," I counted in *al-Shāmila* 143 references to Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-ʿAtakī (Dār al-Taʾṣīl, 139 transmissions), that is, 96.6 percent of their number according to *al-Zahra*. Adding 10 repetitions, we arrive at 153 references, which exceeds al-Zahra's count by 3.4 percent.
20. Hudba [Haddāb] b. Khālid b. al-Aswad b. Hudba, Abū Khālid al-Qaysī (Basra, d. 236/850). *Al-Zahra* counts 130 citations.[28] Using the name "Haddāb," by which he is always cited in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I was able to find in *al-Shāmila* only thirty-three references to this traditionist (Dār al-Taʾṣīl, 34 transmissions) and two repetitions. This vast discrepancy may be accounted for only if Mughlaṭāy misquoted as 130 an original count in *al-Zahra* that hypothetically stood at thirty citations.
21. Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb al-Maqābirī, Abū Zakariyyāʾ (Baghdad, b. 157/773–774; d. 234/848). *Al-Zahra* counts 114 citations.[29] My search in *al-Shāmila* by the key phrase "bn^u Ayyūb" has shown that Muslim cites Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb 137 times, including two repetitions (128 citations according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl). Even without the repetitions, my count exceeds the number in *al-Zahra* by 18.4 percent.
22. Isḥāq b. Manṣūr b. Bahrām al-Kawsaj, Abū Yaʿqūb (Marw → Naysābūr, d. 251/865). *Al-Zahra* counts 105 traditions.[30] Using the key phrase "bn^u Manṣūr," I found in

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[25] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* ix, 287; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* vii, 294.

[26] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* ix, 66. Ibn Ḥajar does not include this information in his entry about Muʿādh b. Muʿādh al-ʿAnbarī.

[27] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* ix, 58. Ibn Ḥajar does not include this information in his entry about Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-ʿAtakī.

[28] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xii, 129. Ibn Ḥajar does not include this information in his entry about Hudba b. Khālid.

[29] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* xii, 290. Ibn Ḥajar does not include this information in his entry about al-Maqābirī.

[30] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* ii, 113. Ibn Ḥajar does not include this information in his entry about al-Kawsaj.

al-Shāmila 100 transmissions on the authority of al-Kawsaj (97 transmissions according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl), that is, 4.76 percent fewer than recorded in *Kitāb al-Zahra*. There are no repetitions.

23. Shaybān b. Abī Shayba Farrūkh al-Ḥabaṭī (Ubulla, b. ca. 140/757–758; d. 236/851). *Al-Zahra* counts 101 traditions.[31] Using the key phrases "bnᵘ Farrūkh" and "Shaybān + Shayba," I found in *al-Shāmila* 93 references to Shaybān b. Abī Shayba, and one repetition (93 transmissions according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl). This number accounts for 92.08 percent of the count in *Kitāb al-Zahra*.
24. Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf b. Ḥajjāj al-Thaqafī, Abū Muḥammad, also known as Ibn al-Shāʿir (Baghdad, d. 259/873) *Al-Zahra* counts 99 citations.[32] Using the search terms "al-Shāʿir" and "Ḥajjāj," I found 78 mentions of Ḥajjāj b. al-Shāʿir in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* (69 transmissions according to Dār al-Taʾṣīl), that is, 78.8 percent of *al-Zahra*'s count. Adding eight repetitions, this number increases to 86, which is 86.9 percent of *al-Zahra's* count.

The differences between *Kitāb al-Zahra* and my counts in the electronic version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in *al-Maktaba al-Shāmila* may be divided into three groups:

1. In seven cases, the two counts differ by less than 10 %, irrespective of whether we include or bracket out the number of repetitions. Although *al-Zahra*'s count is accurate, we cannot determine whether its compiler counted each occurrence of a given name or only its mention in separate *isnād*s.
2. In six instances, taking into account or, conversely, bracketing out the number of repetitions brings the correspondence between the two counts within the ten-percent margin. Whenever one alternative brings us within the ten-percent margin, counting the opposite alternative brings us in the range of -8.7 to +5.4 percent of the same margin. This swinging of the results between the two extremes suggests that *al-Zahra*'s compiler often counted indiscriminately, now accounting for the repetitions and now disregarding them.
3. In nine instances, the difference exceeds ten percent irrespective of whether we count or discount the repetitions.

Some of the above discrepancies stem from onomastic confusion. *Al-Zahra*'s compiler confused Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanẓalī, Ibn Rāhwayh (Marw → Naysābūr; d. 238/853) with Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd, Abū l-Naḍr (Damascus, d. 227/841–842), who is never cited in the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. If so, we may add the seventy-two traditions that al-*Zahra* associates with Ibn Rāhwayh to the 500 traditions that it associates with Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd. The resulting 572 transmissions fall short by 8.6 % of my count of Ibn Rāhwayh's citations using *al-Shāmila*. However, if we add 115 repetitions, the discrepancy increases to 22.8 %.

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[31] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* vi, 308. Ibn Ḥajar does not include this information in his entry about Shaybān b. Abī Shayba.

[32] Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* ii, 406. Ibn Ḥajar does not include this information in his entry about Ibn al-Shāʿir.

The onomastic confusion hypothesis may be extended to Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā b. Bakr al-Tamīmī (Naysābūr; d. 226/840), Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Bukayr (Egypt; 154–231/771–845), Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān (Basra, d. 198/813), and Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī (Medina, d. 143/760–761). Only if the transmissions through al-Qaṭṭān and al-Anṣārī are taken into account, would we be able to come close to the 1160 transmissions alleged for Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Tamīmī in *Kitāb al-Zahra*. In the same vein, *al-Zahra*'s compiler likely mixed the names of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr (Kufa; d. 234/849) and his father, ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr (d. 199/814–815). The former is cited 469 times, whereas the latter has 109 citations. The sum of 578 citations, repetitions discounted, is almost identical to the 573 citations that *Kitāb al-Zahra* alleges for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh alone.

A different tendency is observed with Abū Khaythama Zuhayr b. Ḥarb (771 transmissions and 136 repetitions) and Abū Khaythama Zuhayr b. Muʿāwiya al-Juʿfī (Kufa, d. 172–177/788–794), who is cited 42 times throughout the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Unlike the previous examples, even if the two numbers are aggregated, the resulting 949 citations will make up only 74.1 percent of the 1281 transmissions through Ibn Abī Khaythama counted in *Kitāb al-Zahra*. If my hypotheses in the case of Ibn Abī Khaythama, Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr should hold water, *al-Zahra*'s compiler would have confused the names of traditionists that belong to different generations. Neither Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān, nor Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī, or Zuhayr b. Muʿāwiya al-Juʿfī may have been Muslim's direct informants.

The first two groups of differences suggest that Mughlaṭāy and Ibn Ḥajar worked with a copy of *Kitāb al-Zahra* in which contradictory counting criteria were applied. Such a methodological inconsistency may be explained by the contribution of different authors to this currently lost book. This hypothesis receives indirect support from the fact that neither Mughlaṭāy nor Ibn Ḥajar identifies *al-Zahra*'s compiler, probably because his identity was not revealed in the manuscript they possessed. On the other hand, the cases of onomastic confusion, including the glaring omission of Isḥāq b. Rāhwayh, may be thought to suggest that *al-Zahra* had been compiled by an inexperienced *ḥadīth* scholar from North Africa or al-Andalus with limited knowledge of eastern traditionists. The onomastic problems may have been compounded by the chronological distance, assuming that our compiler flourished several centuries after Muslim.

The third group of differences, which manifests a sizeable discrepancy between the number of transmissions on the authority of several of Muslim's informants as counted by *al-Zahra*'s compiler, on the one hand, and the corresponding number returned by our electronic count, on the other hand, poses a formidable scholarly challenge. Our inability to account for most of these discrepancies by counting or discounting repetitions in the same narration or by assuming onomastic confusion raises the possibility that *al-Zahra*'s compiler worked with a copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* that greatly differed in its content and composition from the extant specimen.

APPENDIX 4

Transmitters on Muslim's Authority

The list is based on al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* xxvii, 504–505, with several additions, whose sources are recorded in the footnotes.

TABLE 7 Transmitters on Muslim's authority

	Name	**Center of activity, dates of birth and death**	**Notes**
1	ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Sallām al-Khaffāf	Naysābūr → Egypt; d. 294/907	
2	ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī	Balkh; d. 295/907–908	Composed *Kitāb al-Tārīkh* and *ʿIlal*.
3	ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Sharqī	Naysābūr; b. 236/850–851; d. 328/940	A brother of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Sharqī, ʿAbdallāh was an addicted drinker until his death.[1]
4	ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yāsīn al-Dūrī[2]	Baghdad; d. 303/915	
5	ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Mūsā al-Sarakhsī	Khurāsān; d. 304/916–917	Related many unparalleled traditions.
6	Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī[3]	Rayy; b. 195/810–811, d. 277/890	
7	Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Qalānisī	Naysābūr; d. 290–300/902–913	Transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.
8	Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥasnawayh	Naysābūr; d. 350/961	Pretended to have met Muslim.[4] An ascetic.
9	Aḥmad b. Ḥamdūn b. Rustam al-Aʿmashī	Naysābūr; d. 321/933	
10	Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak al-Mustamlī	Naysābūr; d. 284/897	An ascetic

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[1] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iii, 419.
[2] Al-Maqdisī *Juzʾ* 95.
[3] Abū Yaʿlā al-Khalīlī, *Irshād* iii, 826.
[4] Al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān* i, 262.

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TABLE 7 Transmitters on Muslim's authority (*cont.*)

	Name	Center of activity, dates of birth and death	Notes
11	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Sharqī	Naysābūr, 240–325/854–937	May have transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ*
12	Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm al-Khaffāf	Naysābūr; d. 299/912	An ascetic
13	Aḥmad b. Salama al-Bazzāz	Naysābūr; d. 286/899	Sometimes said to have transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, but this is unlikely.
14	ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī ʿĪsā al-Hilālī al-Darābjardī	Naysābūr; d. 267/881	He is also a *shaykh* of Muslim
15	ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Junayd al-Rāzī	Rayy, d. 291/905	
16	ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl b. Yūnus b. al-Sakan al-Ṣaffār	Baghdad; d. 307/919	
17	Al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Balkhī	Balkh, ?	
18	Ḥātim b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Kindī al-Bukhārī	Act. Naysābūr? d. 314/926	
19	Al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Qabbānī	Naysābūr; d. 289/902	Authored a *Musnad*, *Tārīkh*, *al-Kunā*, and *Abwāb*. Was on close terms with al-Bukhārī and took his side in the conflict with al-Dhuhlī. The Partisans of Tradition gathered around him after Muslim's death.[5]
20	Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī	Rayy; b. 240/854–855, d. 327/938	
21	Ibrāhīm b. Abī Ṭālib Muḥammad b. Nūḥ	Naysābūr; d. 295/908	

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[5] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iv, 440–441.

TABLE 7 Transmitters on Muslim's authority (*cont.*)

	Name	**Center of activity, dates of birth and death**	**Notes**
22	Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq al-Ṣayrafī	?	No such person can be identified in the biographical dictionaries. May be Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq al-Ḥarbī (Baghdad; b. 198/813–814, d. 285/899) or Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq al-Anmāṭī (Naysābūr; d. 303/915–916)[6]
23	Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd b Ḥamza	Naysābūr, d. 298–299/910–912	
24	Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Sufyān	Naysābūr; d. 308/920	Transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. An ascetic.
25	Makkī b. ʿAbdān	Naysābūr; b. 242/856–857, d. 325/937	Transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.
26	Muḥammad b. ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd	Kashsh; d. 286/899	
27	Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Daghūlī al-Sarakhsī[7]	Act. Naysābūr, d. 325/936–937	
28	Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ḥabīb b. Mihrān al-ʿAbdī	Naysābūr; b. 177/793–794, d. 272/886	
29	Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Māsarjisī[8]	Naysābūr; d. 315/927–928	Transmitted Muslim's *al-Intifāʿ bi-julūd al-sibāʿ*.[9]
30	Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Zuhayr b. Ṭahmān al-Qaysī al-Ṭūsī[10]	Ṭūs, d. 317–318/929–931	Transmitted *Tasmiyat shuyūkh Mālik*; *Tasmiyat shuyūkh Sufyān*, and *Tasmiyat shuyūkh Shuʿba*

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[6] Āl Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim* i, 182.

[7] Al-Maqdisī, *Juzʾ* 98.

[8] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* xv, 122.

[9] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* xxiii, 499.

[10] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 266; noted by Āl Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim* i, 208.

TABLE 7 Transmitters on Muslim's authority (*cont.*)

	Name	Center of activity, dates of birth and death	Notes
31	Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd[11]	Isfahan → Samarqand; d. after 289/902	
32	Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī	Khurāsān; 210–279/825–892	Transmitted a single tradition on Muslim's authority.
33	Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. al-ʿAbbās al-Fākihī[12]	Mecca; d. after 272/885–886	
34	Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Mihrān al-Thaqafī al-Sarrāj	Naysābūr; b. 216/831–832, d. 313/925	Authored a *Musnad*, a *Tārīkh*, and a *mustakhraj* of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. A radical traditionalist.[13]
35	Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Khuzayma	Naysābūr; 223–311/838–924	
36	Muḥammad b. Makhlad b. Ḥafṣ al-Dūrī al-ʿAṭṭār	Baghdad; 233–331/848–943	
37	Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ḥāmid al-Balkhī[14]	Balkh; ?	Transmitted Muslim's *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt*
38	Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Akhram[15]	Naysābūr; b. ca. 250/864–865, d. 344/955	Composed a *mustakhraj* on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*
39	Muḥammad b. al-Naḍr b. Salama b. al-Jārūd	Naysābūr—Isfahan; d. 291/904	A close associate of Muslim, he "took care of his affairs."[16]
40	Mūsā b. Hārūn b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bazzār[17]	Baghdad; b. 214/829–830; d. 294/907	
41	Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Naṣr, Naṣrak	Baghdad → Bukhara; b. 223/837–838, d. 293/906	Composed a *Musnad*.
42	Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b. ʿAmmār al-Azdī al-Bardhaʿī	Azerbaijan; d. 292/904–905	

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[11] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Ṭabaqāt* ii, 495–496; noted by Āl Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim* i, 208–209.

[12] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ghunya* 36.

[13] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* i, 509; Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Ṭabaqāt* ii, 449.

[14] Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* 279–280; noted by Āl Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim* i, 218.

[15] Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* iv, 503.

[16] Ibid. ii, 8.

[17] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* 58–59; noted by Āl Salmān, *al-Imām Muslim* i, 227.

TABLE 7 Transmitters on Muslim's authority (*cont.*)

	Name	**Center of activity, dates of birth and death**	**Notes**
43	Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-Ḥāfiẓ	Baghdad → Bukhara; b. 205/820–821; d. 293/906	
44	Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāʿid	Baghdad; 228–318/842–930	
45	Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, Abū ʿAwāna al-Isfarāyīnī	Naysābūr—Isfarāyīn; d. 316/929	
46	Zakariyyāʾ b. Dāwūd al-Khaffāf	Naysābūr; d. 286/899	Authored a Quran commentary

APPENDIX 5

First/Seventh and Second/Eighth-Century Traditionists Who Made Transmitter-Critical Pronouncements according to Muslim's *Introduction*

1. Murra b. Sharāḥīl al-Hamdānī (Kufa; d. 76/695–696)—one statement.
2. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī (Kufa; d. 70/689–690, 72/691–692, or 90/708–709)—one statement.
3. Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (Kufa; d. 96/714)—two statements.
4. Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān (Yemen; ca. 34/654–ca. 106/724–725)—two statements.
5. ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī (Kufa; d. 103–110/721–729)—one statement.
6. Qatāda b. Diʿāma (Basra; b. 61/680–681, d. 117/735–736)—two statements.
7. Zayd b. Abī Unaysa (Edessa; b. 89/707–708, d. 125/742–743)—one statement.
8. Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm (Medina; d. 126–128/743–746)—one statement.
9. Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (Basra; d. 131/749)—seven statements.
10. Abū l-Zinād (Medina; d. 131/748–749)—one statement.
11. Al-Qāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (Medina; d. 127–132/744–750)—one statement.
12. Yūnus b. ʿUbayd (Basra; d. 139/756–757)—one statement.
13. An anonymous son of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar (Medina? d. ?)—one statement.
14. ʿAwf b. Abī Jamīla (Kufa; d. 146–147/763–765)—one statement.
15. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAwn (Basra; b. 66/685–686, d. 151/768)—one statement.
16. Misʿar b. Kidām (Kufa; d. 152–155/769–772)—one statement.
17. Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt (Kufa; d. 156–158/772–775)—one statement.
18. Ibn Abī Dhiʾb (Medina; b. 80/699–700, d. 158–159/774–776)—one statement.
19. Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj (Wāsiṭ → Basra; d. 160/776)—five statements.
20. Sufyān al-Thawrī (Kufa; 97–161/716–778)—three statements.
21. Hammām b. Yaḥyā (Basra; d. 164–165/780–782)—one statement.
22. Ḥammād b. Salama (Basra; d. 167/784)—one statement.
23. Sallām b. Abī Muṭīʿ (Basra; d. 173/789–790)—one statement.
24. Abū ʿAwāna al-Waḍḍaḥ b. ʿAbdallāh (Wāsiṭ → Basra; b. 122/739–740? d. 176/792)—one statement.
25. Al-Jarrāḥ b. Malīḥ (Kufa; d. 176/792–793)—one statement.
26. Zuhayr b. Muʿāwiya (Kūfa; d. 172–177/788–794)—one statement.
27. Mālik b. Anas (Medina; d. 179/795)—seven statements.

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28. Ḥammād b. Zayd (Basra; b. 98/716–717, d. 179/795)—one statement.
29. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAmr (Raqqa; d. 180/796–797)—one statement.
30. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak (Marw; d. 181/797)—eleven statements.
31. Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Kufa → Rayy; b. 107/725–726, d. 187/802)—three statements.
32. Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Fazārī (Kufa → Miṣṣīṣa; d. 188/804)—two statements.
33. Ismāʿīl b. ʿUlayya (Basra; b. 110/728–729, d. 193/809)—one statement.
34. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān (Basra; d. 198/813)—seven statements.
35. Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (Kufa → Mecca; d. 198/814)—four statements.
36. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī (Basra; d. 198/814)—one statement.
37. Khalīfa b. Mūsā (Kufa, d. ?)—one statement.
38. Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī (Basra; b. ca. 113/731–732 or ca. 133/750–751, d. 203–204/819–820)—one statement.
39. Yazīd b. Hārūn (Wāsiṭ; 118–206/736–821)—one statement.
40. Shabāba b. Sawwār (Madāʾin; d. 206/821–822)—one statement.
41. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith (Basra; d. 206–207/822)—one statement.
42. ʿAffān b. Muslim (Basra → Baghdad; b. 134/751–752, d. 220/835)—one statement.

APPENDIX 6

Reasons for Transmitter-Critical Pronouncements according to the Introduction to Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (All Numbers Are according to the Dār al-Taʾṣīl Edition)

The *isnād* Quality

- Isnād *comparison*
  - a) Qatāda b. Diʿāma debunks Abū Dāwūd al-Aʿmā's (Kufa; d. 100–110/718–729) alleged audition from eighteen participants in the Battle of Badr (no. 63.1). Qatāda's reason is that both al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, who were Abū Dāwūd's most prominent contemporaries, transmitted only from a single participant in the Battle of Badr, namely, Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.
  - b) Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī states that ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd lied when he pretended to have heard al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī saying that the intoxicated drinker of *nabīdh* should not be flogged. Ayyūb rejoins that he heard al-Ḥasan saying that such a drinker should be flogged (no. 68).
  - c) Al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmara (Kufa; d. 153/770) invents an *isnād* in support of a rival teaching and another *isnād* associating a legal opinion with an alternative source (no. 73).
  - d) Ziyād b. Maymūn (Basra; d. 158/774–775) illegitimately associates the same tradition with three different informants (no. 74).
  - e) When he heard a tradition on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Abū ʿAwāna always checked it with Abān b. Abī ʿAyyāsh (Basra; d. 138/755) (no. 78).
  - f) In an oneiric encounter with the Prophet, Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt (Kufa; d. 156–158/772–775) shows him about one thousand traditions he had heard from Abān b. Abī ʿAyyāsh (no. 79).
  - g) Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Fazārī (Kufa → Miṣṣīṣa; d. 188/804) advises Zakariyyāʾ b. ʿAdī (Kufa → Baghdad; d. 211/826) to write down from Baqiyya b. al-Walīd only what he transmitted from well-known informants and to disregard what he transmitted from not-well-known informants (no. 80).
  - h) Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī advises Zakariyyāʾ b. ʿAdī (Kufa → Baghdad; d. 211/826) to stay away from Ismāʿīl b. ʿAyyāsh's (Homs; b. 102–106/720–725, d. 181/797) entire corpus of transmissions, be they from informants who are well known or otherwise (no. 80).

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- Tadlīs
  - a) Ghālib b. ʿUbayd Allāh (al-Jazīra; d. ca. 169/785) illegitimately replaces Abān b. Abī ʿAyyāsh (Basra; d. 138/755) with Makḥūl al-Shāmī (Damascus; d. 112–118/730–737) (no. 40).
  - b) Abū l-Miqdām Hishām b. Ziyād (Medina; d. ?) drops the name of an intermediate transmitter from his *isnād* (no. 41). ʿAbd al-Karim b. Abī l-Mukhāriq (Basra → Mecca; d. 126–127/743–745) does the same (no. 62). Abū Dāwūd al-Aʿmā (Kufa; d. 100–110/718–729) cites many Companions without having met them (no. 63).
  - c) In no. 56, Sallām b. Abī Muṭīʿ (Basra; d. 173/789–790) mentions that Jābir b. Yazīd al-Juʿfī asserted that he knew fifty thousand traditions on the authority of the Prophet. Ibn Abī Muṭīʿ may be hinting that (many of) these traditions were invented or that their *isnād*s were badly interrupted.
  - d) Ziyād b. Maymūn (Basra; d. 158/774–775) confesses to Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī that he had never met Anas b. Mālik (no. 75), from whom he habitually transmitted traditions.
  - e) Baqiyya b. al-Walīd (Homs; d. 197/812) exchanges *kunya*s (teknonyms) for names and names for *kunya*s (no. 81).
- Isnād *interruption*
  - a) *Isnād* interruption is detected in cases where a long gap intervenes between a transmitter and the original speaker. Thus, al-Ḥajjāj b. Dīnār (Wāsiṭ; d. ?), who belonged to the third generation after the Prophet, transmitted directly on his authority (no. 30).[1] Jābir b. Yazīd al-Juʿfī asserted that he possessed seventy thousand transmissions by Muḥammad al-Bāqir (Medina; d. 114–118/732–736) on the authority of the Prophet (no. 54).[2]

The Personal and Professional Qualities of Transmitters

- *Sectarian background*
  - a) ʿAmr b. Thābit's *ḥadīth* should be abandoned because he insults the forebears (no. 31).
  - b) According to al-Shaʿbī (Kufa; d. 103–110/721–729), al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbdallāh al-Aʿwar (Kufa; d. 65/684–685) was a liar (nos. 45, 45.1). In the next two traditions (nos. 46 and 46.1), Muslim cites three reports by Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (nos. 46, 46.1, and 47), which suggest that al-Ḥārith al-Aʿwar was *muttaham* because

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[1] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 16 = Taʾṣīl, no. 30.

[2] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 20 = Taʾṣīl, no. 54.

he subscribed to unorthodox views about the Quran. It is unclear whether al-Shaʿbī considered al-Ḥārith a liar for the same reason. Strikingly, he appears to hold it permissible to transmit on al-Ḥārith's authority. In no. 48, Murra al-Hamdānī jumps up to fetch his sword after hearing something from al-Ḥārith al-Aʿwar, but the reasons for his ire remain unclear.

c) Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Kufa → Rayy; b. 107/725–726, d. 187/802) does not write down traditions from Jābir b. Yazīd al-Juʿfī, because he believed in the *rajʿa* (no. 51). Misʿar b. Kidām heard from Jābir before he exhibited his heresy (no. 52). Some people abandon Jābir after he manifests his belief in the *rajʿa* (no. 53). In no. 57, Sufyān b. ʿUyayna expounds on Jābir's extreme Shiʿi views. Sufyān would not allow himself to transmit any of the thirty thousand traditions that he heard from Jābir, likely on account of Jābir heterodoxy (no. 58).

d) According to Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (Kufa; d. 96/714), al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd (d. 119/737) and Shaqīq b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḍabbī (Kufa; d. ?) are liars (no. 49). Al-Mughīra was an extreme follower of ʿAlī with gnostic proclivities,[3] whereas Shaqīq was a Khariji.[4]

e) ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd lied in transmission (no. 65). The reason is not stated, but in the eyes of Muslim and the Partisans of Tradition ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd was the most notorious rationalist and denier of God's predestination. For the same reason, Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī ran away from ʿAmr's traditions (no. 67). Ayyūb also said regarding ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd that he could not trust in tradition a man he distrusts in religion (no. 69).

f) ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd misinterpreted traditions in favor of his teaching (no. 66).

g) Isrāʾīl b. Mūsā (Basra → India; d. ?) heard from ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd before he began to innovate (no. 70).

- Indiscriminate transmission of everything one has heard (no. 44). The same is probably implied in Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī's (Basra; d. 131/749) statement that someone "increases the numbers" (*yazīd fī al-raqm*) (no. 60). Ayyūb's expression sugests indiscriminate transmission of numerous traditions, some of which may be forgeries.
- Popular storytellers (*quṣṣāṣ*) are unreliable. One should not transmit from storytellers, except Abū l-Aḥwaṣ ʿAwf b. Mālik al-Jushamī (Kufa; d. 75–95/694–714) (no. 50).
- Pious forgery. Piety may lead to mendacity in *ḥadīth* (no. 39). Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbdallāh b. Miswar al-Hāshimī (Madāʾin; d. ?) forged "truthful statements" and ascribed them to the Prophet (no. 64). In these cases, apart from the forgery of *isnād*s, we deal with the concoction of *matn*s.

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[3] About al-Mughīra, see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* vii, 474–476.

[4] ʿAbd al-Bāqī p. 20 = Taʾṣīl, no. 50.

- Linguistic incompetence. ʿAbd al-Quddūs b. Ḥabīb al-Wuḥāẓī (Damascus; d. Iraq, 136–158/754–775) misspelled names of transmitters and confused words in the texts of traditions (no. 76).
- Historical incompetence. Al-Muʿallā b. ʿUrfān (Kufa; d. ?) exhibited such incompetence when he reported that ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd (d. 32/652–653) took part in the Battle of Ṣiffīn (37/657) (no. 83).
- The period of joint scholarship (nos. 25, 25.1).

Unstated Reasons

- Many *ḥadīth* transmitters in Medina are unqualified to transmit *ḥadīth*, but it is unclear why (no. 26).
- Only trustworthy transmitters may transmit from the Prophet (no. 27). The tradition does not give an inkling of the way of determining who is trustworthy.
- If a traditionist knows that a fellow traditionist "is not firm in *ḥadīth*" (*lā yakūnu thabt^{an} fī l-ḥadīth*), he should reveal his knowledge to all who ask to receive traditions from the latter (no. 33). It is not known from whence this knowledge is derived.
- Shahr b. Ḥawshab (Syria → Iraq; d. 100/718–719 or 111–112/729–731) was disparaged (no. 34). It is unclear why.
- Shuʿba held Shahr b. Ḥawshab in no regard (no. 35). It is unclear why.
- ʿAbbād b. Kathīr's traditions should not be transmitted, because, when transmitting, he "commits grave things" (no. 36). What stands behind this qualification is unclear, but according to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak ʿAbbād's orthodoxy was not in question.
- One must beware of ʿAbbād b. Kathīr (no. 37).
- ʿAbbād b. Kathīr is *kadhdhāb* (no. 38).
- One must be careful about the traditions one takes from Sulaymān b. al-Ḥajjāj (al-Ṭāʾif; d. ?) (no. 42).
- Ibn al-Mubārak feels ashamed to be seen listening to the transmissions of Rawḥ b. Ghuṭayf (Jazīra; d. ?) (no. 43). The report suggests that this is because of Rawḥ's tradition in which the Prophet says, "The prayer is repeated on account of [a blood stain] the size of a dirham." Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī pointed out that this tradition was transmitted by none of Abū Hurayra, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, and al-Zuhrī, who figure in the chain through which Rawḥ claims to have received it.[5] This statement signals criticism by *isnād* comparison, but one wonders if this was the case in Muslim's lifetime. Muslim's contemporary al-Bukhārī only mentions that Rawḥ transmitted the

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[5] Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥūn* i, 369.

size-of-a-dirham *ḥadīth*, but does not comment on Rawḥ's stature as a *ḥadīth* transmitter.[6]

- Jābir b. Yazīd al-Juʿfī asserts that he possesses fifty thousand traditions none of which he handed down further (no. 55). The likely implication of this statement, cited by Zuhayr b. Muʿāwiya al-Juʿfī (Kufa, d. 172–177/788–794), is that these traditions were suspicious, but, if so, it is unclear why.
- Al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīra (Kufa; d. ?) persists in a grave thing (no. 59).[7]
- Someone "does not have a truthful tongue" (*laysa bi-mustaqīm al-lisān*) (no. 60).
- Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj advises Muʿādh b. Muʿādh al-ʿAnbarī not to record traditions from Abū Shayba Ibrāhīm b. ʿUthmān (Kufa → Wāsiṭ; d. 169/785–786), the *qāḍī* of Wāsiṭ (no. 71). The reason for Shuʿba's opinion is unclear. He may have disliked Ibrāhīm because for twenty-eight years he held the office of judge of Wāsiṭ for the ʿAbbāsid caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī.[8] Alternatively, Shuʿba may have suspected Ibrāhīm's transmission on the authority of al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtayba (Kufa; b. 47/667–668 or 50/670–671; d. 114–115/732–734) in whose sessions Abū Shayba participated only as a small boy.[9]
- Ḥammād b. Salama (Basra; d. 167/784) and Hammām b. Yaḥyā (Basra; d. 164–165/780–782) state that Ṣāliḥ b. Bashīr al-Murrī (Basra; d. 172/788–789) lied. The reason for this qualification is not stated explicitly, but Ṣāliḥ was an ascetic storyteller (*qāṣṣ*), who may have invented traditions driven by piety (no. 72).[10]
- Yazīd b. Hārūn imputes mendacity to Khālid b. Maḥdūj (Wāsiṭ; d. ?) (no. 74).
- ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith imputes mendacity to Ziyād b. Maymūn (Basra; d. 158/774–775) (no. 74).
- Ḥammād b. Zayd (Basra; b. 98/716–717, d. 179/795) likens Mahdī b. Hilāl (Basra; d. ?) to a salty well (no. 77).[11]
- ʿAbd al-Quddūs b. Ḥabīb al-Wuḥāẓī (Damascus; d. Iraq, 136–158/754–775) is the only traditionist whom ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak openly branded as a liar (no. 81).
- In the presence of ʿAffān b. Muslim (Basra → Baghdad; b. 134/751–752, d. 220/835), Ismāʿīl b. ʿUlayya (Basra; b. 110/728–729, d. 193/809) describes someone as "not firm" (no. 84).

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[6] Al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* iii, 308–309.

[7] According to later reports, al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīra believed in the *rajʿa* (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* ix, 95).

[8] Wakīʿ, *Akhbār* 689. Ibn Ḥibbān records twenty-three years in the reign of al-Manṣūr (*Majrūḥūn* i, 100), but this is hardly possible since al-Manṣūr's caliphate lasted twenty-two years (136–158/754–775).

[9] Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥūn* i, 101.

[10] About Ṣāliḥ, see Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 79–80.

[11] Mahdī b. Hilāl is known as a forger of *isnād*s; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ* viii, 336. He is sometimes described as Qadari; Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 87.

- Mālik b. Anas describes Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bayāḍī (Medina; d. 130/747–748),[12] Ṣāliḥ b. Nabhān, the *mawlā* of al-Tawʾama (Medina; d. 125/742–743),[13] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya, Abū l-Ḥuwayrith (Medina; d. 130/747–748),[14] Shuʿba b. Dīnār, the *mawlā* of Ibn ʿAbbās (Medina; d. ca. 115/733–734),[15] Ḥarām b. ʿUthmān (Medina; d. 149–150/766–768),[16] and a sixth transmitter as "not trustworthy."
- Ibn Abī Dhiʾb (Medina; b. 80/699–700, d. 158–159/774–776) describes Shuraḥbīl b. Saʿd (Medina; d. 126/743–744) as *muttaham* (no. 86).
- Ibn al-Mubārak considers ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥarrar (Raqqa—Harran; d. after 136/754) less worthy than a piece of dung (no. 87).
- Zayd b. Abī Unaysa (Edessa; b. 89/707–708, d. 125/742–743) states that one should not transmit traditions from his brother Yaḥyā b. Abī Unaysa (Edessa, d. 146/763–764) (no. 88).
- ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAmr (Raqqa, d. 180/796–797) states that Yaḥyā b. Abī Unaysa was a liar (no. 89).
- Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī states that Farqad b. Yaʿqūb al-Sabkhī (Basra or Kufa; d. 131/748–749) has no expertise in traditions (no. 90).[17]
- Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān considers as weak Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr al-Laythī (Mecca; d. ?),[18] Ḥakīm b. Jubayr (Kufa; d. ?),[19] ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. ʿĀmir al-Thaʿlabī (Kufa; d. 129/746–747),[20] Mūsā b. Dīnār (Mecca; d. ?),[21] Mūsā b. Dihqān

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[12] Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān transmitted highly unrecognizable traditions; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ* vii, 325.

[13] Towards the end of his life, Ṣāliḥ b. Nabhān became muddleheaded; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* iv, 292; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ* iv, 417.

[14] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya is said to have written down traditions from a group of effeminates, dyed his legs on purpose, and followed the teaching of *irjāʾ*; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* xvii, 415.

[15] According to Ibn Ḥibbān (*apud* Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* vi, 267), this Shuʿba transmitted on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās traditions that were so baseless as if related by another Ibn ʿAbbās. On Shuʿba's death date, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* iv, 347.

[16] Ḥarām b. ʿUthmān was a moderate partisan of ʿAlī; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* iii, 101.

[17] Farqad al-Sabkhī may have been a Qadari; Van Ess, *Theology and society* ii, 108–109.

[18] Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī had a weak memory, which led him to "turn the *isnād*s upside down"; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥūn* ii, 266.

[19] Ḥakīm b. Jubayr espoused extreme ʿAlid views; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥūn* i, 299. He was disparaged on account of his transmission of an unparalleled *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet states that whoever owns fifty dirhams is not obliged to pay the alms tax; Mughlaṭāy, *Ikmāl* iv, 116.

[20] ʿAbd al-Aʿlā transmitted traditions on the authority of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, which he got not by direct audition but from a scroll (*ṣaḥīfa*) recorded by a third person; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ* vi, 25–26. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā's transmission from Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya may betray a sympathy towards the radical partisans of ʿAlī, who associated themselves with Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya during the revolt in Kufa led by al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī (66–67/685–687).

(Medina → Basra; d. ?),[22] and ʿĪsā b. Abī ʿĪsā al-Madanī (Kufa → Medina; d. 151/768–769) (nos. 91–92).

- One should write down all of Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's traditions, except for those on the authority of ʿUbayda b. Muʿattib (Kufa; d. ?),[23] al-Sarī b. Ismāʿīl al-Hamdānī (Kufa; d. ?),[24] and Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Hamdānī (Kufa; d. ?)[25] (no. 93).

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[21] Mūsā b. Dīnār uncritically recognized as his every tradition that someone attributed to him; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥūn* ii, 244.

[22] Mūsā b. Dihqān became muddleheaded at the end of his life; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥūn* ii, 246.

[23] ʿUbayda b. Muʿattib became muddleheaded at the end of his life; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥūn* ii, 163–164.

[24] Al-Sarī b. Ismāʿīl served as a secretary (*kātib*) to ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī (Kufa; d. 103–110/721–729) but transmitted many unrecognized traditions (*manākīr*) on his authority; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ* iv, 282; Ibn ʿAdī, *Kāmil* iv, 539.

[25] Muḥammad b. Sālim was a close associate of al-Shaʿbī but cited incorrectly many of his *isnād*s; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥūn* ii, 271–272.

APPENDIX 7

Muslim’s *Kitāb al-Qadar* Compared with al-Bukhārī’s *Kitāb al-Qadar*

Bold—a collector or a key figure
Red—a possible copy of a tradition found in al-Bukhārī’s *Kitāb al-Qadar*
Blue—a possible copy of a tradition found elsewhere in al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*

1. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2643 [1] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2732) ~ al-Bukhārī, no. 6603 through a partially different *isnād* above the level of al-Aʿmash.
   Muslim: (1) Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba → Abū Muʿāwiya wa-Wakīʿ (2) Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr al-Hamdānī (*wa-l-lafẓ la-hu*: the expression is his) → *abū-hu* wa-Abū Muʿāwiya wa-Wakīʿ → **al-Aʿmash** → Zayd b. Wahb → ʿAbdallāh.
   Al-Bukhārī: Abū l-Walīd Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik → Shuʿba → **al-Aʿmash** → Zayd b. Wahb → ʿAbdallāh [b. Masʿūd].
   Parallel transmissions elsewhere in al-Bukhārī’s Ṣaḥīḥ:
   a) al-Ḥasan b. al-Rabīʿ → Abū l-Aḥwaṣ → **al-Aʿmash** → Zayd b. Wahb → ʿAbdallāh [b. Masʿūd] (*Badʾ al-Khalq*, no. 3215).
   b) ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ → *abū-hu* [Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth b. Ṭalq al-Nakhaʿī, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kūfī] → **al-Aʿmash** → Zayd b. Wahb → ʿAbdallāh [b. Masʿūd] (*Aḥādīth al-anbiyāʾ*, no. 3335).
   c) Ādam [b. Abī Iyās] → **Shuʿba** → **al-Aʿmash** → Zayd b. Wahb → ʿAbdallāh [b. Masʿūd] (*Tawḥīd*, no. 7450).
   Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2643 [1] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2732.1).
   These are four auxiliaries of 1:
   a) ʿUthmān b. Abī Shayba and Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm → Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd → **al-Aʿmash** → Zayd b. Wahb → ʿAbdallāh.
   b) Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm → ʿĪsā b. Yūnus → **al-Aʿmash** → Zayd b. Wahb → ʿAbdallāh
   c) Abū Saʿīd al-Ashajj → Wakīʿ → **al-Aʿmash** → Zayd b. Wahb → ʿAbdallāh
   d) ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muʿādh → abū-hu → **Shuʿba** → **al-Aʿmash** → Zayd b. Wahb → ʿAbdallāh.
2. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2644 [2] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2733)—n/a in al-Bukhārī.
3. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2645 [3] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2734, 2735)—the *matn* is not available in al-Bukhārī, but the *isnād* is an auxiliary through Ibn Masʿūd like 1a–1c. For the sake of argument, Muslim’s tradition may be considered as an appendix to al-Bukhārī’s tradition.

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Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2645 [3] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2734, 2735.1)—an auxiliary of 3; hence, of 1a–1c.

4. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2645 [4] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2734, 2735.2)—n/a in al-Bukhārī.

   Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2645 […] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2734, 2735.3)—an auxiliary of 4, n/a in al-Bukhārī.

5. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2646 [5] = Taʾṣīl 2736) ~ al-Bukhārī, no. 6604.

   Muslim: Abū Kāmil Fuḍayl b. Ḥusayn al-Jaḥdarī → **Ḥammād** b. Zayd → ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakr → Anas b. Mālik.

   Al-Bukhārī: Sulaymān b. Ḥarb → **Ḥammād** → ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakr → Anas b. Mālik;

   Parallel transmissions elsewhere in al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ:

   a) Musaddad → **Ḥammād** → ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakr → Anas b. Mālik (*Ḥayḍ*, no. 322).

   b) Abū l-Nuʿmān → **Ḥammād** b. Zayd → ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakr → Anas b. Mālik (*Aḥādīth al-anbiyāʾ*, no. 3336).

6. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2647 [6–7] = Taʾṣīl, nos. 2737–2737.3) ~ al-Bukhārī, no. 6613.

   Muslim: (1) ʿUthmān b. Abī Shayba (2) Zuhayr b. Ḥarb (3) Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm → Jarīr → Manṣūr → **Saʿd b. ʿUbayda** → Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī → ʿAlī

   Al-Bukhārī has the same tradition carried by the same *isnād* as Muslim in *Kitāb al-Janāʾiz*, no. 1370 (w/o Zuhayr b. Ḥarb and Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm beside ʿUthmān b. Abī Shayba).

   Muslim cites two auxiliaries through Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir and two *mutābiʿāt* through Saʿd b. ʿUbayda, who is the transmitter below Manṣūr.

   Al-Bukhārī: ʿAbdān → Abū Ḥamza → al-Aʿmash → **Saʿd b. ʿUbayda** → Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī → ʿAlī.

   Al-Bukhārī has five auxiliaries through al-Aʿmash (*Tafsīr*, no. 4932 [at Q 92:5]; no. 4933 [at Q 92:6]; no. 4935 [at Q 92:8]; no. 4937 [at Q 92:10], and *al-Tawḥīd*, no. 7548) and three auxiliaries through Saʿd b. ʿUbayda (*Tafsīr*, no. 4934 [at Q 92:7]; no. 4936 [at Q 92:9]; *al-Adab*, no. 6223).

7. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2648 [8] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2738)—n/a in al-Bukhārī.

   Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2648 […] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2738.1)—an auxiliary of 7, n/a in al-Bukhārī.

8. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2649 [9] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2739)—n/a in al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Qadar* but present in *Tawḥīd*, no. 7547.

   Muslim: Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā → Ḥammād b. Zayd → **Yazīd** al-Ḍubaʿī → Muṭarrif → ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn.

   Al-Bukhārī: Abū Maʿmar → ʿAbd al-Wārith [b. Saʿīd] → **Yazīd** [b. Ḥumayd al-Ḍubaʿī al-Rishk] → Muṭarrif b. ʿAbdallāh → ʿImrān.

Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2649 […] = Ta’ṣīl, no. 2739.1) cites four auxiliaries on the authority of **Yazīd b Ḥumayd al-Ḍubaʿī**, including one through ʿAbd al-Wārith.

9. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2650 [10] = Ta’ṣīl, no. 2740)—n/a in al-Bukhārī.

10. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2651 [11] = Ta’ṣīl, no. 2741)—n/a in al-Bukhārī.

11. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 112 [12] = Ta’ṣīl, no. 2742)—n/a in al-Bukhārī.

12. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2652 [13] = Ta’ṣīl, no. 2743) ~ al-Bukhārī, no. 6622.

Muslim: (1) Muḥammad b. Ḥātim (2) Ibrāhīm b. Dīnār (3) Ibn Abī ʿUmar al-Makkī (4) Aḥmad b. ʿAbda al-Ḍabbī → **Sufyān b. ʿUyayna** *ʿan* ʿAmr *ʿan* Ṭāwūs → Abū Hurayra.

Al-Bukhārī: ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh → **Sufyān** → *ḥafiẓnā-hu ʿan* (we remembered it from) ʿAmr → Ṭāwūs → Abū Hurayra.

Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2652 [14] = Ta’ṣīl, no. 2743.1) is an auxiliary of 12 through Qutayba b. Saʿīd → Mālik b. Anas → Abū l-Zinād → al-Aʿraj → **Abū Hurayra**.

Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2652 [15] = Ta’ṣīl, no. 2743.2) is an auxiliary of 12 through **Abū Hurayra.**

13. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2652 […] = Ta’ṣīl, no. 2743.3)—n/a in al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Qadar* but present in *Aḥādīth al-anbiyā’*, no. 3412 and *Tawḥīd*, no. 7511.

Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2652 […] = Ta’ṣīl, no. 2743.4–5) is an auxiliary of 13 through **Abū Hurayra**.

Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2652 […] = Ta’ṣīl, no. 2743.6) is an auxiliary of 13 through **Abū Hurayra.**

14. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2653 [16] = Ta’ṣīl, no. 2744)—n/a in al-Bukhārī.

Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2653 […] = Ta’ṣīl, no. 2744.1) is an auxiliary of 14.

15. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2654 [17] = Ta’ṣīl, no. 2745)—n/a in al-Bukhārī.

16. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2655 [18] = Ta’ṣīl, no. 2746, 2747)—n/a in al-Bukhārī.

17. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2656 [19] = Ta’ṣīl, no. 2748)—n/a in al-Bukhārī.

18. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2657 [20] = Ta’ṣl, no. 2749) ~ al-Bukhārī, no. 6620.

Muslim: (1) Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm (2) ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd → ʿAbd al-Razzāq → Maʿmar → Ibn Ṭāwūs → *abū-hu* → Ibn ʿAbbās → Abū Hurayra.

Al-Bukhārī, no. 6620: Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān → ʿAbd al-Razzāq → Maʿmar → Ibn Ṭāwūs → *abū-hu* **Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān** → Ibn ʿAbbās → Abū Hurayra.

Auxiliary: Shabāba → Warqā’ → Ibn Ṭāwūs → *abū-hu* → Ibn ʿAbbās → Abū Hurayra

Parallel transmissions elsewhere in al-Bukhārī’s Ṣaḥīḥ:

Al-Bukhārī, no. 6249: al-Ḥumaydī → Sufyān → Ibn Ṭāwūs → *abū-hu* → Ibn ʿAbbās → Abū Hurayra.

Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2657 [21] = Ta’ṣīl, no. 2749.1) is an auxiliary of no. 18 through Isḥāq b. Manṣūr → Abū Hishām al-Makhzūmī → Wuhayb → Suhayl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ → *abū-hu* → **Abū Hurayra.**

19. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2658 [22] = Ta’ṣīl, no. 2750)—n/a in al-Bukhārī’s *Kitāb al-Qadar* but present *Janā’iz* no. 1366.

Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2658 […] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2750.1) is an auxiliary of 19 through **al-Zuhrī**.

20. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2658 […] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2750.2)—n/a in al-Bukhārī's *Kitāb al-Qadar* but present in *Janāʾiz*, nos. 1367, 1394; *Tafsīr*, no. 4756 (at Q 30:30).
Muslim: Abū Ṭāhir wa-Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā → **ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb** → Yūnus b. Yazīd → **al-Zuhrī** → Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān → Abū Hurayra.
Al-Bukhārī
a) ʿAbdān → **ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb** → Yūnus b. Yazīd → **al-Zuhrī** → Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān → Abū Hurayra (nos. 1367, 4756).
b) Ādam b. Abī Iyās → Ibn Abī l-Dhiʾb [Muḥammad b ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mughīra Abū l-Ḥārith al-Madanī] → **al-Zuhrī** → Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān → Abū Hurayra (no. 1394).
Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2658 [23] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2750.3) is an auxiliary of 19–20 through **Abū Hurayra**.
Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2658 […] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2750.4) is an auxiliary of 19–20 through **Abū Hurayra**.

21. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2658 [24] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2750.5) ~ al-Bukhārī, no. 6599.
Muslim: Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ → **ʿAbd al-Razzāq** → Maʿmar → Hammām b. Munabbih → Abū Hurayra.
Al-Bukhārī: Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm → **ʿAbd al-Razzāq** → Maʿmar → Hammām b. Munabbih → Abū Hurayra.
Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2658 [25] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2750.6) is an auxiliary of 21 through Abū Hurayra.

22. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2659 [26] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2751) ~ al-Bukhārī, no. 6608.
Muslim: Abū l-Ṭāhir → Ibn Wahb → **Ibn Abī l-Dhiʾb** wa-**Yūnus** → al-Zuhrī → ʿAṭāʾ b. Yazīd → Abū Hurayra.
Al-Bukhārī: Yaḥyā b. Bukayr → al-Layth → **Yūnus** → Ibn Shihāb → ʿAṭāʾ b. Yazīd → Abū Hurayra.

23. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2659 […] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2751.1)—n/a in al-Bukhārī's *Kitāb al-Qadar* but present in *Janāʾiz*, no. 1393.
Muslim:
a) ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd → ʿAbd al-Razzāq → Maʿmar → Ibn Abī l-Dhiʾb wa-Yūnus → **al-Zuhrī** → ʿAṭāʾ b. Yazīd → Abū Hurayra.
b) ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Bahrām → **Abū l-Yamān** → Shuʿayb → (1) Ibn Abī l-Dhiʾb (2) Yūnus → **al-Zuhrī** → ʿAṭāʾ b. Yazīd → Abū Hurayra.
c) Salama b Shabīb → al-Ḥasan b. Aʿyan → Maʿqil b. ʿUbayd Allāh → Ibn Abī l-Dhiʾb wa-Yūnus → **al-Zuhrī** → ʿAṭāʾ b. Yazīd → Abū Hurayra.
Al-Bukhārī: **Abū l-Yamān** → Shuʿayb → Ibn Abī l-Dhiʾb wa-Yūnus → **al-Zuhrī** → ʿAṭāʾ b. Yazīd → Abū Hurayra = Muslim's *isnād* c.

Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2659 [27] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2751.2) is an auxiliary of 22–23 through **Abū Hurayra**.

24. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2660 [28] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2752) ~ al-Bukhārī, no. 6606; also present in *Janāʾiz*, no. 1392.

Muslim: Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā → Abū ʿAwāna → **Abū Bishr** → Saʿīd b. Jubayr → Ibn ʿAbbās.

Al-Bukhārī, no. 6606: Muḥammad b. Bashshār → Ghundar → **Shuʿba** → **Abū Bishr** → Saʿīd b. Jubayr → Ibn ʿAbbās.

Auxiliary (no. 1392):

Ḥibbān → ʿAbdallāh → **Shuʿba** → **Abū Bishr** → Saʿīd b. Jubayr → Ibn ʿAbbās.

25. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2661 [29] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2753)—n/a in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

26. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2662 [30] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2754)—n/a in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2662 [31] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2754.1) is an auxiliary of 26 through **ʿĀʾisha bt. al-Ṭalḥa**.

Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2662 [...] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2754.2) is an auxiliary of 26 through **Ṭalḥa b. Yaḥyā**.

27. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2663 [32] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2755)—n/a in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2663 [...] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2755.1) is an auxiliary of 27 through **Misʿar b. Kidām**.

Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2663 [33] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2755.2) is an auxiliary of 27 through **ʿAlqama b. Marthad**.

Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2663 [...] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2755.3) is an auxiliary of 27 through **Sufyān al-Thawrī**.

28. Muslim (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2664 [34] = Taʾṣīl, no. 2756)—n/a in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

APPENDIX 8

The Number of Books in the *Ṣaḥīḥ according to Ibn Manjuwayh, ʿAbd al-Bāqī* (= *Wensinck, al-Nawawī*), *and Dār al-Taʾṣīl* (= *al-Mizzī*)

TABLE 8 The number of books in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* according to Ibn Manjuwayh, ʿAbd al-Bāqī (= Wensinck, al-Nawawī), and Dār al-Taʾṣīl (= al-Mizzī)

No.	**Ibn Manjuwayh**	**No.**	**al-Nawawī/ʿAbd al-Bāqī/Wensinck**	**No.**	**al-Mizzī/Dār al-Taʾṣīl**
1	*al-Īmān*	1	*al-Īmān*	1	*al-Īmān*
2	*al-Wuḍūʾ*	2	*al-Ṭahāra*	2	*al-Ṭahāra*
		3	*al-Ḥayḍ*		
3	*al-Ṣalāt*	4	*al-Ṣalāt*	3	*al-Ṣalāt*
		5	*al-Masājid wa-mawāḍiʿ al-ṣalāt*		
		6	*Ṣalāt al-musāfirīn wa-qaṣr*^{u}*-hā*		
4	*al-Jumuʿa*	7	*al-Jumuʿa*	-/3	*al-Jumuʿa*
		8	*Ṣalāt al-ʿīdayn*		
		9	*Ṣalāt al-istisqāʾ*		
		10	*al-Kusūf*		
5	*al-Janāʾiz*	11	*al-Janāʾiz*	4/5	*al-Janāʾiz*
6	*al-Zakāt*	12	*al-Zakāt*	5/6	*al-Zakāt*
7	*al-Ṣawm*	13	*al-Ṣiyām*	6/7	*al-Ṣiyām*
		14	*al-Iʿtikāf*		
8	*al-Ḥajj/al-Manāsik*	15	*al-Ḥajj*	7/8	*al-Manāsik*
9	*al-Nikāḥ*	16	*al-Nikāḥ*	8/9	*al-Nikāḥ wa-ijābat al-dāʿī*
		17	*al-Riḍāʿ*		
10	*al-Ṭalāq*	18	*al-Ṭalāq*	9/10	*al-Ṭalāq*
11	*al-Liʿān*	19	*al-Liʿān*	10/11	*al-Liʿān*
12	*al-ʿItq/al-ʿItāq*	20	*al-ʿItq*	11/12	*al-ʿItq*
13	*al-Buyūʿ*	21	*al-Buyūʿ*	12/13	*al-Buyūʿ*
		22	*al-Musāqāt*		
14	*al-Farāʾiḍ*	23	*al-Farāʾiḍ*	13/14	*al-Farāʾiḍ*
15	*al-Hiba*	24	*al-Hibāt*	14/15	*al-Waṣāyā*

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TABLE 8 The number of books in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* according to Ibn Manjuwayh, ʿAbd al-Bāqī (= Wensinck, al-Nawawī), and Dār al-Taʾṣīl (= al-Mizzī) (*cont.*)

No.	Ibn Manjuwayh	No.	al-Nawawī/ʿAbd al-Bāqī/Wensinck	No.	al-Mizzī/Dār al-Taʾṣīl
16	*al-Waṣāyā*	25	*al-Waṣiyya*		
17	*al-Aymān wa-l-nudhūr*	26	*al-Nadhr*	15/16	*al-Aymān wa-l-nudhūr*
		27	*al-Aymān*		
18	*Al-Qasāma wa-l-qiṣāṣ wa-l-diyāt*	28	*al-Qasāma wa-l-muḥāribīn wa-l-qiṣāṣ wa-l-diyāt*	16/17	*al-Qasāma wa-l-ḥudūd wa-l-diyāt*
19	*al-Ḥudūd*	29	*al-Ḥudūd*	17/18	*al-Ḥudūd*
20	*al-Aḥkām*	30	*al-Aqḍiya*	18/19	*al-Qaḍāʾ wa-l-shahādāt*
		31	*al-Luqṭa*		
21	*al-Jihād*	32	*al-Jihād wa-l-siyar*	19/20	*al-Jihād*
22	*al-Imāra*	33	*al-Imāra*		
23	*al-Ṣayd wa-l-dhabāʾiḥ*	34	*al-Ṣayd wa-l-dhabāʾiḥ wa-mā yuʾkalu min al-ḥayawān*	20/21	*al-Ṣayd wa-l-dhabāʾiḥ*
24	*al-Ḍaḥāyā*	35	*al-Aḍāḥī*	21/22	*al-Aḍāḥī*
25	*al-Ashriba*	36	*al-Ashriba*	22/23	*al-Ashriba*
26	*al-Aṭʿima*			23/24	*al-Aṭʿima*
27	*al-Libās*	37	*al-Libās wa-l-zīna*	24/25	*al-Libās*
28	*al-Adab*	38	*al-Ādāb*	25/26	*al-Adab*
29	*al-Ṭibb*	39	*al-Salām*	26/27	*al-Ṭibb*
				27/28	*Qatl al-ḥayyāt wa-ghayrⁱ-hā*
		40	*al-Alfāẓ min al-adab wa-ghayrⁱ-hā*		
30	*Dhikr al-shiʿr/Dhikr al-shuʿarāʾ*	41	*al-Shiʿr*	28/29	*al-Shiʿr*
31	*al-Ruʾyā*	42	*al-Ruʾyā*	29/30	*al-Ruʾyā*
32	*al-Faḍāʾil/al-Manāqib*	43	*al-Faḍāʾil*	30/31	*al-Manāqib*
33	*Faḍāʾil/Manāqib al-ṣaḥāba*	44	*Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*	31/32	*Dhikr faḍāʾil aṣḥāb al-nabī* (*ṣ*)
34	*al-Birr wa-l-ṣila wa-taḥrīm al-ẓulm*	45	*al-Birr wa-l-ṣila wa-l-ādāb*	32/33	*al-Birr wa-l-ṣila wa-taḥrīm al-ẓulm*
35	*al-Qadar*	46	*al-Qadar*	33/34	*al-Qadar*

TABLE 8 The number of books in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* according to Ibn Manjuwayh, ʿAbd al-Bāqī (= Wensinck, al-Nawawī), and Dār al-Taʾṣīl (= al-Mizzī) (*cont.*)

No.	Ibn Manjuwayh	No.	al-Nawawī/ʿAbd al-Bāqī/Wensinck	No.	al-Mizzī/Dār al-Taʾṣīl
36	*al-ʿIlm*	47	*al-ʿIlm*	34/35	*al-ʿIlm*
37	*al-Duʿāʾ*	48	*al-Dhikr wa-l-duʿāʾ wa-l-tawba wa-l-istighfār*	35/36	*al-Dhikr*
		-	*al-Riqāq*	36/37	*al-Raqāʾiq*
38	*al-Tawba*	49	*al-Tawba*	37/38	*al-Tawba*
39	*Dhikr al-nifāq/al-munāfiqīn*	50	*Ṣifāt al-munāfiqīn wa-aḥkām^{u}-hum*	38/39	*Dhikr al-munāfiqīn*
40	*Ṣifat al-ḥashr/al-qiyāma wa-l-janna wa-l-nār*	-	*Ṣifat al-qiyāma wa-l-janna wa-l-nār*	39/40	*Ṣifat al-qiyāma wa-l-janna wa-l-nār*
		51	*al-Janna wa-ṣifat naʿīm^{i}-hā wa-ahl^{i}-hā*		
41	*al-Fitan*	52	*al-Fitan wa-ashrāṭ al-sāʿa*	40/41	*al-Fitan*
42	*al-Zuhd*	53	*al-Zuhd wa-l-raqāʾiq*	41/42	*al-Zuhd wa-l-raqāʾiq*
43	*al-Tafsīr*	54	*al-Tafsīr*	42/43	*al-Tafsīr*

Notes

Ibn Manjuwayh was familiar with a version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, in which *al-Iʿtikāf* was part of *Kitāb al-Ṣawm*. He identifies ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 1172 (3),[1] which is part of *al-Iʿtikāf*, as belonging to *al-Ṣawm*.[2]

In Ibn Manjuwayh's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *al-Riqāq*/*al-Raqāʾiq* was included in *Kitāb al-Duʿāʾ*. Ibn Manjuwayh states that ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2736 (93) = Taʾṣīl, no. 2836.2, which is part of respectively *al-Riqāq* and *al-Raqāʾiq*, is located "at the end of *al-Duʿāʾ*."[3]

Ibn Manjuwayh describes ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2778 (8) = Taʾṣīl, no. 2880 as *fī dhikr al-munāfiqīn*, which agrees with the book title in Taʾṣīl.[4] The formulation in Ibn Manjuwayh's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* may have been *Kitāb Dhikr al-nifāq*, because ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2779 (9) = Taʾṣīl, no. 2881, 2882 is described as *fī dhikr al-nifāq*.[5]

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[1] Taʾṣīl, no. 1196 (*Kitāb al-Ṣiyām*).

[2] Ibn Manjuwayh, *Rijāl* ii, 108, no. 1269.

[3] Ibid. i, 122, no. 223.

[4] Ibid. ii, 92, no. 1233.

Ibn Manjuwayh describes ʿAbd al-Bāqī, no. 2842 (29), which is part of *Kitāb al-Janna wa-ṣifat naʿīm^{i}-hā wa-ahl^{i}-hā* with the expression *fī ṣifat al-nār*,[6] which indicates that, in Ibn Manjuwayh's version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, it was part of the larger Book *Ṣifat al-ḥashr/al-qiyāma wa-l-janna wa-l-nār*.

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[5] Ibid. i, 81, no. 124.

[6] Ibid. ii, 62, no. 1157.

APPENDIX 9

The Known Sections in Ibn ʿAsākir's Division of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*

TABLE 9 The known sections in Ibn ʿAsākir's division of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*[a]

Ibn ʿAsākir	**Wensinck**	**ʿAbd al-Bāqī**	**Ta'ṣīl**
Section 1	*Īmān*, nos. 1–97 (97 traditions)	8–56 (48 *uṣūl*)	1–48 (48 *uṣūl*)
Section 2	*Īmān*, nos. 98–345 (247 traditions)	57–201 (144 *uṣūl*)	48.1–191 (142 *uṣūl*)
Sections 9–10	*Masājid*, no. 308–*Ṣalāt al-musāfirīn*, 224 (232 traditions)	679–788 (109 *uṣūl*)	675.1–787 (111 *uṣūl*)
Sections 17–31	*Ṭalāq*, no. 1–*al-Salām*, no. 97	1471–2218 (747 *uṣūl*)	1494–2282.2 (788 *uṣūl*)
Somewhere in Section 26–Section 33	*Aḍāḥī*, no. 18–*Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba* no. 149	1966–2484 (518 *uṣūl*)	2020.2–2564.1 (543 *uṣūl*)
Sections 34–37	*Faḍā'il*, no. 152–*Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba* no. 150 (172 traditions)	2370–2484 (114 *uṣūl*)	2446–2564.2 (118 *uṣūl*)
Somewhere in Section 39–Section 43	*Barr wa-l-ṣila wa-l-adab*, no. 63–Fitan, no. 66	2584–2912 (328 *uṣūl*)	2667.1–3024.4 (357 *uṣūl*)

[a] Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl* iii, 276–281, no. 1632.

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APPENDIX 10

The *Shaykh*s of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Nasawī

TABLE 10 The *shaykh*s of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Nasawī

	Name	Center of activity	Birthdate	Death date
1	ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAdī	Gorgan	277/891	365/976
2	ʿAbd al-Sallām b. Muḥammad al-Mukharramī	Baghdad,	272/886–887	364/974–975
3	ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Bakr, Abū l-Faraj al-Warathānī	Hamadhān		372/982–983
4	Aḥmad b. ʿAṭāʾ, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Rūdhbārī	Rūdhbār—Baghdad—Tyre	303/915–916	369/980
5	ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Rajāʾ b. Ṭaʿān, Abū l-Qāsim	Damascus		376/987
6	Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī	Naysābūr	321/933	405/1014
7	Jumaḥ b. al-Qāsim	Damascus	278/891–892	363/974
8	Khalaf b. Muḥammad al-Khayyān	Bukhara	275/888–889	361/972
9	Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Shādhān, Abū Bakr	Rayy		376/986
10	Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Naṣr b. Bujayr, Abū l-Ṭāhir	Baghdad—Egypt	279/892–893	367/977–978
11	Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Khuzayma, Abū Ṭāhir	Naysābūr		387/997
12	Muḥammad b. Khafīf, Abū ʿAbdallāh	Shiraz	ca. 276/889–890	371/982
13	Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Yūsuf, Abū Bakr al-Rabaʿī	Damascus		374/985
14	Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī	Syria—Iraq—Isfahan	260/873	360/971
15	ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zuhrī	Baghdad	290/902–903	381/991
16	ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān, Abū Ḥafṣ b. Shāhīn	Baghdad	297/910	385/996

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List of Abbreviations

AUU	Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis
BJMES	British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BTS	Beiruter Texte und Studien (book series)
EI	Encyclopaedia of Islam
EIr	Encyclopaedia Iranica
GAS	Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums
HO	Handbuch der Orientalistik (handbook)
IHC	Islamic History and Civilization (book series)
IJMES	International Journal of Middle East Studies
ILS	Islamic Law and Society
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JIS	Journal of Islamic Studies
JQS	Journal of Qurʾanic Studies
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JSAI	Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
MW	Muslim World
RO	Rocznik Orientalistyczny
SGKIO	Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients (book series)
SI	Studia Islamica
SILS	Studies in Islamic Law and Society (book series)
SIr	Studia Iranica
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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